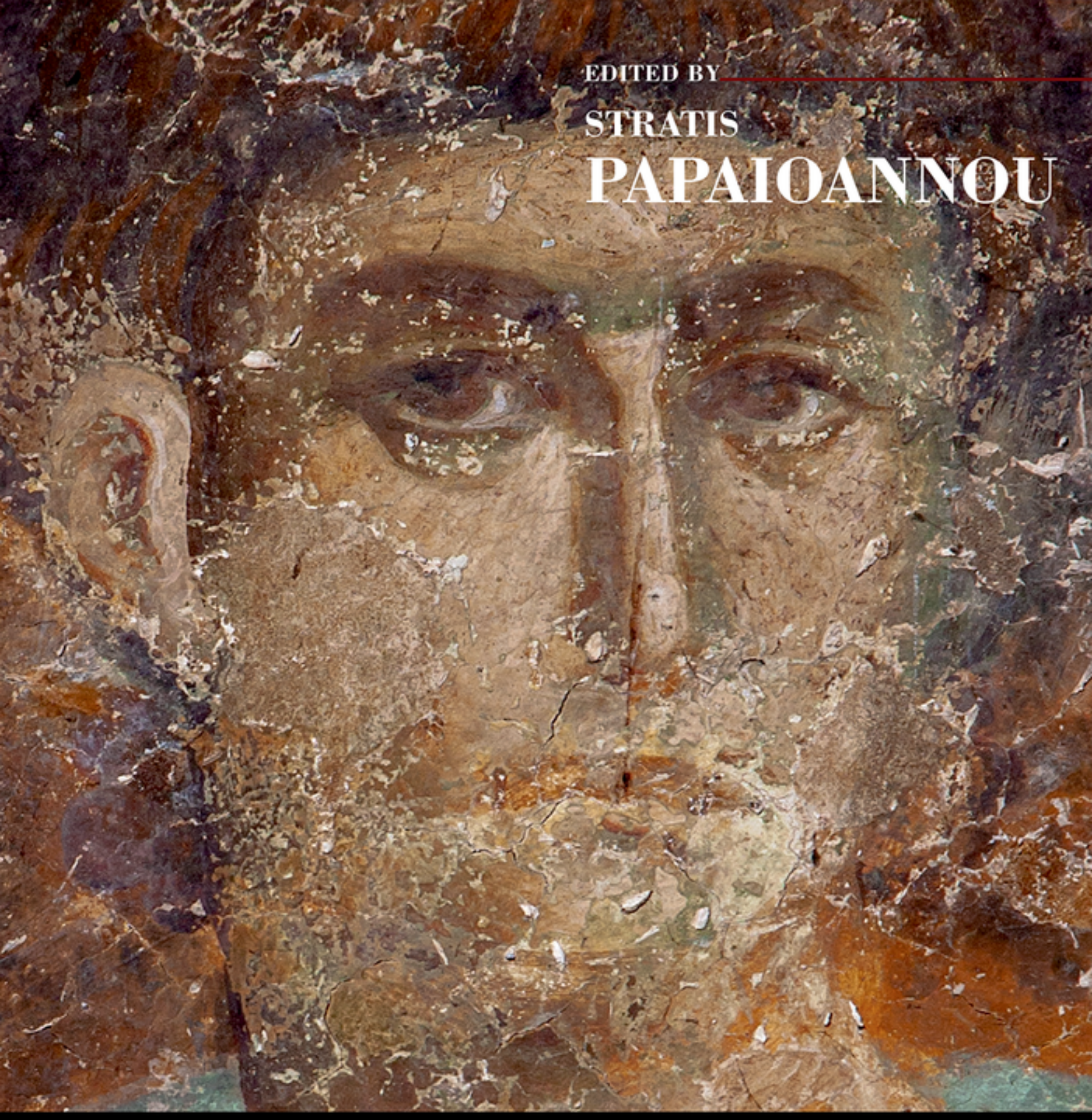

EDITED BY

STRATIS

PAPAIOANNOU

The Oxford Handbook *of* BYZANTINE LITERATURE

THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF

BYZANTINE LITERATURE

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BYZANTINE LITERATURE

Edited by

STRATIS PAPAIOANNOU

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Stratis Papaioannou
Athens, January 2021

As this volume was on its way to the press, we learned the sad news of Wolfram Hörandner's passing (27.1.2021). Αἰωνία εἴη ἡ μνήμη of our beloved teacher!

Abbreviations

BHG	Halkin, F., *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca*, with an *Auctarium* and a *Novum Auctarium*, 5 vols. Brussels 1957–1984.
BHL	Socii Bollandiani, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*, 2 vols. Brussels 1898–1901.
BHO	Peeters, P., *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis*. Brussels 1910.
CPG	Geerard, M., *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, 6 vols. Turnhout 1974–1998; vol. 5, eds. M. Geerard and F. Glorie; and vol. 6, eds. M. Geerard and J. Noret.
DBBE	Demoen, K., et al., *Database of Byzantine Book Epigrams*: http://www.dbbe.ugent.be
IHEG	Follieri, E., *Initia Hymnorum Ecclesiae Graecae*, 5 vols. Rome 1960–1966.
LBG	Trapp, E., et al. (eds.) *Lexikon zur Byzantinischen Gräzität besonders des 9.–12. Jahrhunderts*. Vienna 1994–2017; also available online at: http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/lbg
PG	Migne, J.-P. (ed.), *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Graeca*, 161 vols. Paris 1857–1866.
PLP	Trapp, E., et al., *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*. Vienna 1976–1996.
PmbZ	Lilie, R.-J., et al., *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit. Abt. 1 (641–867)* and *Abt. 2 (867–1025)*. Berlin 1998–2013.
RGK	Gamillscheg, E., D. Harlfinger, and H. Hunger, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800–1600*, 3 vols., Vienna 1981–1997.

CHAPTER 1

WHAT IS BYZANTINE LITERATURE?

An Introduction

STRATIS PAPAIOANNOU

The question posed in the title may be read as a query for two related, but distinct definitions: what "Byzantine literature" might be, and also how "Byzantine literature" is understood in the present *Handbook*. The latter definition is easier to present concisely, dictated as it is by practical considerations: the title's "Byzantine literature" is a shorthand for "literature in Greek, during the Byzantine period." With it, two conventions are invoked. The first concerns the usage of the word "literature" that, for a modern audience, signifies written works of verbal art, which are assumed to have some "value" (aesthetic or cultural, at the very least). The second convention pertains to the term "Byzantine" as denoting a chronological period defined by the continuous existence of what we usually call "Byzantium": the predominantly Greek-speaking and largely Christian Eastern Roman Empire, centered in Constantinople, from this capital's inauguration by Constantine the Great in the fourth century (330 CE) to its capture by the Ottomans in the fifteenth (1453 CE).

Conventions offer solutions, but always also come with complications, sometimes serious ones. This introductory chapter attempts to sketch out the complexity of both of our conventions, while introducing the volume at hand and the choices behind its makeup. Along the way, we shall also raise a series of issues regarding the first, more intricate definition, the one that pertains to the nature of that protean creature we call "Byzantine literature."

Byzantine

There are some advantages in using the term "Byzantine" in order to denote merely a chronological period and in choosing to focus on a single language, as we propose to do here. Handbooks must start and end *somewhere*, and 330 and 1453, with their immediate recognizability in the political history of the eastern Mediterranean world, offer sensible (as any) boundaries for our survey. Stretching the examination from the fourth to the fifteenth century allows us, additionally, to reunite in perspective a literary tradition that has gained, but equally has lost in understanding and appreciation by having its bookends often subsumed under treatments of Modern Greek literature, in regard to its so-called vernacular production and with respect to the late period (see, e.g., Knös 1962; Kechagioglou 2009), and the so-called late antique literature, as far the early Byzantine Greek literary tradition is concerned (e.g., Saïd, Trédé, and Le Boulluec 2010; McGill and Watts 2018).

Similarly, looking only at literature produced in Greek in this period is legitimized by the fact that while Greek was not, as we shall see, the only "Byzantine" language, and thus literature written in Greek does not equal *all* the discourse produced and consumed in Byzantium, the overwhelming majority of texts that survive from the Byzantine world (however generously conceived, in its various phases and transmutations), are indeed in Greek—ἑλληνιστί, ἑλλάδι φωνῇ, or ἑλλάδι γλώττῃ as a Greek-speaking Byzantine might have said.[1] After all, though by no means a closed system, neither ideologically nor simply formally (i.e., in terms of grammar, syntax, or vocabulary), a language nevertheless defines a spoken and textual literary world, a dense mesh of forms, notions, and emotions, a particular window into human experience. As such, Byzantine *Greek* literature deserves a focused perspective.

But such a very concrete (chronological and linguistic) usage of the term "Byzantine" works only if we steer clear from invoking any kind of cultural *essence*, some set of coherent, homogeneous, and impermeable features, which we could unambiguously call "Byzantine." For the term "Byzantine," as an epithet for literature, could raise expectations among modern audiences for a literature that expressed or belonged to some kind of unified entity—for instance, a nation in the long tradition of modern national literatures as these are commonly understood. But of course "Byzantium,"[2] as any

[1] Depending on context and circumstance, especially in the middle and late Byzantine period, the term ῥωμαϊστί and related adjectives and nouns (such as ῥωμαϊκός and ῥωμαϊκά; see the relevant entries in the LBG) were also used in order to denote "Greek," whenever ῥωμαϊστί did not retain its original meaning as "Latin" (on Latin in Byzantium, see Garcea, Rosellini, and Silvano 2019).

[2] Leaving aside here all the problems associated with the term "Byzantium" itself when used to signify the Eastern (or Medieval) Roman "Empire"—another debated term—in its many transformations from the fourth into the fifteenth century. The related debates have shown, in any case, the shortcomings not only of "Byzantium" but also of many alternative designations (for the most vocal recent treatments, see Kaldellis 2015, 2019a, and 2019b).

society (modern "nations" included), was always many things at the same time; unified by shared habits, beliefs, or identities, and simultaneously multifarious, fragmented, and disjointed by personal choices and tastes, as well as divisions, changes, and evolutions of different sorts—social, ethnic, indeed religious,[3] linguistic, or, to name a rather fundamental kind, geographic. And so was—if the obvious needs to be repeated here—"Byzantine" literature, and as such it is treated in this volume.

Even in its circumscribed use as a convenient designation of a period and a language, "Byzantine" is still not freed of complications. Let us tackle these briefly here, starting with chronology.

330–1453?

As will become clear from several chapters in this volume, many crucial aspects of Byzantine literature were set in place before the fourth century and, conversely, continued well beyond the political end of the Byzantine Empire. Take language, for instance. Most of the major features of Byzantine Greek as a spoken and written language—its phonology, morphology, syntax, and vocabulary—were already in full swing by the 330s CE (see, e.g., the relevant chapters in Horrocks 2010; a comprehensive, we might note, history of *Byzantine* Greek language remains a desideratum). These major features were the result, among other things, of the fact that Greek, as the language of administration and the ruling elite of the Hellenistic kingdoms in the wake of Alexander the Great's death, became a shared as well as a privileged language[4] among varied populations in the eastern Mediterranean. It is during this period, namely the last three centuries BCE, that one of the two most important "works" (i.e., collections of several "texts") for the Byzantine literary tradition was produced: the so-called Septuagint or the "Old Testament," as it is called in Greek—the other work being the "New Testament" of the Christian Bible. At that, from a certain perspective, the most *Byzantine* (in terms of circulation and citation) of texts, namely the *Psalms* attributed to King David (Figure 1.1[5]), was composed long before "Byzantium" appeared in the course of history.

[3] For instance, while, for almost the entire period, Christianity was in Byzantium the dominant religion (whether accepted, resisted, or rejected; however fluid in its definition and its multiple manifestations; and whatever we understand "religion" to be) several phenomena or discursive agents discussed in the volume cannot be described as Christian, nor were they defined or even affected by Christianity.

[4] Or an "imperial" (Høgel 2018) or a "prestige" (Johnson 2018) language.

[5] Sinai, gr. 36 and NE gr. ΜΓ 9 (cf. Géhin and Frøyshov 2000: 172), an eighth–ninth-century CE bilingual parchment *Psalter* with the nine Odes, in Greek (in *Slanted Ogival* script) and facing Arabic in parallel columns; f. 123r: Ps. 105:12–16.

FIGURE 1.1. Sinai, Μονὴ τῆς Ἁγίας Αἰκατερίνης, gr. 36; parchment; ninth century; Greco-Arabic *Psalter* with the nine *Odes*; f. 123r: Ps. 105:12–16.

© Sinai, Μονὴ τῆς Ἁγίας Αἰκατερίνης.

Similar things can be said about seminal trends in the Greek discursive as well as book culture of the Roman period (i.e., the first three centuries CE) that continued to have a deep impact in the Byzantine period which followed it. Two such trends might be mentioned here: the further establishment of Greek also as a "sacred" language (for the

term: Bennett 2018) with the dissemination of the New Testament next to the Septuagint (e.g., Rogerson and Lieu 2006); and, at other corners of Roman literary culture, the flourishing of the so-called Second Sophistic movement, which championed a shared learned, rhetorical-cum-philosophical discourse for the Greek-speaking elites of the Roman world (e.g., Richter and Johnson 2017).

Similarly uninterrupted remained a few "Byzantine" key aspects of Greek literature, which we encounter after 1453, well into the sixteenth century, and sometimes even beyond that. This latter continuity resulted from the fact that the technologies, ideologies, and corresponding tastes that dominated western European literatures in the early modern period infiltrated Greek linguistic, discursive, and textual habits at a relatively slow pace.

Not all of these continuities or discontinuities have found sufficient students yet, nor could this *Handbook* dwell on them as much as would have been ideal.[6] They should, nevertheless, be kept in mind.

Greek?

Byzantium encompassed a diversity of populations throughout its long history, partly as a result of constantly and, in some periods, radically changing geographical boundaries of political (i.e., economic and military) control by the Byzantine state. Though the eastern Mediterranean and, especially, its urban centers formed the physical landscape for most of the authors, texts, and discursive phenomena discussed in the present volume, this territory (even the City itself, i.e., Constantinople, from 1204 to 1261, during the Latin occupation) was not always *politically* "Byzantine." Borders shifted from (a) the large expanses of the Eastern Roman Empire, including Asia Minor, Syro-Palestine, eastern North Africa, Italy, and the Balkans, from the fourth through the sixth centuries CE (a period that is consistently termed "early Byzantine" in the *Handbook*), to (b) primarily Asia Minor and the southern Balkans, and, partly, southern Italy and northern Syria from the seventh through the twelfth centuries (the "middle Byzantine" period—within it, the seventh and eighth centuries formed a crucial, transitional period), to (c) small chunks of territory in the Thracian hinterland of Constantinople, in northern Asia Minor, and in parts of mainland Greece in the last two and a half centuries (the "late Byzantine" period).[7]

Thus, while during the Byzantine millennium Greek (in its own several varieties) eventually became the native language for most of the Byzantine citizens in the

[6] In a series of recent articles, Panagiotis Agapitos (2012, 2015, 2017, 2020, and 2021) offers illuminating remarks on the problems of the traditional periodizations of the Byzantine literary history, including discussions of its "bookends."

[7] The *Handbook* does not contain any maps, but the interested reader shall find much useful related material at the website of the *Map Project: Byzantium and Its Neighbours*: https://teamweb.uni-mainz.de/fb07/maps_project/SitePages/Home.aspx.

ever-shifting and usually contracting boundaries of the Byzantine state, for several of the populations under or in direct contact with Byzantine rule, Greek was neither the native nor, even, a known language. Greek, that is, usually coexisted (at least temporally) and often interacted, in one way or another, with other (from many perspectives) *Byzantine* languages. Some of these languages survived, because of developed writing systems and bodies of literature; these literatures date either before the fourth century CE—such is the case of Latin, Syriac, and partly Coptic—or after the foundation of Constantinople and the gradual Christianization of the Roman Empire—such is the case of the *Christian* Armenian, Georgian, Slavonic, and Arabic literary traditions which were created under the direct influence of Byzantine Greek literature.[8] Other languages, which were spoken in Byzantine territory at some point during the empire's millennium (especially its early part), did not acquire writing traditions and are irrecoverable for us (such as Thracian in the southeastern Balkans, or Isaurian and Phrygian in Anatolia, all of which died out during the early Byzantine period, or the language of the late Byzantine Gypsies).[9]

In any case, there were vibrant non-Greek literary traditions within Byzantine sociopolitical territory and/or cultural domain, and there existed several "Byzantines" who spoke or wrote in languages other than Greek. To cite just two very important examples: Priscian or, better, *Priscianus*, a North African who lived and taught in Constantinople at the early decades of the sixth century, wrote his influential *Institutiones Grammaticae* in Latin (Baratin, Colombat, and Holtz 2009); and the Georgian-born but Constantinopolitan-raised Euthymios, called "the Iberian" in Greek and "the Hagiorites" in Georgian (Mtʿacʾmindeli = "of the Holy Mountain"; PmbZ 21960), another very influential and bilingual writer, who lived most of his life

[8] In the case of Coptic, Armenian, Georgian, and Slavonic, the relevant writing systems themselves evolved under the direct influence of the Byzantine Greek alphabet (cf. Codoñer 2014).

[9] Byzantine multilingualism is a phenomenon that has not been studied sufficiently; for seminal contributions, see Dagron (2012a [first published in 1969] and 2012b [first published in 1993 and 1994]), Maltezou (1993), Rochette (1997), and Oikonomidès (1999); for recent work, see Høgel (2012) or Markopoulos (2014); for a comparative perspective, Grévin (2012).

A comprehensive study of the related phenomenon of multilingual (mostly bilingual) mss. where languages, in which Greek features prominently, coexist either horizontally (on the same page: in parallel columns, or as added scholia/glosses), or vertically (namely in palimpsests with two layers written in different languages), remains also a *desideratum*.

Representative Byzantine examples (available online) of the former category:

- Sinai, gr. 36 and NE gr. MΓ 9 (cf. Figure 1.1 and n. 5);
- Paris, BNF, suppl. gr. 1232, ff. 15v–164r, an autograph by Nikolaos/Nektarios of Otranto (c. 1150–1235), with Greek text and facing Latin translation.

Examples of palimpsests:

- London, BL, Add MS 17210 (available online), ninth-century CE copy of a work by Severos of Antioch (c. 465–538) in Syriac translation, written over a sixth-century CE copy of Homer's *Iliad*;
- Athens, EBE, 637, a fourteenth-century CE copy of the liturgical book called *Paraklêtikê*, written over an earlier Armenian copy of the Old Testament.

on Mount Athos between the late 960s to 1028, the year of his death, wrote in Greek, but primarily in Georgian, his mother tongue. Conversely, there were writers who chose to compose their works in Greek, even if they never set foot on Byzantine territory, politically defined—this is the case of the also bilingual John of Damascus, Yūḥannā ibn Manṣūr ibn Ṣarjūn, or Ioannes Damaskenos as the Byzantines usually referred to him (and as he will be called in this *Handbook*; PmbZ 2969), active as writer in Palestine during the first half of the eighth century, when Palestine was already firmly under Arab rule.

This volume reviews the literature of some of the other *Byzantine* languages, but only from the perspective of Greek. We shall look, that is, either (a) at how much these literatures were, for Byzantine Greek, the source of imported storytelling material or literary forms or (b) what these literatures can tell us—to the extent that they preserve Greek texts in translation—about the reception of Byzantine Greek literature, its literary canons, and its popular or appealing texts. For we cannot understand or appreciate the Byzantine Greek literary tradition without either the multilingually mediated stock of storytelling and literary forms which enriched it, or without exploring its many refractions through translation; translators and the audiences they addressed were part of the wider nexus of late antique and medieval readers and listeners of Byzantine Greek literature.

Literature

Thus far I have been referring to "literature," "discourse," "texts," "literary tradition," etc. Is it possible to give some flesh and blood to these abstractions? Partly yes, and partly no. Statistics—which we may glean from the available literary evidence, as this is mediated through editions, databases, surveys, and encyclopedias—may help quantify what has been preserved.

In its current form, for instance, the electronic database *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (the TLG[10]) lists as dated or possibly dated between the fourth and the fifteenth century c. 6,245 Greek "works," available in printed editions, regardless of content, form, or size. Some works are lengthy narratives, others short poems; other works (indeed the largest percentage of the TLG) are in fact collections of types of texts, such as letters, epigrams, speeches, etc.; thus, if we were counting single textual units, the preceding number must by multiplied several times.[11]

[10] The most important database for anyone working on Greek literature, a project directed by Maria Pantelia (UC Irvine) and available at http://www.tlg.uci.edu/.

[11] For instance, a recent survey of texts attributed (authentically or pseudepigraphically) to a single (though prolific) author, Michael Psellos (Constantinople, 1018–1078), where a stricter definition for each textual unit is applied, contains 1,263 entries (Moore 2005).

We may supplement the count by a variety of other databases of Greek texts from the Byzantine period—though we should keep in mind that much material overlaps, and different databases use different criteria as to what constitutes a single, unique text:

- Modern inventories of hagiographical texts (*Passions, Lives, Encomia*, *Beneficial Tales,* etc.), patristic texts (*Homilies, treatises, commentaries,* etc.), letters, non-liturgical poems, and liturgical hymns contain:
  c. 5,500 hagiographies (many of these are variations and rewritings; BHG),
  over 6,200 patristic works (CPG, covering the period from the fourth through the eighth centuries)
  15,480 letters (Grünbart 2001),
  nearly 20,000 poems (Vassis 2005 and 2011),
  and over 60,000 hymns (IHEG);
  we might note that many of the poems and the letters and the majority of the hagiographies and the hymns are not yet of the current TLG.
- Recent editions and databases (in progress) of literary inscriptions, also not included in the TLG, add more numbers—treating each inscription, which is usually a short poem, as an individual text. These literary inscriptions or "epigrams," it should be added, are epigraphic texts in metrical form and date mostly from the middle and the late Byzantine period:
  c. 1,400 verse inscriptions, preserved *in situ*, from *c*. 600 to 1500 CE (Rhoby 2009, 2010, 2014, and 2018; the last volume is dedicated to "book epigrams"),
  2,968 epigrams on seals, dated from *c*. 800 to the fourteenth century (Wassiliou-Seibt 2011–2016; arranged alphabetically, and completed up to letter Σ),
  and over 4,700 "book epigrams"[12] (DBBE), without considering their many variations.
- And, to give another perspective, the nineteenth-century series *Patrologia Graeca*, which includes primarily Byzantine texts, but by no means represents all Byzantine texts available in print, numbers 161 volumes, of an average 800 pages each.[13]

These statistics (whatever their many shortcomings) give perhaps some sense of the massive corpus of texts preserved from the eleven hundred years of Byzantine history.[14]

But as soon as we begin to form some picture of the immensity of the material at hand, we realize that such numbers tell only part of the story. For just as we do not have a precise tally for the amount of Greek texts preserved from Byzantium, so also we cannot give even a rough estimate of how many such texts have *not* been preserved. Here, another set of figures may throw some light on our predicament.

[12] Defined as "poems in and on books: they have as subject the very manuscript in which they are found, elaborating on its production, contents and use" (from the project's website: https://www.dbbe.ugent.be).

[13] For a list of editions (through 2016) of middle and late Byzantine texts, see the LBG site, hosted by the TLG at: http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/lbg/lbg_abbreviations.html. For all Byzantine authors (writing in Greek) and anonymous Greek texts and books, mentioned in this *Handbook*, see the Index at the end of the volume.

[14] For modern translations of Byzantine texts, cf. the relevant Princeton project run by David Jenkins, at https://library.princeton.edu/byzantine/.

More than 70,000(?) manuscript books containing Greek texts have been preserved, a large number of which (about a half?) dating before the sixteenth century. The number may seem large, but it acquires its true proportions, which are defined more by the *loss* of manuscripts, rather than by their preservation, if compared with the surviving manuscripts of comparable in production and consumption medieval literary cultures, namely the over 300,000 surviving manuscripts written in Latin, or the medieval Arabic books that may number to a million.[15] Moreover, Greek manuscript books (scrolls or codices) that date between the 330s and the 750s are preserved mostly in papyrus and parchment fragments and in palimpsests; the number of Greek codices, whose pages have not suffered significant loss, and date to this period is very small: perhaps less than 50 books.[16] This means that the Greek book culture of the early Byzantine period—a time during which Byzantium was at its highest, in terms of demography and economy—is the most difficult to reconstruct in material terms.[17]

Similarly, the loss of paper codices and many parchment books from the middle Byzantine period must also be quite large, not to mention texts written down only on loose papers, but never making it to a book, or discourses, stories, and songs, which were never written down at all. Last but not least, whatever manuscripts have been preserved tend to favor liturgical and, to a lesser extent, school texts, both filtered primarily (since the libraries of Byzantine churches or schools have by and large *not* been preserved) through the choices and preferences that underlie the surviving Byzantine library collections, namely those of monasteries and, to a lesser extent, aristocratic households (themselves usually preserved *in* monastic collections).

The bottom line: (a) lost books (and, we might add, lost inscriptions), and at that lost texts and discourses, are overwhelmingly more than those which have been preserved; and (b) whatever has been preserved represents (if not chance and accident) the choices of later readers and trends in later phases in the history of Greek books (and Greek inscriptions), often separated by centuries from the original creation of a text. If we add to all this the fact that many (again, precise estimates are unavailable) Byzantine texts have never been edited in a printed form,[18] or have been edited in a poor fashion, without consultation of all the available witnesses, or have been printed with problematic interventions by modern editorial habits, we are staggered by the bewildering obstacles that face a student of Byzantine Greek literature.

[15] For a survey of the Latin book culture, see Bischoff (1990); for medieval Arabic books, see Sagaria Rossi (2015).

[16] The Leuven Database of Ancient Books (LDAB: at http://www.trismegistos.org/ldab/search.php) lists *c.* 1,700 items (mostly fragments of books), which date from *c.* 300 to *c.* 800 as containing "literary" texts.

[17] The Italian *Codices Graeci Antiquiores* project aims to provide a census of Greek books, dating before the year 800: https://sites.google.com/site/codicesgraeciantiquiores/home. For books written in Latin during the same period, see https://elmss.nuigalway.ie/ (ELMSS).

[18] Here belong not only obscure works, but even some "best-sellers" in Byzantium, such e.g. texts from the *Mênologion* of Symeon Metaphrastes. *À propos* (to mention here another such fundamental work), for the text of the New Testament, as was read by most Byzantines, i.e. in the so-called common or Byzantine version (cf. Aland and Aland 1989: 128–142 and 229–230; also Wachtel 1995 and further Parpulov 2012), see e.g. Robinson and Pierpont (2005) or Mullen et al. (2007).

Let us take the challenge, however—and in a sense the present *Handbook* is just that, the acceptance of a challenge—and try to cope with what we have, and throw at the material quantitatively and superficially traced in the preceding paragraphs the crucial question, which we have not yet raised: how many of the preserved Byzantine Greek texts may count as "literature"?

Another set of problems turn to face us. Students of any premodern society (and Byzantium is no exception) quickly realize the absence of a clearly defined field that coincides with what we commonly understand as "literature" today, namely those types of discourse (primarily fiction and poetry) which are marked by aesthetic autonomy and originality, are the product of creativity and imagination (and, in earlier thought, "national character"), and whose primary aim is entertainment or the inculcation of cultural values. It is of course true that one will find in Byzantium such types of discourse or *λόγος/λόγοι* (to use the most important Greek terms in this regard); and one could also find in Byzantine theory of *logoi* attempts to assign some forms (such as the earlier, Homeric poetry, for instance) to a distinct domain that looks quite similar to the modern field of literature. Nevertheless, these types and notions of *logos* are only a relatively small part of the larger discursive, textual, and book culture during the Byzantine period (see further Papaioannou 2021: 24–28 and 42–55).

Interested in this larger culture, this *Handbook* adopts a flexible and open definition of Byzantine "literature," without insisting on any of the usual binary distinctions that might be (or have been) imposed upon it: such as "written (i.e., depending on *literacy*)" and "oral," "high" and "low," "secular" and "religious," "pagan" and "Christian," "original" and (somehow) "derivative"—namely "imitative" or "*mimetic*" (operating under *μίμησις*, another key Greek term)—, "entertaining" and "didactic," etc. Rather, we propose to treat "literature" as an anthropological constant with specific instantiations throughout human history. The desire (a) to restructure reality and make sense of human experience through storytelling, (b) to perform oneself and one another through language, and (c) to indulge in discursive play and form, often in combination with music or the visual arts, is (I would like to argue and offer a working definition of literature here) *universal*. What one society, group, or individual—in our case, the human agents that lie behind the Greek texts that have been preserved—may regard as proper, potent, or appealing storytelling, linguistic performance, and discursive play, and (in textual cultures) what textual forms might convey these narratives, performances, and plays *vary*.[19] Concisely put, the Byzantine varieties of literature, as mediated through the surviving texts, is what concern us here.

[19] The bibliography on the question of "literature" is immense; for two brief introductions (restricting ourselves in works first published in English), see Eagleton (2008) and Culler (2011).

The *Handbook*

The chapters that follow offer cross sections on Byzantine discursive, textual, and writing culture, bringing to light different parts of the puzzle of Byzantine literature. At that, this *Handbook* is not meant to be comprehensive as, comparably, only a small fraction of the Byzantine texts mentioned earlier (or, for that matter, studies devoted to these texts) will be cited or examined. Instead, this *Handbook* assembles a series of perspectives, surveys of key problems, and basic research tools, which can accompany as well as invite readers of Byzantine Greek texts as literature.[20]

The volume is structured in four parts. Part I, "Materials, Norms, Codes," presents a series of matrices or, as it were, prerequisites for literary creation in Byzantium, material and (mainly) conceptual conditions that circumscribed literary production and consumption:

- the main "matter" of literature, namely language, and the main means of its material preservation and circulation, namely books (for inscriptions, see below);
- normative perspectives on *logos* and *logoi*, namely emic or "native" understandings of literature, as evident in Byzantine theoretical approaches, with a separate chapter devoted on one main type of such approaches, Byzantine commentaries on the Bible, Byzantium's most important corpus of texts (also, we might note, as *literature*, in the understanding presented above);
- and, finally, systems of textual memory, whether from within the history of Byzantine Greek, or from without—such as classical Greek literature and ancient myth, as well as storytelling and literary forms translated into Greek during the Byzantine period—systems that offered the Byzantine producers and recipients of literature a means of releasing, coding, and decoding literary meaning.

The second, more extensive part, titled "Forms," deals with different aspects of the *how* of literary discourse, a series of partly overlapping masks that literature took on in Byzantium:

- as oral discourse and as "text";
- as storytelling;
- as rhetoric (i.e., as learned style)—the main essay is accompanied by two additional chapters on (respectively) rhetorical figures and an example of a rhetorical "genre," the *invective*; the former examines an understudied "technical" area of Byzantine rhetorical practice, while the latter showcases rhetoric in action by looking at the refractions of a school exercise in a series of texts;

[20] For comparable works, cf. Cavallo (2004) on Byzantine literature, and Hexter and Townsend (2012) on medieval Latin literature.

- as rewriting in the various forms of stylistic revision, abridgement, or expansion of texts, a common practice in Byzantium;
- as verse—in three chapters which probe the notion of "poetry," explore the so-called *epigraphic habit*, and review metrics (including, however, the related practice of *prose* rhythm);
- and as song—including a related chapter on types of musical notation developed in Byzantium for the recitation of biblical readings and the chanting of hymns.

Part III, "Agents," a couplet of essays, focuses on the "who" of Byzantine literature, its "creators," namely *both* the producers *and* the recipients of discourse. The perspective is not so much that of social history (though this is introduced as well), as what we might call the "phenomenology" of literature, namely the understanding of the literary function of speakers/writers and listeners/readers as this emerges from the Byzantine literary culture itself.

Part IV, titled "Translation, Transmission, Edition," surveys the three main ways by which we can access Byzantine Greek literature today: through its translations into other languages during Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, through Byzantine and post-Byzantine manuscripts, and through modern, printed editions. And a final, concluding essay offers a view of the recent past and the likely future of Byzantine literary studies by a scholar who has championed Byzantine literature at various fronts for decades.

There are overlaps and, of course, some dissonance among the various chapters, which were conceived both as independent studies and as parts of a whole. Byzantine theoretical approaches to literature emerge, for instance, not only in Part I, but also in the parts of "Forms" and "Agents." Similarly, the various sections on translations from and into Greek may be read, in their majority, as couplets for each specific language, rather than divided in two separate chapters as they are in this *Handbook*.[21] Also, not all chapters sustain the full Byzantine millennium in chronological perspective—specific subjects can be vast or largely unexplored, and could be treated more productively if limited chronologically.

There are absences, too. For instance, not all medieval languages in which translations of Byzantine Greek texts exist have been included, but only those with major such traditions of translation.[22] There are also no chapters devoted to the reception of Byzantine literature *after* Byzantium, namely its transmission and dissemination in manuscripts and printed books after the mid-fifteenth century, its presence in later conceptualizations of literary history, and its instrumentalization in modern ideologies, cultures, and literatures—this reception of Byzantine literature is a vast field which remains greatly understudied, making an overview impossible for the present volume.[23]

[21] For translations into Greek, one may consult also A. Kaldellis, *Catalogue of Translations into Byzantine Greek*, published on www.academia.edu; cf. also the recent Athanasopoulos 2021.

[22] There are thus no chapters on Ethiopic (Bausi 2014 and 2018), Caucasian Albanian (Gippert 2015), and Christian Palestinian Aramaic (Desreumaux 2015 and Brock 2018).

[23] For relevant bibliography, see Papaioannou (2015).

Along the same lines, a chapter on Byzantine literature as transmitted and mediated through the visual arts in Byzantium (another broad field) would have added much to Part IV of the volume.

Similarly—and these choices were more intended, than necessitated—there are no separate chapters devoted either to matters of social and cultural history as they pertain to Byzantine literature (e.g., the issue of patronage; the tensions between the center and the periphery of the Byzantine world; questions of gender, identity, subjectivity, etc.) or to modern hermeneutical models (from psychoanalysis to ecocriticism) and their likely application on Byzantine texts.[24] Not only could such topics be extended *ad infinitum*, but also the concern of this *Handbook* has been to circumscribe primarily a series of questions that Byzantine texts themselves raise if we attempt to read them as literature, rather than to trace the limitless dynamics of Byzantine literature either as a source for Byzantine society and culture or as ground for activating modern interpretative methods.

Absences in the literary perspective remain. Conspicuous is the lack of any historical overview of the eleven hundred years of Byzantine Greek literature; the task is too demanding and complex to fit in this volume, and I hope to return to it in the future. Equally conspicuous is the downplay of the use of "genre" as an overarching structuring principle for organizing Byzantine literature, a principle that has dominated the field of Byzantine literary studies, especially after the works of Hans Georg Beck (1959 and 1971 = 1988) and Herbert Hunger (1978 = 1991–1992–1994). "Genre" is admittedly a major meaning-producing structure within the Byzantine textual tradition (as is evident, at the very least, in Byzantine rhetorical manuals and in the titles of Byzantine texts; see further Mullett 1992), but has been treated in this volume as a category that can be incorporated within other, larger framing questions. After all, the earlier handbooks of Beck and Hunger, as well as many recent and forthcoming volumes focused on various genres, have exhausted the approach and it would be neither reasonable nor possible to rehearse their work here (for an overview and references, see Mullett, "Postscript" in this volume, which, with its survey of literary studies on Byzantium, should be also read as Suggestions for Further Reading for this introduction)[25]. More importantly, when raised to *the* dominant principle, "genre" can become an obscuring notion, especially when fluctuating Byzantine categorizations and types of text are jumbled together with modern generic criteria—for instance, all the Byzantine texts covered often by the modern signifier "hagiography" hardly belong to a unifying "genre"[26] (a reworking of the monumental and still indispensable work by Albert Ehrhardt [1937, 1938, 1939,

[24] There exist a series of general introductions into modern hermeneutics, addressed or applied to classical, Greco-Roman texts, that may be of interest to Byzantinists as well: e.g., Rabinowitz and Richlin (1993); de Jong and Sullivan (1994); Heath (2002); Whitmarsh (2004); Schmitz (2007); see also Konstan (2006).

[25] For recent work on late antique (including early Byzantine Greek) literature, with an emphasis on various "genres," see the relevant chapters in McGill and Watts (2018); cf. also Greatrex and Elton (2015).

[26] Cf. Hinterberger (2014).

and 1952] would, in this respect, greatly facilitate an emic understanding of Byzantine "hagiography"), and similarly problematic inclusions or exclusions can be spotted throughout modern identifiers of Byzantine genres. However this might be, this volume has opted for the emergence of a multiplicity of Byzantine concepts and practices of genre from the studies that follow.

But *what is Byzantine literature*? The question returns, but in proper Byzantine aporetic fashion will here be left hanging. For, if anything else, the purpose of the volume at hand is to provide readers with means to further ponder over the question mark of this initial inquiry.

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PART I

MATERIALS, NORMS, CODES

CHAPTER 2

LANGUAGE

MARTIN HINTERBERGER

It should be made clear from the outset that the aim of this chapter is rather moderate: it will be restricted to observations on language in the narrow sense of what we call "linguistic aspects" and will not deal with style in general. However, the choice of words or specific linguistic forms also constitutes a *stylistic* choice; and style is a complex concept that includes (particularly as far as Byzantine Greek texts are concerned) not only purely linguistic features, but also rhetorical figures, allusions to other texts, narrative technique, etc. In contrast to this broad meaning, we shall discuss style only insofar as it was affected by purely linguistic considerations, especially linguistic forms whose appearance in a specific text was the result of the author's deliberate choice, rather than linguistic necessity. Furthermore, in order to evaluate Byzantine style (see, e.g., Kazhdan 1999: 161–165; generally, Verdonk 2002), I believe that it is essential to first obtain a fairly good idea of what the natural spoken language and the non-elaborated simple written discourse looked like. Considering that the *Cambridge Grammar of Medieval and Early Modern Greek* has only recently appeared (Holton et al. 2019) and that a comprehensive linguistic description of written Byzantine Greek (in all its multifarious variants) remains one of the desiderata of Byzantine literary studies (Bompaire 1960; Wahlgren 2002; Rollo 2008: 450), what we can offer here are observations and thoughts that will hopefully arouse the reader's curiosity for and sensitivity to the fascinating world of Byzantine Greek and the plethora of its still unsolved questions.[1]

[1] The related topic of the interaction of Byzantine Greek with other contemporary languages is a fascinating and little-studied field that would require separate treatment; cf. Papaioannou, Chapter 1, "What Is Byzantine Literature?," and, for translations of Byzantine Greek texts into contemporary languages and vice versa, see the relevant chapters in this volume.

Wissenschaftsgeschichte

The language of Byzantine Greek literature is a largely underdeveloped field for at least two reasons (cf. Wahlgren 2010). Linguistics, even historical linguistics, is primarily interested in natural (spoken) languages, which cannot be sufficiently accessed through written texts. Traditionally, therefore, linguistic research has focused on a very small selection of Byzantine texts which supposedly provide some approximate insight into the spoken language, whereas most so-called learned texts, especially high-style rhetorical texts, have been almost totally neglected in this respect. On the other hand, philologists and literary historians have traditionally treated Byzantine literature as the (rather corrupted) continuation of ancient Greek literature and have investigated the language of Byzantine literature according to principles based on classical Greek. This means that most (older, but even recent) investigations of the language of a specific Byzantine text constitute lists of deviations from the "classical" ideal. Although the collected data are particularly useful, they give off the mistaken impression that Byzantine Greek was a defective language and that it was written by linguistically incompetent authors (and this went on for more than a millennium). Only recently have scholars begun to treat Byzantine Greek as a linguistic variety in its own right (Geoffrey Horrocks's work is particularly important in this respect).

The Educational System and the "Classical" Tradition

The language of Byzantine literature is a written variety of medieval Greek (called "Byzantine Greek" because its production is inextricably linked to Byzantine civilization). During the Byzantine period, education centered on "classical" Greek, which was taught primarily through Hellenistic and imperial Roman textbooks as well as through the close reading of classical texts (cf. Cuomo and Trapp 2017; Rollo and Zorzi 2019). Therefore all written forms of medieval Greek were based on schooling in classical Greek. The language of Byzantine discursive culture was the result of the interplay between older written forms of the language, learned in school or privately, and spoken Greek, unfolding in innumerable variants between these two poles (this interaction of contemporary and traditional language is in itself a fascinating literary phenomenon). Prose used for the production of (at least according to the Byzantine understanding) non-literary works was cast in a language that reflected, in varying degrees, the spoken language in its syntax, vocabulary, and overall structure, but usually obeyed the morphological rules of ancient Greek (commonly referred to as the "literary koine"). The language of literature ("high-register Greek") was influenced by the classical tradition to a much greater

degree. The affiliation with this tradition was demonstrated through the "hellenization" or "classicization" of language (ἐξελληνίζειν τὴν γλῶτταν), for instance by the use of recherché vocabulary (attested in ancient texts or created according to ancient word-formation patterns) and morphology, which was remote from the living language, but attested in ancient writings, usually incorporating grammatical categories which had vanished from the spoken language. Recent studies, however, have demonstrated that even in seemingly atticizing/classical high register Greek the syntax reflected the contemporary living spoken language and obeyed its rules (Horrocks 2014, 2017). Various "Byzantinisms" become intelligible when we take into consideration that they reflected contemporary linguistic practice. In Geoffrey Horrocks's words: "many phenomena traditionally interpreted in terms of a simple dichotomy between 'artificial/written/(pseudo-)ancient' Greek and 'natural/spoken/contemporary' Greek may be understood more profitably as involving genre-conditioned variation in the realization of grammatical categories that characterize not only the medieval vernacular but also constitute the basis for a more or less common grammar of Medieval Greek in all its different manifestations" (Horrocks 2014: 51). This means that the recently published *Cambridge Grammar of Medieval and Early Modern Greek* (Holton et al. 2019), by focusing on the description of the living spoken language, will prove an indispensable tool for understanding the so-called learned language as well.

What Should We Call the Different Forms (Registers) of the Literary Language?

The Byzantines themselves distinguished between an elaborated and refined literary language (ἑλληνικά, ἑλληνὶς διάλεκτος, ἀτθίς, ἀττικῶς) and a simpler, non-literary form of written discourse (κοινή/κοινῶς, ἰδιῶτις/ἰδιωτικῶς). These they contrasted in order either to emphasize the high linguistic quality of their own texts (e.g., Anna Komnene) or in order to apologize for not living up to established linguistic standards (e.g., Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, Kekaumenos). In the latter case, the authors' declared aim was not to produce "literature," but simply to provide useful information in a clear and readily intelligible way. According to the concept of literature in learned Byzantine discourse, the linguistic form was an essential criterion for literariness, even if we as modern readers detect (sometimes considerable) literary merits in "low level" texts (especially in the realm of hagiography and poetry).

It is characteristic for this division into two registers of the written language that transpositions, the so-called μεταφράσεις, from one form to the other were made (Efthymiadis, "Rewriting," Chapter 14 in this volume). Transpositions from the simple, non-literary level to the literary one were achieved, from a linguistic point of view,

through the addition of those linguistic elements which at a certain point of time were regarded characteristic of the literary, classicized language, whereas texts written in a highly literary language were "de-classicized" by removing or replacing those same elements (Browning 1992: 29; Hinterberger 2014c).

In modern studies, the language of Byzantine texts is usually characterized by one of the following terms: attic/atticizing, classical/classicizing, learned, *Hochsprache*, literary koine (*Schriftkoine*), vernacular or vulgar (cf. Hult 1990: 22–23). As has been shown in various studies, what the Byzantines called ἀττικὴ γλῶσσα, ἀτθίς, ἀττικῶς almost never agrees with our notion of "attic" or "atticistic," as established on the grounds of ancient Greek literature (Böhlig 1957; Wirth 1976: 4–6 and 2000: 9*; Rollo 2008: 437; Koder 2012: 14–16). The same is true for "classical" (Browning 1978). These terms therefore should be avoided. When the Byzantines referred to ἀτθίς, ἀττικῶς, or ἑλληνικά, ἑλληνὶς διάλεκτος, they meant the whole range of classical and post-classical literature, poetry as well as prose, often including Byzantine literature that was written in a refined language. Therefore, their classicism, in the sense of their high esteem for and imitation of idealized model texts, was a conceptual classicism (Browning 1978: 107). I believe that "classicizing," or rather "classicized" (which is closer to the Byzantine way of expressing the relationship), is a useful label for the literary language deeply influenced by ancient Greek model texts.

The language of those texts which, though obeying traditional morphology, avoided elements that were alien to the spoken language has been appropriately labeled "literary koine" or *Schriftkoine* (Hunger 1978b, 1981, Hunger and Ševčenko 1988). "Learned language" or *Hochsprache* refers to any form of written language which was based on schooling and in terms of morphology obeyed textbook rules (it thus included both classicized and the "usual" written language/literary koine/*Schriftkoine*). By contrast, the term "vernacular" is used, confusingly enough, for both the *spoken* language and the *literary* language of "vernacular texts" that are based overwhelmingly (also in terms of morphology) on the spoken language. It has to be emphasized that the vernacular as a literary language cannot be equated with the spoken language; it was a highly artistic, partly artificial language (especially concerning its vocabulary; cf. Beaton 1996: 95 and Hinterberger 2019: 48–49). In order to avoid misunderstandings, one should reserve the term "vernacular" for the literary language and use "spoken" (or "demotic") simply in contrast to "written" language (see Hinterberger 2006). Because of its negative connotations, the term "vulgar" should be avoided.[2]

The linguistic register or form of a specific Byzantine text was determined by various factors: the author's education and linguistic skills, the audience's competences and expectations, and, of particular importance, the genre and literary trends of the time. Concerning linguistic "behavior," traditional genres inherited from antiquity differed

[2] Ševčenko (1981) proposed a tripartite division of "levels of style," comprising low, middle, and high style. However appealing Ševčenko's learned and insightful study is, we must bear in mind that although it refers to linguistic features, it deals primarily with style and relies almost exclusively on an (otherwise inspiring) analysis of hagiographical texts.

strongly from new genres. Historiography, traditional rhetoric, and epistolography had been firmly established genres since antiquity, and Byzantine practitioners demonstrated their adherence to the tradition *inter alia* through the use of a highly classicized language. Therefore historiography did not exhibit a strong stylistic/linguistic fluctuation (though twelfth-century historiography was decidedly more classicized than its tenth-century counterpart), whereas the hagiographical *bios*, created in the fourth century, varied stylistically from an extremely high style to very simple, low style, according to the author's skills, the audience's abilities, etc. However, the general classicizing trend from the eighth century onward affected also new genres. Thus the hymnographical format of the rather popular *kontakion* was gradually superseded by the *kanôn*, which was often imbued with traditional erudition and classicized language (especially in the hymns composed by Ioannes Damaskenos and Kosmas Melodos) (see Papaioannou, "Sacred Song," Chapter 18 in this volume). A similar contrast can be observed between the chronicles composed by Ioannes Malalas, Theophanes Confessor, Symeon *Magistros*, and Ioannes Zonaras: in the course of time, popular elements were gradually abandoned, whereas classicizing elements were increasingly incorporated (Hinterberger forthcoming). This development culminated in the highly "literaricized" and mildly classicized language of Konstantinos Manasses's *Synopsis Chronikê*.

The language of literature constantly changed: it interacted with the living spoken language, was affected by literary fashions, and sometimes responded to general cultural and political developments. As the atticistic movement of the Second Sophistic reflected an often unreserved Greek nationalism (Horrocks 2001: 458), so the extreme classicism of the second half of the thirteenth and the early fourteenth centuries can be said to have reflected a Byzantine movement "back to the glorious roots" of unrivaled (cultural) supremacy.

In order to avoid misunderstandings, it has to be emphatically stressed that classicizing authors were profoundly influenced and inspired by their cherished literary heritage. But they did not slavishly imitate it: "Anna [Komnene] clearly no more intended to 'copy' the style of the ancients than did Psellos; this was after all, *the* 'living' literary language of educated Byzantines, and writers were free to exploit the full range of traditional resources in their compositions" (Horrocks 1997: 177).

Literary, Written, and Spoken Language; Official Language; Diglossia

Examples of the everyday spoken language appear quite often in otherwise learned texts (Trapp 1993). Many learned authors clearly differentiated between narrative and direct discourse: in the latter passages, simple language was used and syntactic features or vocabulary of the spoken language were more frequent than in the rest of the text (where they may

have been totally absent). Occasionally, authors undertook efforts to render the presentation of the spoken word authentically, using morphological (and phonological) features of the spoken language (e.g., Symeon the New Theologian's *Katêchêseis* [Hinterberger 2006] or songs quoted in Anna Komnene [e.g., Anna Komnene, *Alexiad* II 4.9 (7–8)]). Following Roderick Beaton (1990), I believe that in the *Ptochoprodromic Poems* the decidedly "vernacular" passages can be interpreted as intended to represent "another voice," clearly distinguishable from the rest of the text. This "popular voice" was a constituent of the narrator's persona: in the opening, mildly learned sections, it was Theodoros Prodromos who was speaking, whereas in the following sections the author impersonated (through *êthopoiia*) the unlucky husband (while also impersonating his cruel wife—an *êthopoiia* embedded in another) and the failed scholar or the monk, using each time (almost) everyday language. In the "vernacular" parts of the *Ptochoprodromika* the language used was not so much the medium, but rather a substantial part of the literary presentation of the everyday language, which in itself was the subject and aim of these poems.

As to the question of whether Theodoros Prodromos, the renowned poet of learned verses to whom the *Ptochoprodromika* are ascribed, was indeed capable of writing these satirical poems, the issue seems to have been definitively resolved. As Panagiotis Agapitos (2015) has recently demonstrated, Theodoros Prodromos had used quite a lot of demotic features already in his schedographic work, mixing them with learned elements; also he used the demotic language in order to make the learned language more accessible.

Only from the late thirteenth century onward were literary texts regularly composed in a language (what we might call the "vernacular") that in morphology as well was based primarily on the spoken language (particularly the so-called romances of love, etc.). This does not mean that the learned and the spoken languages were strictly separated with no contact at all (cf. Trapp 1993; Hinterberger 2019: 55–59) or that Byzantium had a diglossic linguistic situation (like modern nineteenth- and twentieth-century Greece; on diglossia in Byzantium, see particularly Toufexis 2008).

Until the late Byzantine period, a language remote from the spoken language (though not totally alien to it) was the linguistic medium of choice for literature. Whatever the gap between the classicized and the spoken language, there always existed numerous essential linguistic features which both varieties had in common (e.g., most nominal forms, especially the accusative, the aorist stem, certain present stems, most active verbal endings, a substantial part of the lexicon, which had not changed much since antiquity). Therefore I believe that Michael Psellos's claim that Symeon Metaphrastes (cf. Figures 20.3 and 20.4 in Chapter 20), the author of the most successful collection of hagiographical texts, admirably managed both to satisfy the aesthetic/literary demands of the highly cultured persons among his audience and at the same time to remain intelligible and enjoyable for the rest, should not be necessarily understood as a pious exaggeration (Michael Psellos, *Encomium for kyr Symeon Metaphrastes*, 261–265). In comparison to other writers, Symeon's "classicism" was indeed "mild" and refrained from extreme mannerisms (in contrast, e.g., to saints' *Lives* of the ninth century composed by Ignatios the Deacon or patriarch Methodios or the highly rhetoricized hagiographical encomia of the early Palaiologan period; cf. Ševčenko 1981 and Hinterberger 2010).

Despite this substantial common ground, extremely classicized and refined language (typical, for instance, of the Komnenian and early Palaiologan period) constituted a serious obstacle for the less educated Byzantines. For this reason, when addressing a broader audience (e.g., as preachers) the more sophisticated authors adjusted their language and style to the audience's abilities (Euangelatou-Notara 1993: 304–310; cf. Ševčenko 1981). For the same reason, extremely classicized historiographical and rhetorical writings of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were transposed to "usual" prose (or literary koine) in the fourteenth century, the *metaphraseis* (Hinterberger 2014c).

Like the literary language, the official written language of imperial and ecclesiastical legislation and administration varied considerably according to the type of document and the time it was issued. Thus the classicizing tendencies of the literature of the Komnenian period are reflected in the imperial documents of the period, especially in the *prooimia* of the *chrysoboulloi logoi*, the most literary documental type. Yet all in all, in their majority both legal and administrative texts were cast in a fairly simple language (cf. the texts composed and commissioned by Constantine Porphyrogennetos already mentioned; for the varying levels of legal documents, see Dölger 1948). Though on various feast days and festivities highly classicized speeches were delivered at the imperial court, the language in which the court elite communicated with each other, as well as with the world outside the palace, must have been close to the normal spoken language, perhaps a somewhat polished variety of it (see, e.g., the rendering of imperial conversations in Georgios Sphrantzes's so-called *Chronicle*, ch. 13.3–4 or 15.4 and 15.7–8). The language used for international diplomatic contacts, too, was the spoken Greek of the time, and this was occasionally used for diplomatic letters with almost no concessions to the traditional written language (cf. Hinterberger 2005).

Classicizing Elements

As has been repeatedly observed (esp. Ševčenko 1981: 291), the high register of literary prose manifests its literary ambitions through the use of certain linguistic features found in older Greek texts, particularly in the highly esteemed classical literature of the fifth and fourth centuries BCE as well as in classicizing rhetoric of the first centuries CE. These features had vanished from the spoken language, but their particular "otherness" provided them with a special aesthetic value. Many of these features were by and large characteristic of the ancient Attic dialect and are therefore called atticistic (i.e., imitating this dialect). The most frequent elements were the following: -ρσ- (instead of -ρρ-), -ττ- (instead of -σσ-), ξυν- for συν-, dual, attic syntax, attic declension, attic personal pronouns, attic future, and classical/attic particles. Likewise, in the realm of poetry, linguistic features characteristic of the Homeric poems and classical tragedy (e.g., non-contracted forms, genitives ending in -οιο and -άων, forms in -φιν instead of dative; see Polemis 2015: lxv–lxxi) appeared in Byzantine high-register poems. In all kinds of texts the use of pluperfect and perfect forms, as well as optatives were thought to raise

the aesthetic value of the language. It has to be underlined that high-register rhetorical prose displays an impressive and sometimes confusing blend of both ancient prose and poetic classicizing elements.

All these features were intentionally used in order to elevate the stylistic quality of a text. And it is exactly these features which may help one differentiate (inter alia) versions of a certain text (the presence/addition of these features produced the upward transposition of a text; their absence resulted in its simplification or downward transposition—both were called μετάφρασις in Greek; cf. Efthymiadis, "Rewriting," Chapter 14 in this volume). It is interesting to note that even in the texts of authors of the highest standard, atticistic elements appeared side by side together with their non-attic equivalents (e.g., θάλαττα/θάλασσα, ναός/νεώς, συγγράφω/ξυγγράφω in the *Alexiad*; see Kolovou and Reinsch 2001: 139, 168, and 203; cf. Kambylis 1976: 489 on the same phenomenon in Symeon the New Theologian).

Regarding the use or avoidance of such classicizing elements, Byzantine authors manifested distinctive distributional patterns that are indicative of their individual styles. For instance, if we compare the use of the attic personal pronoun plural forms in historiographical works of the eleventh and twelfth centuries (Hinterberger 2021), we observe that Ioannes Kinnamos used σφᾶς and σφῶν as frequently as Niketas Choniates, but σφίσιν almost three times as often. In Anna Komnene's *Alexiad*, σφᾶς did not appear at all, σφίσιν only twice, but σφῶν more often than in Choniates. Surprisingly, Michael Psellos used each form only once. Due to their "otherness," such markers of high-register language could also develop additional functions. Roderich Reinsch has recently shown that in Psellos's *Chronographia* the frequently appearing dual often expressed irony or enhanced a context emotively (Reinsch 2013; Horrocks 2010: 234).

Orthography, Accentuation, and Punctuation

The Byzantines learned to read and write by studying older written texts (usually the first contact with the written word was made via the Psalter, whereas higher education started with the study of Homer). Therefore the Greek script learned by the Byzantines served primarily to read older varieties of the Greek language, rather than to record the contemporary spoken language. Indeed, "learning to write involved learning the use of written Greek rather than learning how to transcribe one's own speech" (Dickey 2000: 923). For this reason, orthography was historical, i.e., it reflected the pronunciation of older forms and not those of the contemporary spoken language, and it was not designed to record the spoken language or even a literary language based on it. Moreover, in learned manuscript literature, orthography (as well as morphology) was standardized and seems to have constituted an aesthetically relevant category (about the copyist's care for correct orthography, see, e.g., Follieri 1986–1987 and Reinsch 2000: 38), whereas orthography of vernacular texts was rather unruly.

With certain Byzantine words, orthography consistently deviated from traditional conventions, often involving the doubling of liquids or nasals (well-known examples are ἀπρίλλιος, ἔννατος, or κακιγκάκως [see the relevant entries in the LBG]). Certain Byzantine spelling conventions departing from classical norms can be understood as semantic reinterpretations. For instance, the word ἀναίδην was probably written in this way because this adverb, which was originally (and from the standpoint of etymology correctly) spelled ἀνέδην with the meaning "in an unrestricted manner, overtly," was more and more associated with shameless (ἀναιδής) behavior; the pronunciation of αι and ε had already coincided during the Hellenistic period. In the same way, the spelling κενοτομία (besides traditional καινοτομία) reflects the semantic shift from "innovation" to "destruction." According to Byzantine standards, such cases of apparently incorrect spelling were regarded as correct (in fact, in various lexica, e.g., Pseudo-Zonaras, ἀνέδην/ἀναίδην are listed as two different words with different semantics). It is equally questionable whether forms like ἔλθει or λάβει (impossible according to traditional grammar) should be regarded as itacistic scribal errors or rather be understood as the orthographical expression of the semantic/syntactical coincidence of the old monolectic future and the aorist subjunctive (see the section "Syntax" later in this chapter).

In some linguistic areas, Byzantine accentuation was decidedly different from the rules that are today generally accepted as valid for ancient Greek. Thus in many Byzantine manuscripts the rule that at the end of a period (or generally before a punctuation mark) a word takes an acute rather than grave accent applied (if at all) only when a strong pause was intended. The Byzantine accentuation of enclitics also differs considerably from usual modern standards, the reason being that Byzantine (rather than ancient) pronunciation was the decisive factor, and also that actual ancient conventions concerning the accentuation of enclitics have been distorted in modern scholarship (Noret 2014). There were significant oscillations of accentuation in other categories of words, which are equally blurred by traditional normalization (such as the aorist infinitive of certain verbs containing a dichronon; cf. Noret 2014: 117–118). Unfortunately, modern editions often continue the distorting and misleading practice of normalizing according to modern textbook norms that were not valid in the Byzantine era.

Punctuation and its significance for correctly interpreting and consequently also for editing Byzantine texts have only recently attracted scholarly interest (Giannouli and Schiffer 2011). The importance of punctuation to learned Byzantines and the complexity of the system behind it (at least at certain times and in certain texts) becomes clear from, for instance, the highly sophisticated comments made by Basileios the Lesser on the discourses of Gregory of Nazianzos (Schmidt 2001).

Phonology

The overwhelming majority of Byzantine texts (and not only the rhetorical ones in the narrow sense of the word) were meant to be read aloud, be it in front of an audience or as

a private reading (on the acoustic aspects of Byzantine literature, see generally Eideneier 2014; and Papaioannou, "Readers and Their Pleasures," Chapter 21 in this volume). Michael Psellos, for instance, reported how deeply a certain Ioannes Kroustoulas, famous for his performative gifts, moved his audience to tears, but also joy, simply by reading saints' *Lives*. Psellos prided himself on an equally impressive gift of speech (Papaioannou 2021). Wirth (1976: 10) has rightly noted that the Byzantines' highly rhythmical rhetorical prose occupies an intermediary position between literature and music. Among learned men, one single (of course difficult) word could produce a significant effect when mispronounced, i.e., read in violation of traditional learned rules (e.g., the case of βραδύτης instead of the admittedly extravagant, but correct βραδυτής in an episode of the *Life of Kosmas Hymnographos and Ioannes Damaskenos* [BHG 394]; see Giannouli 2014: 67–68).

Therefore it is of great importance for the modern scholar of Byzantine literature to be aware of this performative aspect of texts and to take into consideration how these texts sounded in Byzantine times. The original sound of our texts can of course be grasped only very approximately. By and large the Byzantine pronunciation is supposed to have been very close to that of modern Greek (including its dialects), with more or less strong local differences.

Phonological developments leading from ancient to modern Greek were in their majority already completed before the Byzantine period. Yet /y/ (spelled υ or οι) coincided with /i/ (spelled ι, ει, or η) only in the tenth century (cf. Horrocks 2010: 242–243). Accordingly, the tenth-century *Suda* lemmata starting with πω or πο (both pronounced /po/) were grouped together and treated before πρ; lemmata starting with ποι or πυ (both /py/) appeared together after those starting with πτ), thus reflecting actual Byzantine pronunciation.

It took considerable effort to learn the rules of historical orthography—a basic feature of education—and teachers developed special training texts for practicing the so-called *antistoicha* (letters/combination of letters pronounced in the same way). In the case of the *schede*, texts composed by teachers in order to provide practice in difficult features of the learned language, such texts verged on literature (Giannouli 2014; Agapitos 2015). The Byzantines may have even exploited this kind of "equivocation" in other genres as well in order to create purposeful ambiguity (Krausmüller 2006).

From the viewpoint of literary history, pronunciation is particularly significant for understanding the rhythm, a feature essential to both poems and high-register prose (cf. Valiavitcharska, "Rhetorical Figures," Chapter 12 in this volume). Traditional classicizing poetry was perhaps more obviously affected than other genres by the historical changes in the Greek language. Classical and early Byzantine poetry was based on a variety of rhythmical patterns (meters) produced primarily by the sequence of long and short syllables. By the sixth century, the distinction between long and short vowels (and subsequently syllables) was lost and the dynamic accent was replaced by the stress accent. The new principle of Byzantine metrics became isosyllaby (where each line has the same number of syllables) and certain accentual patterns based on stress accent (Lauxtermann 1999: 69 and 78–80). The substitution of a long syllable with two short

syllables in ancient metrics had become unintelligible to the Byzantine ear (poems in these meters continued to be produced, but were largely pure "Augenpoesie"). Therefore the most productive Byzantine meter of ancient origin, the Byzantine twelve-syllable verse, was based on an invariable number of syllables (cf. Hörandner and Rhoby, "Metrics and Prose Rhythm," Chapter 17 in this volume).

It has been observed that in high-register prose texts, accentuation before a pause and particularly at the end of a period followed a certain pattern: an even number of unaccentuated syllables between the two last accentuated syllables before the pause (see generally Hörandner 1981; cf. also Wirth 1976: 22–24; and Hörandner and Rhoby, "Metrics and Prose Rhythm," Chapter 17 in this volume). This rule applied not only to rhetorical texts *sensu strictu*, but also to a wide range of other genres, with significant consequences for textual criticism (cf., e.g., Duffy 2014).

Naturally, a hiatus was produced (or not) according to Byzantine (not ancient pronunciation: e.g., αὖ, φεῦ, ἄνευ produced only an "optical hiatus" because when pronounced they did not end in a vowel, but in the consonant /v/ (see Westerink 1992: xxxviii).

Pronunciation only seldom constituted a literary topic, mostly when a learned author was poking fun at uncultivated people because of their "bad" (meaning "provincial," "dialectal") pronunciation (see, e.g., Lauritzen 2009; Hörandner 2017).

Under the influence of Homeric and post-Homeric poetical language, Byzantine writers occasionally extended (sometimes erroneously) apparent phonological rules of ancient Greek to new areas (e.g., hyper-ionic forms in Theodoros Prodromos or Theodoros Metochites using λοῦγος, φθοῦνος instead of λόγος, φθόνος for metrical reasons; cf. Hinterberger 2019: 51 and Polemis 2015: lxi).

Morphology

As in the case of phonology and diction, so in morphology the Byzantines, following hyper-classicizing tendencies, freely extended the preexisting patterns to areas not or barely attested in ancient Greek (e.g., not attested pluperfect forms which constitute morphological *hapax legomena*). Apparently forms which could be interpreted as future subjunctive (e.g., φανήσωμαι, ἀφανισθήσωνται) may belong to this category (Nicholas 2008). More often than not, pluperfect forms were used without augment (as in Homer but not in classical prose) (Hinterberger 2007: 109–113). Even in rather classicized texts, sigmatic aorist stems were widely used, along with their strong aorist counterparts: e.g., συνάξας and συναγαγών, καταλεῖψαι and καταλιπεῖν, θνήξας and θανών, ἔλεξε and εἶπε.

Until the thirteenth century, "vernacular" morphology was more or less banned from literary texts. Certain forms, like the second person of the present mediopassive ending in -σαι (e.g., αἰσχύνεσαι), did occasionally appear in (sub)literary texts such as Symeon the New Theologian's *Katêchêseis* and also his *Hymns* (see Kambylis 1976: 494). An equivalent nominal ending would be -ιν which apart from texts in the vernacular (Holton et al. 2019: 609–613) was again restricted to sub-literary texts such

as the *Chronicle of Theophanes* (e.g., μαργαριτάριν, 226.21) or to quotes from everyday speech in learned texts (γεράκιν in the *Alexiad* II 4.9.8) (cf., e.g., Yannopoulos 1996 and Antoniadou 1935). Only from the thirteenth century onward did a literary vernacular appear that was primarily based on the morphology of the contemporary spoken Greek (described and analyzed in an exemplary and magisterial manner by Holton et al. 2019).

Syntax

The *Cambridge Grammar of Medieval and Early Modern Greek* (Holton et al. 2019) presents the entire range of changes the Greek language underwent from Late Antiquity to the early modern era. In order to explain some of the major "Byzantinisms" of literary texts, the principal developments in the spoken language should be briefly mentioned. Certain morphological categories typical of ancient Greek (such as the optative, the pluperfect, and the perfect) had already disappeared at the beginning of the Byzantine era; others (such as the dative) definitively disappeared from the spoken language in the tenth century and only after a long process of gradual de-systematization. Since these morphological categories were totally unknown in the spoken language, their usage in the texts was particularly volatile.

Syntactical rules underlying older layers of Greek, such as which cases to combine with certain verbs, were learned (see the indications concerning the syntax of verbs in the *Suda*: e.g., ἀναχωρῶ, διακελεύω, ἐπείγομαι, στέργω). The Byzantines were sensitive to such issues, as reflected, for instance, in a poem by Ioannes Mauropous, justifying his syntactical choice against the narrow-minded critique of some schoolmaster (*Poem* 33; cf. also Bernard 2014: 88–89 and Bernard and Livanos 2018: 574–575). Yet the inconsistent use of certain verbs with both dative and accusative was a frequent phenomenon in both high-register and simple koine texts (cf., e.g., Werner 1931: 276–277; Festugière 1971: 241–242; Sullivan, Talbot, and McGrath 2014: 26–27; Hunger 1981: 250–251).

Other rules (such as when to apply the ancient pluperfect) were not available. In the spoken language, the ancient monolectic pluperfect fell out of use during the Hellenistic era, having gradually coincided semantically with the aorist. When reading ancient texts, the Byzantines by and large interpreted the pluperfect as a purely morphological variant to the aorist, and it was in this sense that it was used by them (see generally Hinterberger 2007). Some authors (among them Genesios, Michael Psellos, and Ioannes Zonaras), made extraordinarily frequent use of pluperfect forms. For other authors, such as Georgios Akropolites and Ioannes Kantakouzenos, the pluperfect was the normal form for the expression of the past tense of certain verbs (the simple form for this usage, the aorist, was obviously to be avoided as being too "banal"). Generally, the pluperfect was used in order to stylistically upgrade the text. In addition to that, sometimes the application of these forms enhanced the author's efforts to create particular rhythmical patterns (see earlier discussion of the so-called prose rhythm). In metrical

texts, such alternative forms provided welcome linguistic material for fulfilling the meter's requirements, such as the position of accent or the number of syllables.

The same is by and large true for the monolectic perfect (Hinterberger 2014b). More complicated is the case of aorist subjunctive, monolectic future, and the optative. The semantic overlap of the aorist subjunctive and the monolectic future had already started in Hellenistic times. Because of this development in the spoken language, the monolectic future and the aorist subjunctive forms were alternatively used in Byzantine texts of all stylistic levels for the expression both of futurity and modality (e.g., Michael Choniates, *Letter* 54.23: ὡς ἀλλήλους ὀψόμεθα καὶ παρ' ἀλλήλων ὀφθῶμεν). Due to the influence of the learned tradition, the optative, which had vanished from the spoken language, was also used as a marked variant of the monolectic future/aorist subjunctive in classicized texts (see Horrocks 2010: 234, 240, and 2014; Stone 2009: 112–119). Again, these syntactical variants developed a special function in genres in which alternative forms served particular aims, especially in metrical texts (see Hinterberger 2019: 49–55).

In contrast to the monolectic pluperfect or the optative, the infinitive and probably also the participle had not entirely vanished from the spoken language. This has to be emphasized, because occasionally the presence of both was used as an argument against the "vernacularness" of a certain text. In comparison to ancient Greek, the infinitive and the participle were considerably restricted in low-register Byzantine Greek, both in their morphological and in their syntactical range (the future infinitive and participle being practically absent, the participle mostly appearing as subject oriented). However, they were still in use and in certain categories of texts—such as early chronicles and hagiographical texts—extraordinarily frequently (Joseph 2000; Kavčič 2005; Rosenqvist 1981).

In this context it should also be mentioned that during the Byzantine period the participle developed capacities that were formerly limited to the finite verb (see Cheila-Markopoulou 2003 and Kavčič 2001). This is the reason for the frequent so-called absolute nominative and the seemingly *anakolouthon* structures. Though not unknown to high-register texts, these phenomena were so frequent in certain non-classicized textual categories such as chronicles and hagiographical narratives that they ought to be regarded as "normal."

It is a fallacy to believe that the medieval Greek vernacular is more or less the same as standard modern Greek. In vernacular texts, infinitives and participles were still in use, though, as already mentioned, severely restricted in their syntactical possibilities (Holton et al. 2019: 808–814 and 1681–1696). The so-called circumstantial infinitive (τὸ ἀκούσει "when he/she/they heard it") was a syntactical phenomenon that apparently had no precedence in the older written language (cf., however, ἅμα τῷ ἀκοῦσαι) nor did it have any continuation in the later vernacular (cf. Joseph 2000: 318–320; Holton et al. 2019: 1913–1914).

Another new development in the written language that was apparently unrelated to the spoken language was the appearance of verbal *periphraseis* expressing anteriority. Long before the appearance of the new modern Greek pluperfect (formed with εἶχα + infinitive; see Holton et al. 2019: 1814–1818), Byzantine Greek had developed possibilities

to express temporal anteriority with verbal forms. Constructions like ἦν + aorist participle (cf. Aerts 1965: 97–127 and 168–177) were used in order to express a temporal sequence (not a state reached in the past, the original meaning of the ancient monolectic pluperfect; therefore it is misleading to say that these new periphrastic constructions "replaced" or succeeded the old pluperfect). It appears primarily in low-register texts such as saints' *Lives* and chronicles (e.g., Sabas, *Life of Petros of Atroa* 52.20: ἦν γὰρ ὁ ὅσιος δέησιν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ προσενέγκας), but interestingly also in Prokopios of Caesarea (with ἔτυχε instead of ἦν; e.g., *Wars* I 18.42.45: οἱ ξὺν τῷ Πέτρῳ ἔτι ἐμάχοντο, οὐ πολλοὶ ὄντες, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτῶν ἔτυχον φυγόντες οἱ πλεῖστοι). The use of these constructions never became compulsory (as in English or Latin), and more research is needed in order to establish why, in which contexts, and in which types of texts they appeared. One function seems to have been to emphasize anteriority, whereas "usual" anteriority need not have been expressed, and at the same time to provide an explanation based on an anterior event.

It is a striking characteristic of the learned language that all the features which had vanished from the spoken language, but were known to the Byzantines from older texts, are much more frequent in Byzantine texts than they are in ancient Greek texts (Wahlgren 2014; Hinterberger 2007; Stone 2009: 106). They also appear in contexts in which they could not have appeared in ancient Greek because they merely functioned as a substitute for a specific type of the spoken language (i.e., the pluperfect interpreted as, and used like, the aorist could assume all the functions of the aorist). The same is true for features which theoretically, and in accordance with the learned tradition, were regarded as the hallmarks of classicized language: e.g., the use of the middle voice instead of the active, a well-known practice in many high-register texts (cf. Kolovou 2001: 27*; Stone 2009: 110–111; on the concept of the middle voice in Byzantium, see Signes 2014).

Given the broad range of older texts considered as classical, Byzantine authors were confronted with an equally broad spectrum of linguistic possibilities. Real classicists—those focusing on models from the classical period and aiming at their perfect imitation—were the exception rather than the rule and were encountered mainly in the late Byzantine period (Gregorios Kyprios is a case in point). Many different syntactical possibilities were available to Byzantine writers in order to express a specific semantic content, and they were used. This accounts for the alternative forms and syntactic constructions that are characteristic of Byzantine Greek. In my opinion, the seemingly arbitrary and indiscriminate use of distinctive ancient Greek linguistic features was much less chaotic and arbitrary than it seems at first sight. On the one hand, the underlying system of the spoken language explains quite a large number of phenomena; on the other, conventions had developed within the classicized/high-register learned language, and certain usages were particularly popular at certain times and unpopular at others.

Marked variants such as the optative, the pluperfect, and the perfect or the middle voice were used not only in the same linguistic environments as their non-marked equivalents (i.e., aorist subjunctive/future indicative, aorist, and active voice), but also side by side with them (e.g., Niketas Choniates, *History* 492: συνείληπτο . . . ἀπώλετο . . .

ἐλήλαται καὶ διέσπασται; *History* 238: ὁ μὲν δείσας . . . μὴ συλληφθεῖεν . . . , ὁ δὲ μή πως παρεισίωσιν καὶ πατήσωσιν). They constituted alternative forms which generally provided variety and enhanced a text's aesthetic value, contributing to its classicization and literarization. In simplified versions of certain texts (*metaphraseis*), these elements were replaced by the corresponding non-marked variants.

Vocabulary

Due to a modern ideological bias, Byzantine words have been the object of two separate lexicographical projects, one addressing learned words, the other those of the vernacular (LBG; Kriaras 1968–). Yet vocabulary was perhaps that part of the language where high- and low-register Greek came closest to each other (see generally Trapp 1993). It is indicative for the Byzantine understanding of "classical" Greek that, e.g., Anna Komnene in her *Alexiad* used primarily ancient prose words (next to Homeric vocabulary), but did not shrink from the occasional use of low-register words (e.g., κλεισούρα, in one instance explicitly commented on as belonging to the ἰδιῶτις γλώσσα, *Alexiad* X.2.4.21) nor from quotations from the spoken language (Kolovou and Reinsch 2001: 265 and 270; Antoniadou 1935: 371). Likewise, titles of highly classicized poems could contain low-register words indicating the central subject of the poem in its everyday linguistic form: e.g., the lovely ποδοπάνια "stockings" in Christophoros Mytilenaios (Hinterberger 2019: 58–59).

The effect produced by new or rare words, either words built according to traditional patterns or words inspired by the spoken language, was well known to Byzantine writers (Trapp 1993; Hinterberger 2008 and 2019). In Trapp's lexicon of Byzantine Greek (LBG) approximately two-thirds of the new words were formed according to ancient models. In this respect too, it is true that what looked ancient and classical was also perceived as such.

Following the template of ancient Greek word formation, many Byzantine authors used neologisms as a sophisticated literary device. A particularly strong penchant for new words was characteristic in authors of the ninth century, such as Theodoros Stoudites and patriarch Methodios (cf. Hinterberger 2008), and even more so for those of the Komnenian period (especially Konstantinos Manasses and Niketas Choniates; Wirth 1976). Apart from these rather famous cases, the use of neologisms was significant in the work of authors such as patriarch Germanos (eighth century; cf. Reinsch 2000: 44) or the emperor Theodoros II Laskaris (thirteenth century).

The Byzantines obviously made great efforts to grasp the correct semantics of words in older texts (see, e.g., patriarch Photios, *Amphilochia* 213). Nevertheless, quite a few ancient words that were apparently inseparably associated with ancient Greek culture were used in a purely Byzantine sense—like the morphological categories reinterpreted in terms of contemporary language (Ἅδης in the sense of death, τελχίν or ἐριννύς simply as "demon"; cf. Hinterberger 2014d).

Conclusions

We must not forget that, like all humans, the Byzantines grew up with their mother tongue; for those of Greek-speaking background and in Greek-speaking contexts, this was the *spoken* medieval Greek. Those who had the privilege to obtain education adopted—to various degrees—linguistic elements of older stages of the Greek language in order to compose their texts. Many of these older linguistic elements were used in a seemingly "arbitrary" way when compared to the linguistic rules of ancient Greek. Viewed in their contemporary context, however, these elements were creatively incorporated into a linguistic system which was essentially based on the contemporary language and consistent in itself. The creative blend of traditional and modern features—though not readily accessible to us—and the tension between them left ample space for personal choices. This is precisely what makes the language of Byzantine literature a particularly exciting topic.

Greek literature produced in Byzantium continues to be studied more for the historical data it contains than in order to understand how it functioned from a linguistic and literary point of view. I believe that it is high time to take the language in which this enormously rich literature was written seriously. For a beginning, detailed and thorough studies of individual texts and authors are needed. Beyond that, fascinating questions are waiting to be answered. For instance, which of all possible linguistic items that a specific author had at her/his disposal were actually used, and if they were used, then how exactly? Based on such an in-depth analysis of the blend of various alternative forms, can we determine a specific author's linguistic profile? In which respects is s/he classicizing or reflecting the spoken language (cf. also Karyolaimou 2014)? Along the same lines, can we establish the general linguistic characteristics of a certain period's style?

Whereas historiography has attracted much scholarly interest, also in regard to the language of these texts, hagiography is a vast and widely understudied field in this respect (with the exception of a few "low-level" texts that display the obvious influence of the spoken language). Unlike historiography, hagiographical texts appear in various stylistic/linguistic forms, ranging from highly classicized to simple koine. It is in this vast field that we can detect general stylistic trends (the fashion of a certain period) and the characteristics of personal style, both clearly reflected in specific linguistic choices.

Furthermore, we should explore not only the common linguistic ground, but also the differences between, e.g., Photios's letters and homilies, between Psellos's *Chronographia* and his speeches and poetical oeuvre, between Konstantinos Manasses's poetical and prose works, or between Niketas Choniates's *History* and his rhetorical pieces (and his brother's letters). In Photios's case, specifically, the results of such an inquiry could be juxtaposed with Photios's critical statements about other authors (cf. Hägg 1999: 55–57; Rollo 2008: 432). Did Photios linguistically live up to the high demands he himself had expressed concerning others? Regarding Manasses and Choniates, the LBG demonstrates that the authors' neologisms were a common feature of all literary genres

practiced by them (as in the case of patriarch Methodios; cf. Hinterberger 2008). Some work has been done, but much more is still needed.

In the light of recent research, Byzantine studies should finally abandon its defeatist stance concerning the language of the texts that the Byzantines produced. Byzantine Greek was a highly developed and artful language with close ties both to the living language of the time and to a centuries-old literary heritage. Accordingly, courses on Byzantine Greek should be part of every curriculum of Byzantine studies programs. Byzantine Greek should be taught as a historical variant of the Greek language in its own right, rather than as a degenerated, deficient form of classical Greek, or as an immature form of modern Greek. After the successful completion of both the *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität* and the *Cambridge Grammar of Medieval and Early Modern Greek*, as a next step, we should now undertake a survey of the morphological and syntactical particularities the written Byzantine language had developed.

Suggestions for Further Reading

For all linguistic phenomena related to the spoken or vernacular language of the Byzantines mentioned in this chapter, see now the full documentation in Holton et al. (2019). Horrocks (2010) is an excellent guide for the history of medieval Greek and especially the relationship between spoken and written/literary Greek; it also provides insightful observations on specific authors and texts (see also Horrocks 2014 and 2017); for the pre-history of Byzantine Greek, cf., e.g., Christidis (2007) and Bakker (2010). Hinterberger (2014) is a useful collection of studies on particular topics pertaining to the literary language (esp. accentuation, particles, the dative, the middle voice, and the perfect tense). Browning (1978) offers many sensitive observations on the language and style of a number of authors. Certain linguistic aspects of historiography are insightfully presented in Hunger (1978a, vol. 1). Some of Alexander Kazhdan's numerous observations concerning language, based on a particularly sensitive reading of Byzantine texts, are available in Kazhdan (1999, 2006).

Texts in the vernacular or in a language clearly influenced by the spoken language have attracted particular interest (e.g., Apostolopoulos 1984; Mitsakis 1967). By contrast, there exist only a few in-depth studies of learned texts/authors (though these are useful, they are mostly outdated; e.g., Werner 1931 and Böhlig 1956; see more recently Stone 2009 concerning certain aspects of Eustathios's language). Useful observations on the language of specific texts are to be found in the *Index graecitatis* of many volumes of the Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae series and other recent editions; see particularly Kolovou and Reinsch (2001) and Reinsch (2014). Since most of these indices record the same "deviations" from the ancient Greek standard, it is clear that these should be regarded as "Byzantinisms" (in the sense of characteristic phenomena of the Byzantine literary language) rather than errors. On Byzantine vocabulary, see particularly the studies collected in Trapp et al. (1988), Hörandner and Trapp (1991), and Trapp

and Schönauer (2008). The Byzantines' appropriation of classicized Greek through textbooks and the intensive study of classical texts recently attracted special scholarly interest (Cuomo and Trapp 2017; Rollo and Zorzi 2019).

Finally, for the student who begins studying Byzantine Greek, beyond dictionaries of classical and biblical Greek, the following are essential:

- *Lampe* G. W. H. Lampe (1961–1968) *A Patristic Greek Lexikon*, Oxford. Especially useful for patristic rhetoric and theological literature.
- *LBG* E. Trapp et al. (eds.) (1994–2017) *Lexikon zur Byzantinischen Gräzität besonders des 9.–12. Jahrhunderts*, Vienna. Also available online at: http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/lbg/.
- E. Kriaras et al. (1968–) *Λεξικὸ τῆς Μεσαιωνικῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Δημώδους Γραμματείας, 1100–1669*, 21 vols. thus far (– συνεορτάζω), Thessalonike. An *epitome* is available online at: http://www.greek-language.gr/greekLang/medieval_greek/kriaras/index.html.

Useful are also specialized lexica and databases, such as, e.g., H. Hofmann, *Die lateinischen Wörter im Griechischen bis 600 n. Chr.*, Erlangen and Nürnberg (1989), or the *Wörterlisten aus den Registern von Publikationen griechischer und lateinischer dokumentarischer Papyri und Ostraka*, available at: https://papyri.uni-koeln.de/papyri-woerterlisten/index.html/.

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CHAPTER 3

BOOK CULTURE

FILIPPO RONCONI AND STRATIS PAPAIOANNOU

From the viewpoint of materials and production techniques, it would be difficult to distinguish book culture in the Byzantine Empire from book cultures of other Mediterranean societies.[1] The phenomenon of "intercultural transmission in the medieval Mediterranean" (Hathaway and Kim 2012), which encompasses all aspects of material culture, is particularly pertinent in the case of books. This does not apply simply to the late Roman and early Byzantine papyrus scrolls—produced almost exclusively in Egypt but exported to most other areas of the Mediterranean. The analogies in materials, dimensions, structure, and preparation of the writing surface are even more striking if we were to compare codices made in Byzantium, the Latin West, and the Islamic world from Late Antiquity onward (Bausi et al. 2015). In fact, the similarities that link Greek, Latin, Syriac, Arabic, Hebrew, as well as Coptic, Armenian, Georgian, Glagolitic, Cyrillic, and Ethiopian manuscripts, produced and circulating within these politically distinct societies, are such that they suggest a kind of "universal grammar of the codex" (Maniaci 2002a: 25). These analogies, not excluding local peculiarities, derive both from a common substrate, the late Roman and early Byzantine book culture, and also from the fact that the relevant "patrimony of knowledge and craft practices" were shared around the Mediterranean and beyond (Maniaci 2015b: 69; see also Den Heijer, Schmidt, and Pataridze 2014 on practices of "allography").

Furthermore, because of the multicultural and multilingual nature of the empire (and its literature: see, e.g., Odorico 2009), the boundaries of Byzantine book culture itself are difficult to fix. Thus our picture risks being distorted if we focus—as we shall do for the purposes of the present *Handbook*—on books in Greek, excluding books in other languages that were produced in different areas (sometimes in Constantinople itself: Cavallo 2019: 203–215) and periods in the life of the empire. Simultaneously, Greek-speaking populations often operated in multilingual environments or beyond the direct political control of the Byzantine State. Take, for instance, the manuscript production of: (a) Melkite

[1] Thanks belong to Nadezhda Kavrus-Hoffmann for kindly reviewing this chapter before publication.

communities in Syro-Palestine after the Arabic conquest (Perria 1992 and 1999; cf. also Mango 1991, Pahlitzsch 2001, and Perria 2003); monasteries related to these communities, such as Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai (Gerstel and Nelson 2010; and, on the local manuscripts and palimpsests, http://sinaipalimpsests.org/; cf. Figure 1.1 in Chapter 1 and Figure 9.1 in Chapter 9), Mar Saba in Palestine, and monastic settlements on the Black Mountain near Antioch (primarily during and after the Byzantine "re-conquest" in the eleventh century)[2]; (b) Italo-Greek communities before and after the gradual end of the Byzantine political presence in Italy (Lucà 2014, Ronconi 2017a, and Degni 2021; see Figure 3.1 for an example of a book which contains a series of texts that reflect the interests of Italian reading communities[3]); or (c) the somewhat isolated Byzantine states after 1204 (see, in general, Prato 1981 and Crisci and Degni 2011: 179–182; and Stefec 2014, on the book culture in the Empire of Trebizond specifically).

Additionally, as far as Byzantine book culture is concerned, neither 1453 (the fall of Constantinople), nor 1454/1455 (the publication of the Gutenberg Bible, the first major printed book and thus the beginning of *modern* book cultures)[4] mark a definite end-point. Byzantine texts, books, and, most importantly, manuscript book practices enjoyed a continued and significant existence deep into the modern period, especially in former Byzantine territories.[5]

A proper study of "Byzantine" book culture, therefore, would require us to consider books, regardless of their language, and with a wide spatial and temporal perspective. Indeed, language, space, and periodization are not the only complicating factors. Our study is further made difficult by the evident need to approach manuscripts as complex social objects, relying on the combined study of their different aspects: the intersection of script, decoration, and text, the technologies, ideologies, and economies that defined production as well as circulation, and thus, more comprehensively, the placement and function of individual books within varying sociohistorical contexts. After all, if there are two things that characterize the manuscript book (as opposed to its printed sibling),

[2] We lack comprehensive studies of the book cultures in Mar Saba and the Black Mountain; on the history of the Lavra of Mar Saba, see Patrich 2001; for Georgian mss. at Mar Saba, see Skhirtladze 2003; for manuscript exchange in the Black Mountain communities, see Otkhmezuri 2020 and also Glynias 2020; for illuminated manuscripts from Antioch, see Saminsky 2006.

[3] Patmos, Μονὴ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου 48; parchment; script: *Slanted Ogival*; end of ninth century; composite ms.: The *Dialogues* (BHG 273 and 1445y; Rigotti 2001) of pope Gregory the Great (in Greek: Gregorios *Dialogos*), translated by pope Zacharias (679–752; pope: 741–752; PmbZ 8614), *Passions* of St. Peter and St. Paul, Maximos the Confessor and other monastic texts, and texts on iconoclasm; f. 43v: Table of contents and beginning of *Book* 2 of Gregorios's *Dialogues* = the *Life* of St. Benedict (ed. Rigotti 2001).

[4] The first dated printed book entirely in Greek is a Greek grammar, written sometime after 1458 by Konstantinos Laskaris (d. 1501), and published in Milan, on January 30, 1476, by Dionysius Paravisinus. For a digitized collection of Greek printed books (including some early ones, and several with Byzantine texts), see the *Greek Digital Bibliography 15th–20th century*, at: http://anemi.lib.uoc.gr/.

[5] This is, it should be noted, a rather under-studied field; for Greek scripts in the post-Byzantine period, see Patoura 2000; for one famous fifteenth-century scholar/scribe and his circle, see Stefec 2013; such examples could be easily multiplied.

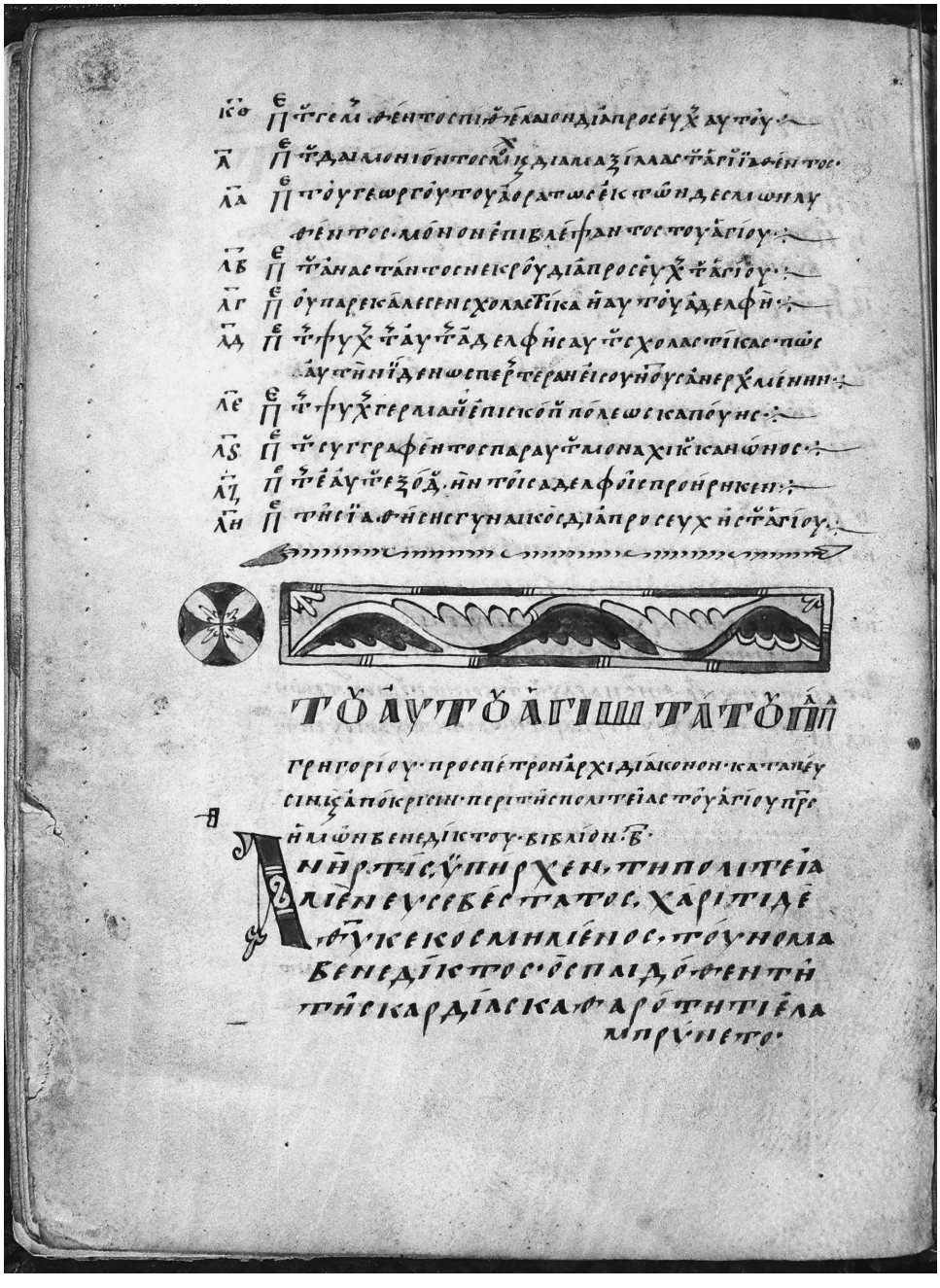

FIGURE 3.1. Patmos, Μονὴ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου 48; parchment; end of ninth century; composite ms.: Gregorios *Dialogos*, pope of Rome, transl. by pope Zacharias, *Passions* of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, Maximos the Confessor, and other monastic texts, and texts on iconoclasm; f. 43v: table of contents and beginning of *Book* 2 of Gregorios's *Dialogues*.

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these are what we might call its *singularity* and its *vitality*: the fact that each book was (a) unique (even if it may have shared the same appearance, contents, or function with another manuscript) and (b) a "living" object, as its appearance, contents, and function usually (and often significantly) changed over time (on this latter issue, see Andrist, Canart, and Maniaci 2013, chap. 2).

It would be thus necessary to abandon the virtual dissection of the book by the various disciplines that study it (be it history, codicology, paleography, philology, or art history), in order to recover the intrinsically holistic conception and experience which Byzantines had of their books. We would have to study Byzantine books, first of all, *synchronically*—from the point of view of their various functions (pragmatic, social, ideological, cultural, etc.) in contemporary society—and then *diachronically*—examining, that is, how functions changed or were fulfilled in different ways, among different groups, and at different times (Ronconi 2018).

Conceived in this way, our topic is truly vast, and the bibliography that pertains to its different aspects is already immense—though it should be noted that several crucial areas of research remain little explored. The present contribution can thus only be a modest one. Our hope is to highlight some main features in the history of Byzantine book culture and touch upon several others, which may merit further investigation. These are features that the reader of Byzantine literature may need to take into consideration as she or he approaches Byzantine texts.

Histories of Books

Each manuscript is the result of the synergy of three constitutive elements: *writing surface (material)*, *writing (script)* and/or *images*, and *text (content)*. These are interdependent, since the writing—and in many cases the accompanying drawings or painted images—constitutes the point where the text and the physical reality of the writing surface meet. From a temporal perspective, we might accordingly make a schematic distinction among the three phases in the existence of each manuscript: a *pre-history*, constituted by the processes of preparation of the writing surface, starting from raw materials; a *proto-history*, consisting of text transcription, and the final assembling of the book; and a *posterior history*, i.e., the later history of the book, its usages and transformations, until the present.

Each phase is characterized by different aspects, whose peculiarities define their study. The study of a manuscript's *posterior history* (to start from the last phase) traces evidence left on the book by the passage of time. These may have been caused by natural and biological factors (fire, humidity, parasites) or, more importantly, by human interventions, such as additions, mutilations, repurposing, and various types of new writing (anything from ownership notes, extemporaneous remarks, scholarly comments, notes about private facts

or historical events, to mere scribblings and pen-trials; see, e.g., Cavallo 1981; Fera, Ferraù, and Rizzo 2002; Jacquart and Burnett 2005; Ronconi 2010; for examples, cf. Figures 4.2 and 4.3 in Chapter 4, Figures 6.2 and 6.3 in Chapter 6, and Figure 18.1 in Chapter 18).

The *proto-history* can be studied by what we might term the manuscript's "stratigraphic analysis," a combined analysis of material factors (such as the structure of codex and its components), paleographic elements (types of script, possible change of hands in relation to the structure of the book), and text organization (extension of chapters or of texts in relation to breaks in the codex or changes in script; see further Ronconi 2007: 1–32 and 291–314; also Andrist, Canart, and Maniaci 2013, chap. 3).

Finally, the *pre-history* is studied by the "archaeology of the book" (Parkinson and Quirke 1995; Maniaci 2002a), and among other things it focuses on the chemical and physical characteristics of the writing surface, relying also on the science of materials and biology (see, e.g., Poulakakis, Tselikas, Mysis, and Lymberakis 2007; Stinson 2009 and 2011; Teasdale et al. 2017 and Fiddyment et al. 2019). The study of the *pre-history* of manuscripts can document an otherwise submerged part of the book culture that was based on the work of individuals usually unrelated to the use of writing: specialized workers (papyrus-, parchment-, or paper-makers), who played an essential role in the written transmission of knowledge, though they often fall within the so-called *muets de l'histoire* (Schmitt 1988: 278 and Ronconi 2018).

Statistics and Their Discontents

Our view of the Byzantine book culture is greatly affected by the loss of a significant part of the original manuscript production (cf. Cisne 2005). We cannot estimate the exact extent of this loss, but it was probably enormous and certainly affected in different ways different periods, geographic areas, and types of texts and books. The ratio between extant and lost books, we may note, is much less favorable for the early and middle Byzantine periods (and especially for the transition period of the seventh and eighth centuries) if compared to the Palaiologan world, since as a rule an earlier book had less chances of survival (because of this, the late period may perhaps deceivingly appear culturally more developed; cf. Ronconi forthcoming a). The geographical picture is similarly tainted. The ratio between extant and lost books is again less favorable for most Byzantine regions, with the exceptions of Egypt (for the early Byzantine period) or Constantinople and southern Italy (for the middle Byzantine period); and so on and so forth. Moreover, some categories of manuscripts (and texts) have almost totally disappeared: for instance, Byzantine "paperbacks," characterized by poor materials and scripts and designed for ephemeral texts of various kinds, have left only a few traces.[6]

[6] "Ephemeral" texts may include texts used in school contexts—cf., e.g., the "ξυλοχάρτιον κοντάκιον" (a scroll written on papyrus or paper—a paperback), mentioned by Stephanos Skylitzes in the twelfth century (*Commentary on Aristotle's Rhetoric* 277).

A quantitative analysis of Byzantine manuscripts is thus limited by the unfeasibility of establishing the total quantity of manuscripts (even if we limit ourselves to Greek books) produced during the Byzantine millennium. Such analysis is further complicated by the fact that we have neither a complete nor an exact picture of the manuscripts that *have* survived.

On the one hand, catalogs and repertories of modern library holdings of manuscripts are often unsatisfactory (Binggeli 2015). For instance, the boundaries between codicological (one book = one codex) and textual units (which occasionally may be many, deriving from several books in what is listed as a *single* book within the holdings of a library) are not always made clear. Nor are the various transformations of a book in its history of production and circulation always presented with clarity or even taken into consideration (Andrist, Canart, and Maniaci 2013, chap. 3).

On the other, we lack reliable estimates about the total number of surviving manuscripts. Estimates about Greek surviving manuscripts (including post-Byzantine books) vary from 30,000 (Hunger 1989: 43) to 47,000 (Richard and Olivier 1995) to 55,000 (Dain 1964) to more than 70,000 (*Diktyon* project: http://www.diktyon.org/). To these estimates we should add that just twenty-five libraries in the world (about 4 percent of the total, comprising a little more than 600 libraries and collections) own more than 400 Greek codices, whereas about 230 libraries (more than 30 percent) possess only one Greek codex. The richest collections—those of the National Library of Greece (EBE) in Athens, the several monastic libraries on Mount Athos, the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, and the Bibliothèque Nationale de France—range from about 3,600 to over 5,500 manuscripts (Maniaci 2015a).

Tentative statistics do allow us some general overview of trends and, possibly, realities. In this spirit, we may present Tables 3.1–3.4 (the first three partially or totally deriving from Maniaci 2002b), which are to be read with the greatest caution and considered as

Table 3.1 Percentage Distribution of Surviving (Complete or, Mostly, in Fragments) Greek Manuscripts (All Types of Formats and Materials) from the Fourth through the Eighth Century

Century	Percent
Fourth	29.63
Fifth	24.54
Sixth	26.08
Seventh	12.83
Eighth	6.92
Total	100

The table is based on the Leuven Database of Ancient Books (LDAB: http://www.trismegistos.org/ldab/) and the overwhelming majority of the manuscripts are of Egyptian provenance.

Table 3.2 Percentage Distribution of Surviving (Complete or, Mostly, in Fragments) Greek *Codices* from the Fourth through the Eighth Century

Century	Percent
Fourth	35.80
Fifth	30.09
Sixth	24.47
Seventh	7.64
Eighth	2
Total	100

The table is based on Turner (1977): *Appendix* (801 units); again, the overwhelming majority of the surviving manuscripts are of Egyptian provenance.

Table 3.3 Percentage Distribution of Surviving Greek *Codices* from the Ninth through the Twelfth Century

Century	Percent
Ninth	3.12
Tenth	18.14
Eleventh	45.22
Twelfth	33.52
Total	100

The table is based on Sautel and Leroy (1995) (2,143 units); here, a major part of the manuscripts are probably of Constantinopolitan provenance.

having no more than an indicative value—the dating of manuscripts is, e.g., often speculative and only approximate (especially for the early Byzantine period).

These tables reflect the situation of preservation alluded to earlier. They also probably correspond to certain apparent realities in the long history of Byzantine book culture. We may list the following here:

(a) the steadily high production and circulation of books during the first three centuries of Byzantium; and, conversely, the low chances of survival of early Byzantine books (especially in their complete or original form) due to a variety of factors, of which two were prominent:
  (i) the major changes in the extent of presence and influence of the Byzantine Christian and Greek-speaking world over the course of the seventh and eighth centuries, and the consequent crisis in book culture (Mango 1975; Lamberz 2000; Reinsch 2000);

Table 3.4 Percentage Distribution of Greek Manuscripts (Mostly Preserved in Libraries and not Discovered in the Context of Archaeological Excavations), from the Fourth through the Seventeenth Century

Century	Number of Manuscripts
Fourth	9
Fifth	11
Sixth	23
Seventh	18
Eighth	43
Ninth	269
Tenth	1,155
Eleventh	2,933
Twelfth	2,445
Thirteenth	2,462
Fourteenth	4,663
Fifteenth	6,603
Sixteenth	8,679
Seventeenth	4,221
Total	33,534

The table is based on the *Pinakes* database (http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/) which, as a rule, does not include the substantial amount of manuscript fragments, mostly on papyrus, from the early Byzantine period; 33,534 mss. recorded in *Pinakes* were surveyed for our purposes (note that for manuscripts listed under more than one century in the *Pinakes* we retained the later dating, so as to err on the side of caution).

We would like to thank Jacob Ihnen (Brown University) for compiling the statistics for this table.

(ii) the "transliteration" into new copies of books, which until the eighth century were written exclusively in various majuscule scripts (Orsini 2019; examples in Figure 1.1 [Chapter 1], Figure 3.1 [this chapter], and and Figure 9.1 [Chapter 9]). The new copies were written in minuscule types of script, which were essentially normalized versions of cursive scripts already in existence at least a century earlier in the context of documentary writing (cf. Crisci and Degni 2011: 92ff., 102ff. and 132ff. and Ronconi forthcoming b). Attested in manuscripts dating to the late eighth century, this new graphic habit for books (and eventually also inscriptions) brought with it the gradually consistent use of punctuation, breathing marks, and accents and, by the early eleventh century, rendered the majuscule an only supplementary script (examples of the minuscule in Figure 3.2 et al.)[7];

[7] See the relevant chapters in Perria (2011) and Crisci and Degni (2011); also Ronconi (2003) and Irigoin (2006). Cf. further Papaioannou, "Readers and Their Pleasures," Chapter 21 in this volume.

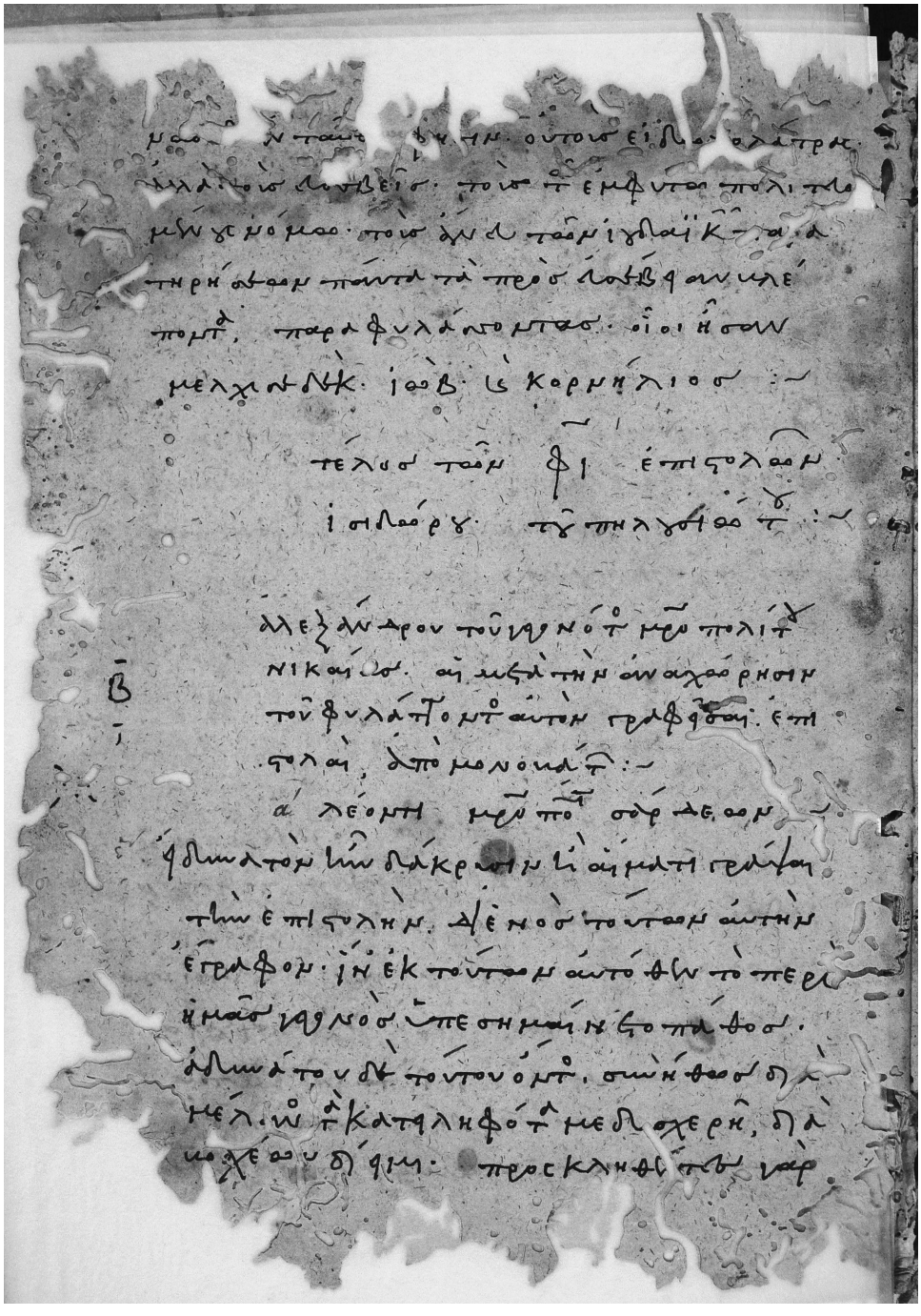

FIGURE 3.2. Patmos, Μονὴ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου 706; oriental paper; eleventh century; *Epistolarion* with letters by several early Byzantine and tenth-century authors; f. 90v: the end of the letters of Isidoros Pelousiotes and the beginning of the letter-collection of Alexandros of Nicaea.

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(b) the gradual recovery in book culture after the year 800 that seems to have peaked in the eleventh century (see e.g. Lemerle 1971/1986 with Papaioannou 2015: 262–270 and 281–283 and 2021: 40–46, 83–87, and 96-97);
(c) the increased chances for survival of manuscripts produced from the fourteenth century onward. This was again due to a variety of factors such as, for example: the continuity of some library collections into the modern world; and the conscious acts of recovery and preservation of manuscripts that were undertaken over the course of the early modern period by a variety of agents (including collectors with different agendas—a spectacular case is that of Cardinal Bessarion [see e.g. Labowsky 1979]);

and

(d) the relatively slow pace of decline in Greek manuscript production, despite the appearance of the printing press in the fifteenth century in western Europe.

However these might be, the preceding figures carry so many limitations that our remarks can only touch the tip of what was in reality a very complicated iceberg. What if, for instance, we included figures pertaining to materials used for books? Or to different types of script? What about types of books and their percentages? How many of the surviving books were meant for liturgical usage, or for schooling, archiving, private devotion, and solitary reading, or were merely objects of display and conspicuous possession? How many, at that, show signs of frequent or of limited usage? How many of the surviving books are "author-books," collecting the works of a single writer, how many are collections following a specific design and purpose, how many are random (entirely, or partly) miscellanies? And so on and so forth. Ultimately, what would the preceding statistics be if someone perused carefully *all* the available manuscript catalogs and their holdings as listed in Richard and Olivier 1995 (with Olivier 2018) and incorporated but also updated in the ongoing *Diktyon* (http://www.diktyon.org/) and *Pinakes* (http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/) projects?[8] What if we had in our possession good catalogs of *all* the libraries with Greek manuscript holdings? The statistical and, more importantly, interpretive problems that we face are thus clearly immense—and much work in this regard awaits the future students of Byzantine book (and literary) culture.

Let us tackle a related question. The statistical analysis of a large sample of Greek books dating from the ninth through the twelfth century (Maniaci 2002b: 29) seems to show that books with "secular" content make up little more than 9 percent, and that all others contain "religious" texts. These percentages partly parallel the results of a quantitative survey of the social placement of copyists (Ronconi 2014). In the subscriptions of codices from the ninth through the twelfth century, individuals identified as monks or ecclesiastics represent, respectively, 53 percent and 22 percent of the sample, against 6 percent of laymen or 18 percent of undefined ones (one could envision a wider study of the social status of scribes using the evidence gathered, e.g., in the RGK, but the results

[8] Cf. Degni, Eleuteri, and Maniaci (2018).

would probably be similar). Byzantine book culture in Greek, especially as evident from the middle Byzantine period onward, is thus characterized by an overwhelming predominance of Christianity.

Nevertheless—and leaving aside the rather problematic distinction between "secular" and "religious" texts, persons, etc., when we speak about Byzantium—we must also consider the fact that the majority of surviving books come, above all, from monasteries, especially outside Constantinople, whereas the manuscripts belonging to private individuals and to "secular" institutions have in most cases been lost (except when bequeathed to monasteries). Moreover, as already noted, modest books and especially those not intended for conservation or liturgical use, but fulfilling less august purposes, such as basic instruction/education or entertainment, undoubtedly circulated in Byzantium and were an important part of its book culture.[9] They were, however, often characterized by humble appearance, intensive use, and thus a short life. Of such books we have indeed more ancient than medieval examples, probably because papyrological discoveries have not been subjected to the filters of transmission through libraries (Cavallo 1986a and Pecere and Stramaglia 1996; see, e.g., Stramaglia 1986: 117 for late antique papyri containing epistolary models and Cavallo 1986b: 38 and Stephens and Winkler 1995 for similar evidence on novels).

Book Commerce and Mobility

The socioeconomic transformations during the early Byzantine period disarticulated the book market which, in the earlier Roman imperial world, was founded on a complex system of production and distribution. The latter was made by workshops that, especially in Rome but also in other cities such as Alexandria or Pergamum, organized the deposit, advertising, and marketing of manuscripts. Nothing similar seems to have existed in later centuries (on Byzantine book production: Lowden 2008 with bibliography). In Byzantium, the making of a manuscript was usually linked to the order of a customer/patron, who sometimes provided the copyist with the master-copy and the writing materials. The average cost of relatively good quality manuscripts was high: in the middle Byzantine period, under ordinary conditions, a new well-made parchment book of 200–300 sheets would have cost about twenty–twenty-five *nomismata* (while it was possible to buy an ox for three *nomismata* and a good horse for twelve). Illuminated, purple, or ancient books, as well as those with musical annotations or precious bindings, could be sold at much higher prices (cf. Ronconi 2012: 649f.). Book prices depended on intrinsic

[9] For a "low-cost" manuscript that originates in related contexts, see the eleventh-century Patmos 706, an *Epistolarion*, written on oriental paper and containing the letter-collections of several early Byzantine and tenth-century authors (Darrouzès 1956); Figure 3.2: f. 90v, the end of the letters of Isidoros Pelousiotes and the beginning of the letter-collection of Alexandros of Nicaea (c. 880/890–c. 945/970; PmbZ 20231). See further Pérez Martín, "Modes of Manuscript Transmission," Chapter 23 in this volume.

factors—length and type of the text, dimensions, decorations, quality of inks, material, and bindings—and on extrinsic ones, namely the socioeconomic conditions in which the trade took place. In periods of economic depression or deflation, prices could collapse: in tenth-century southern Italy, for example, under the pressure of Arab raids, Saint Neilos of Rossano (c. 910–1004; PmbZ 25503) is said to have written three Psalters to repay a debt of three *nomismata* (*Life of Neilos of Rossano* 20–21; BHG 1370); in the eleventh century, while the Seljuks advanced, it was possible to buy books in Ephesos or in Syria for little more than one *nomisma* (Kravari 1991: 381); and in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, in 1168, a Greek manuscript was bought for just three *nomismata* (Vatican, BAV, Barb. gr. 319; Ronconi 2012: 651–652); further examples in Kavrus-Hoffmann 2016: 128.

In the study of ancient or medieval books, it is crucial to distinguish their place of origin from the places where they were subsequently preserved, placing equal attention on roots as well as routes (inattention to such a distinction may often lead to, for instance, overestimating the book culture of certain Byzantine provinces such as southern Italy—cf. Tselikas 2011 with some pertinent remarks). Books traveled from one library to another, sometimes from one part of the Mediterranean to another, and beyond. This mobility was determined by donations, sales, quests, thefts, etc. The latter were quite frequent because of the commercial value of books—hence, the maledictions written at the beginning or/and at the end of many codices that were directed at anyone who tried to steal them from their original owner. An interesting case (to cite just one example) can be reconstructed thanks to an annotation added during the fifteenth century to what is now Matrit. 4677: its owner, who was no other than the renowned humanist Konstantinos Laskaris (d. 1501), found the manuscript in Messina eighteen years after losing it in Constantinople.

Migrations of books due to large-scale quests were occasioned by systematic searches. During the ninth century, for instance, in the context of the translation movement of Greek and Syriac texts into Arabic, several sources mention extensive searches of Byzantine codices by merchants or envoys of the caliphs (Gutas 1998). Similar searches were undertaken in the context of the Empire of Nicaea after the fall of Constantinople in 1204. Cultural continuity was a priority for the new Byzantine ruling class, hence collecting books was a must: the emperor Constantine Laskaris (r. 1204–1205), for instance, fled from the capital with many books which he brought to Nicaea, while during the 1230s Nikephoros Blemmydes organized quests for books in Lesbos, Rhodes, Samos, Mount Athos, Thessalonike, and Larissa (Papaioannou 2013: 262; Ronconi forthcoming a).

Copyists, Customers, Owners (and Libraries)

It is difficult to map here the social *status* of the main agents in book production, circulation, and preservation over the course of the Byzantine millennium, as this would in effect be equal to nothing less than a history of Byzantine elite and sub-elite culture (on

which see, e.g., various chapters in Haldon 2009). Subscriptions by scribes included in manuscripts, our primary source for copyists (cf. Ronconi 2012, 2014), relatively rarely mention customers, patrons, and owners of books—and in any case the oldest preserved subscription dates to the year 800 (Vatican, BAV, Vat. gr. 1666). It is therefore necessary to rely also on anecdotal indications, deductions, and later ownership notes.

Without insisting on a clear demarcation between "persons" vs. "institutions" and by taking into consideration the problems we introduce when using such and similar couplets—as, for instance, "religious/secular" and "public/private"—in reference to Byzantine society (a world in which these categories were often characterized by rather fluid boundaries), we may identify three main types of agents, listed here in order of significance in the available evidence.

The first is represented by religious foundations, especially monasteries and more rarely churches and bishoprics, and the people associated with these. The majority of the copyists—who, as already noted, were mostly monks and low-ranking clergymen—worked (also) for the institution to which they belonged, or more precisely for the institution's leaders or patrons, since a commission was normally made by an individual rather than an institution. Accordingly, the largest libraries were those of the patriarchate in Constantinople (attested at least from the period of patriarch Sergios I [610–638] and later hosted in the Θωμαΐτης [on which see later discussion]), and some exceptional monastic communities (Wilson 1967: 67–71; Wilson 2008; also Volk 1955 and Ronconi 2017b). Well-attested monastic libraries are those of the Stoudios monastery in Constantinople (Eleopoulos 1967; Kavrus 1983 and Kavrus-Hoffmann 2016; Delouis 2005), of Saint John the Theologian on the island of Patmos (Astruc 1981; Waring 2002), and communities on Mount Athos and, in Palaiologan Constantinople, of the Holy Savior at Chora (Bianconi 2005a) and of the Theotokos Ὁδηγήτρια, which was equipped with a scriptorium where books were transcribed for internal use and for external customers (Pérez Martín 2008). The collections of such monasteries comprised not only books copied by the monks, but also those donated by private individuals (see Ronconi 2017a, on middle Byzantine monasteries).[10]

A second type is represented, especially in the early period, by public (i.e., civic or state) libraries/study centers, and schools (Cavallo 1986a: 91–101; see also Cribiore 1996 or Sorabji 2000). A special place was occupied by the imperial library, whose nature seems to have changed over the course of time: evolving from an institutional collection, it began to simply accumulate the private holdings of emperors and their entourage. This library was founded in 357 by Constantius II and then expanded by Julian, Valens, and Theodosius I. It was later mentioned by Niketas David the Paphlagonian (see later discussion) and Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (Cavallo 1986a: 89–91; cf. Irigoin 1977 on a scriptorium linked to this latter emperor, and therefore to the imperial library). Looted during the Fourth Crusade, it was mentioned anew in relation to the monastery of Chora, which evidently housed books belonging to the

[10] For two early Byzantine inventories of church holdings including several books, see Minnen (1991) and Caseau (2007); see also Otranto (2000).

emperor (Bianconi 2005a). Leaving aside public libraries that continued earlier Roman foundations in urban centers of the empire in the early Byzantine period (on Roman libraries, see chapters in König, Oikonomopoulou, and Woolf 2013), we may also mention those founded by the emperors of Nicaea as a result of the acquisition campaigns in different areas of the former empire mentioned earlier (Ronconi forthcoming a). The relationship among copyists, copyists' workshops (ἐργαστήρια), and this kind of public institutions is not easy to define. Sometimes the copyists could work, alone or in group, transcribing books for different patrons; in other cases they were professionals internal to the institution and salaried by it—an edict of Valens in 372 mentions the recruitment of four Greek and three Latin calligraphers "ad bibliotechae codices componendos vel reparandos [to write or repair the manuscripts of the library]" (*Theodosian Code* 14.9.2; ed. Mommsen and Meyer 1905). A specialized atelier was probably responsible for the making of a collection of books with the works of Plato, Middle Platonists, and Neoplatonists in the ninth century (Bianconi and Ronconi 2020; the most famous book in the collection is our earliest Plato codex: Paris, BNF, gr. 1807), while some legal manuscripts were perhaps copied for the "school of law" founded in the capital city by Constantine IX Monomachos (Wilson 1967: 60).

Third, somewhere between the preceding two types operated individuals who created or owned books that cannot be placed securely within some "institution" (even if, very often, Byzantine private collections would end up as donations to monastic foundations). Commonly attested are scholars who commissioned the transcription of books for personal use and possibly small reading (and often teaching) circles associated with them. A case in point is the example of Arethas (c. 850–943?; archbishop of Caesarea from 902; Pmbz 20554), who ordered religious and secular texts from various scribes, most of them ecclesiastics (for the large bibliography on Arethas's library, see, e.g., Perria 1988, 1990).[11] From the eleventh century onward, scholars appear more frequently as copyists

[11] Surviving Arethas volumes:

- 888: copyist Stephanos *klerikos*, Oxford, Bodleian, D'Orville 301 (Euclid; 14 gold coins);
- 895: copyist Ioannes *kalligraphos* (RGK I 193, II 255), Oxford, Bodleian, E. D. Clarke 39 (24 dialogues of Plato minus the *Republic*, the *Laws*, and the *Timaeus*; 21 gold coins [13 for the copying and 8 for the parchment]);
- 895–901: copyist Gregorios *hypodiakonos* (RGK III 147), Vatican, BAV, Urb. gr. 35 (Porphyry's *Isagoge* and Aristotle's *Organon*; 6 coins for the parchment);
- 906/907: copyist Ioannes *kalligraphos*, Paris, BNF, gr. 2951 + Florence, BML, Plut. 60.3 (Aelios Aristeides);
- 913/914: copyist Baanes (RGK I 30, II 43), Paris, BNF, gr. 451 (Early Christian authors, especially Clement of Alexandria; 26 gold coins);
- c. 912–914? copyist Baanes, London, BL, Harley 5694 (Lucian);
- 932: copyist Stylianos *diakonos*, Moscow, GIM, Sinod. gr. 394 (Vladimir 231): Theological miscellany, including works by Theodore Abū Qurra and Photios's *Amphilochia*.

Later codices with scholia by Arethas:

- Vatican, BAV, Urb. gr. 124 (tenth century, second half): Dio Chrysostom
- Florence, BML, Plut. 69.33 (tenth century, second half): Philostratos's *Life of Apollonios of Tyana* (the earliest testimony for this work).

of their own books, a practice that (in terms of evidence) culminated in the Palaiologan period (Bianconi 2005b, 2005c). Besides scholars, we find also common readers, who would occasionally commission books for personal use or donation, or as gifts for illustrious addressees. They were more or less literate members of the imperial administration, which included the church and the army (Cavallo 2006a: 107f.). In some rare cases, entire communities joined to fund the making of a book: in 1193, for instance, a Gospel book was made thanks to the efforts of the inhabitants of a village, including the priests and the *oikodespotai* (Krakow, Biblioteka Jagiellońska Berlin, graec. 1°.51 (287); see Euangelatou-Notara 1982: nr. 471; for other cases, see Ronconi 2012: 654, n. 132). Finally, in this context belong also slaves/servants (sometimes monks) who were responsible for the copying of books, from the early to the late Byzantine period—a topic that deserves more study.

The mention of slaves/servants/monks leads us to a further remark that we may venture here. The three primary types of agents in Byzantine book culture delineated in the preceding paragraphs merged (often literally) in the context of the Byzantine aristocratic household, the Byzantine οἶκος, which often functioned as a site of a learning (a school), included a church, could be converted to a monastic community, or (in some instances in Byzantine history) was coextensive with the imperial court. From this point of view of elite households, and their economy and stratification, one might argue that the transition toward a predominantly Christian society and culture that was realized over the course of the early Byzantine centuries, or the fluctuations and transformations in the long history of Byzantine urban cultures, affected little the basics of the production, circulation, and preservation of books. The ruling elite, that is, together with the various persons and social groups employed or operating in its periphery, dictated the main needs that defined the real and ideological horizons of Byzantine books.

Codices, Scrolls, and Other Writing Supports

Regarding the format of books, Byzantine book history is primarily a history of codices. Between the second and the fourth century, the codex (which in essence has remained the main form of the book as we know it; until the advent, that is, of its electronic substitutes) gradually replaced the ancient book scroll, and the overwhelming majority of surviving Byzantine manuscripts were indeed produced in this "new" form—what occasioned the transition from one format to the other is matter of debate.[12] On a cultural level, the key role of the codex is linked to two crucial moments in the definition of Byzantine imperial identity. These were the commissioning of monumental codices

[12] See, e.g., Crisci (2008) with Bagnall (2009b: 75–95); see also Arduini (2008) and Boudalis (2017); also Kraus (2016) on the special kind of miniature codices.

with a symbolic value: the Bible in Greek by Constantine I (Eusebios of Caesarea, *Life of Constantine* 4.36–37) and a *Digest* of Roman law in Latin by Justinian (Honoré 2004; Evans 2000: 203f.).

Though the book scroll ceased to be the common vehicle for literary texts during Late Antiquity (with the exception of residual phenomena attested in Egypt at least until the seventh century; Stroppa 2013), it continued to play some role in Byzantine book culture, mostly for documentary, liturgical, as well as magical and apotropaic texts (on which see later discussion in this chapter). In medieval scrolls, the script was arranged in a single, long column perpendicular to the axis of rolling and not in many small columns parallel to it as in Antiquity. Such scrolls (sometimes called κοντάκια) containing the texts of the main *Liturgies* and specific ceremonies were common (Gerstel 1994: 195–204)—there are also examples with other liturgical texts, such as the late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century Patmos 896 that contains the life of Saint Leontios of Jerusalem. Most extant exemplars date to the period between the twelfth and the fifteenth century, and several are illustrated (cf. Cavallo 1999: for the almost contemporary southern Italian Latin *Exultet*, see Cavallo, Orofino, and Pecere 1994 and Kelly 1996). The chanceries of the patriarchates too normally produced scrolls: they were used, for example, at least until the eighth century, for the festal letters sent by the patriarch of Alexandria of Egypt (Del Corso 2016: 15); similarly, the imperial chancery wrote chrysobulls and letters to foreign sovereigns on scrolls (for a ninth-century example, see De Gregorio 2000: 91–93 and Ronconi 2021).

Beyond the codex and the scroll, the Byzantines used a wider array of writing supports—not to mention surfaces for the purpose of *inscription* (see Drpić, "Inscriptions," Chapter 16 in this volume). Some of these writing supports, such as wooden tablets, scraps of pottery,[13] or sheets (σχέδη, σχεδάρια, etc.) made of papyrus, parchment, or (after the eighth century) paper, existed for provisional drafts of texts of various kinds, and were found in teaching environments and elsewhere. At the conclusion of his *Guide* (24.122–140), for instance, Anastasios Sinaites states that constant illness prevented him from following the ordinary compositional practice, of "sketching out, correcting, arranging in lines, and only then transcribing in a beautiful script." Similarly, in a passage of his *Amphilochia* (148.40–41: ". . . ἀπὸ σχεδαρίων ὡς ἠδυνήθημεν μετεγράψαμεν, τὰ δὲ βιβλία . . ."), the patriarch Photios (PmbZ 6253) writes about *schedaria,* sheets that contained his notes (which he distinguishes from "the books [*ta biblia*]"), and it was probably a *dossier* bearing such materials that was transcribed, without being adapted, in the second part of his so-called *Bibliothêkê* (Ronconi 2015). Comparable statements are found, earlier, in Gregory of Nyssa (*Letter* 19) and Epiphanios of Salamis (*Panarion* 25.3–4) and, later, in Michael Psellos (cf. Papaioannou

[13] For two early Byzantine examples we may cite two late sixth-/early seventh-century *ostraka* (potsherds) from Egypt, now at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York; the first (Accession Number: 14.1.210) contains Menandros's *Sentences*, while the second (Accession Number: 14.1.205) preserves a hymn to the Mother of God.

2019: xl). Loose files, notepads, tablets, σχέδη, and σχεδάρια were the minor, and now generally lost, components of Byzantine book culture.

Books vs. Documents; Forgeries

It is not always easy to distinguish Byzantine "books" from what we may call "documents" (records with a primarily legal function), since in Byzantium, as in the ancient world, the two categories were often not strictly separated (Fournet 2015)—it would be equally hard to separate much Byzantine legal (imperial or ecclesiastical) discourse from literary rhetoric (cf. Riehle, "Rhetorical Practice," Chapter 11 in this volume); the decrees composed by professional rhetoricians or the anthologies of texts intended as theological and doctrinal appendices of the *Acts* of church councils are cases in point.

Documents and "literary" texts often coexisted in a manuscript and were usually also kept together in libraries/archives. The Patriarchal chancery in Constantinople, for instance, located in the Θωμαΐτης (the name refers to the patriarch Thomas I, of the early seventh century, though the structure seems to predate him by some decades), had both functions (Janin 1962; Mango and Scott 1997: 642, n. 10; Dark and Kostenec 2014).[14]

In this context, we may also speak about forgeries, since the reason for the persistence of scrolls in documentary practices noted previously was not only the result of formal conservatism. Scrolls were more difficult to falsify than codices, since the disposition of writing in columns written on an uninterrupted surface or a single uninterrupted column made it easier to spot additions or subtractions of portions of text, whereas in a codex sheets or quires could be added or removed leaving only few traces. Similarly, the so-called documentary scripts often included elaborate flourishes and other individualized features (such as particular abbreviations) that would prevent easy copying.

Forgery concerned both documents *and* books and was not uncommon (see further Papaioannou, "Authors," Chapter 20 in this volume). One example of such forgery may suffice here. Niketas David Paphlagon (PmbZ 25712), writing in the tenth century, reports the following (probably apocryphal) story about the patriarch Photios supposedly trying to fool the emperor Basil I (*Life of Ignatios* 89–90); the story speaks for itself and is worth citing at length (in the translation by Smithies; for some commentary, see Magdalino 2014):

Ἱστορίαν γὰρ ἤτοι γενεαλογίαν τὴν μήτ᾽ οὖσαν μήτ᾽ οὖν ποτε γενομένην ἀναπλάσας Τηριδάτην μὲν ἐκεῖνον τὸν μέγαν τῶν Ἀρμενίων βασιλέα, τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱερομάρτυρος λέγω Γρηγορίου, προπάτορα τίθεται τῷ λόγῳ, ἐξ ἐκείνου δὲ τὴν γενεαλογίαν ὀνόμασιν

[14] In the twelfth century, Ioannes Zonaras reports that the fire which caused the library's ruin in 791 destroyed texts such as John Chrysostom's commentaries of the scriptures (*Epitome of Histories* 292.16–293.2), while a passage in the tenth-century *Theophanes Continuatus* (3.14) attests that after its reconstruction, the library in the Θωμαΐτης contained also the Patriarchate's books.

οἷς ἠθέλησεν ἐπισυνείρων καὶ ἄλλους ἐξ ἄλλων τῇ πλασματώδει κατάγων ἱστορίᾳ, ἡνίκα δὴ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα κατῆλθε Βασιλείου, τοῦτον ἔγραψεν ὡς ἄνδρα γεννήσει τοιοῦτον οἷος αὐτὸς Βασίλειος ἦν . . . ὃν εὐτυχέστατα καὶ πολυχρονιώτατα τῶν ἐξ αἰῶνος βεβασιλευκότων βασιλεύσοντα προφητεύει. Μυρίοις δὲ ψεύδεσιν, οἷς ᾔδει γάννυσθαι τοῦτον ἀκούοντα, τὸ σύγγραμμα καταρτισάμενος ἐπὶ παλαιοτάτων μὲν τοῦτο χαρτίων γράμμασιν Ἀλεξανδρίνοις τὴν ἀρχαϊκὴν ὅτι μάλιστα χειροθεσίαν μιμησάμενος γράφει· ἀμφιέννυσι δὲ καὶ πτύχαις παλαιοτάταις ἐκ παλαιοτάτου βιβλίου ἀφαιρούμενος κἀντεῦθεν τῇ μεγάλῃ τοῦτο τοῦ παλατίου ἀποτίθεται βιβλιοθήκῃ.

Ὁ κατὰ ταῦτα δὲ πιστῶς ὑπηρετούμενος καὶ τὴν ἀπάτην αὐτῷ τοῦ δράματος συγκατασκευαζόμενος Θεοφάνης ἐκεῖνος ἦν, κληρικὸς μὲν τότε βασιλικὸς καὶ δόξαν σοφίας ἱκανῶς ἔχειν παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ νομιζόμενος, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ Καισαρείας Καππαδοκίας ἐπίσκοπος γεγονὼς ἆθλον δηλαδὴ τοῦτο τῆς κακοτεχνίας ταύτης λαβών. Λαβὼν γὰρ τὸ πλασματῶδες ἐκεῖνο βιβλιδάριον καὶ τῇ βιβλιοθήκῃ, καθὼς εἶπον, ἀποθέμενος εἶτα ὥρας εὐθέτου δραξάμενος ἐπιδείκνυσι τῷ βασιλεῖ ὡς πάντων βιβλίων θαυμασιώτατον καὶ μυστικώτατον ὄν. Σκήπτεται ἀπορεῖν, οὐκ αὐτὸς μόνος, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ἄλλος τις, φησίν, ἀνθρώπων ἢ Φώτιος τοῦτο διαγνῶναι δύναιτ᾽ ἄν . . .

[Photios] made up a story, or rather a pedigree, which did not exist and never had existed, and by his account reckoned the first of the line to be that famous Tiridates, the great king of Armenia, who lived in the time of saint Gregory the martyr. After Tiridates he strung together the family tree in arbitrary fashion, making up different ancestors for different persons in his fictitious narrative, and when indeed he came down to the father of Basil, he wrote that he would father such a man as Basil himself . . . and he predicted that the latter would be the most successful and long-lasting emperor of all time. He then finished off his composition with countless falsehoods, which he knew would delight the ears of the emperor, and wrote it on very old sheets of papyrus in Alexandrine letters,[15] imitating as far as possible the ancient style of writing. And he also put it inside very old cover plates, which he took from a very old book, before depositing it in the great library of the imperial palace.

His faithful servant in all this and helper in organizing the deception of the piece was the famous Theophanes, who at that time was a cleric at the imperial court and was considered by the emperor to have a sufficient reputation for wisdom. Later, in fact, he became bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia and that, of course, was the reward he received for this wicked scheming. For he took the forged book and deposited it in the library, as I have said, then at a convenient time took it out and showed it to the emperor, claiming it to be the most wonderful and mystical of all books. He pretended to be puzzled and said that not only was he himself unable to make it out, but no one other than Photios could do so . . .

A Bookish Culture?

If there is something distinctive about Byzantine book culture, it may be the eminent place occupied by the book in the collective imagination. This peculiarity was only

[15] Cf. Cavallo (1975: 23–31).

partly due to literacy, which was perhaps more widespread in Byzantium than in surrounding civilizations (Messis and Papaioannou, "Orality and Textuality," Chapter 9 in this volume). The special place of books was also determined by the conjunction of two factors: the persistently voluminous and wide circulation of books and documents during all phases of Byzantine history and the symbolic role assumed by the book as a repository of religious as well as juridical authoritative texts. Both factors were determined by the essential role of books in Christian liturgical life and by the continuity of a state possessing an efficient administrative apparatus—both imperial and ecclesiastic—for which not only basic reading skills were required, but also rudiments of instruction in the various advanced sciences and arts of discourse.

It may be thus unsurprising that the number of representations of books in consecrated spaces (where the Evangelists often appeared as copyists/authors, and where codices and scrolls were associated with the iconography of holy figures), in public as well as semi-public places (notable are especially statues of figures holding scrolls from the early Byzantine period; several examples in the LSA database = Last Statues of Antiquity: http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk), or even on coins is extremely high (Ronconi 2012: 627f.)—see further Papaioannou, "Authors," Chapter 20 in this volume. Moreover, Byzantine texts (e.g., hagiographies) contain countless references to books and documents that were evidently familiar to literate and illiterate persons alike (see further Cavallo 1981)—this seems especially the case for biographies of southern Italian saints, such as Gregorios of Agrigento (BHG 707) or Neilos, the Younger, of Rossano (BHG 1370) (for southern Italian hagiography in general, see Efthymiadis 2017). Indeed, manuscripts played a key role not only in Byzantine self-representation, but also in the perception of Byzantium's neighboring peoples. In the eleventh century, for instance, the Arab polygraph author Al-Ǧaḥiẓ (776–867) describes the Byzantines as people characterized by the cult of a "holy book," and familiar "with arithmetic, astrology and calligraphy" (Gutas 1998: 85), while according to Niketas Choniates, the Crusaders who invaded Constantinople in 1204, while lampooning the Byzantines, "held reed pens and inkwells, pretending to be writing in books," in order to mock their conquered enemies "as secretaries" (*History* p. 594.90–91).

Books beyond Reading

We may close this brief survey with another peculiarity of a pre-modern book culture like that of Byzantium. In our contemporary societies, the book is primarily an object to be read, usually individually, and in silence. In the Byzantine world, however, the uses of the book varied greatly, addressing a number of users far greater than that of solitary readers. The alternative uses fall into two broad categories: (a) mediated reading, namely recital for an audience, and (b) other practices that utilized the book as an object possessing an intrinsic symbolic value. Regarding the former, which is discussed elsewhere in this volume in some detail (Papaioannou, "Readers and Their Pleasures,"

Chapter 21), we may note here that in Byzantium, as in other medieval societies, the concept of high culture was not necessarily linked to literacy. The merchant skilled in arithmetic, able to read documents and perhaps even easy literary texts, was considered less cultivated than a member of the aristocracy, who, though perhaps illiterate, had the possibility to have literary works recited to her or him. The embarrassment of *basilissa* Eirene Doukaina (1066–February 19, 1123?), wife of Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118), in writing her own name in the Paris, BNF, gr. 384 (containing the foundation document of her monastery, the Theotokos Kecharitomene) does not contradict the literary interests attributed to her (Cavallo 2012; on Eirene, cf. also Papaioannou forthcoming).

Let us turn, however, to "other uses" of books. Though these may at first glance appear unrelated to *literary* culture proper, they were nevertheless part and parcel of a wider set of habits and ideas associated with the book in Byzantium and thus deserve some discussion.

Magical and Miraculous Books

Toward the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century, John Chrysostom (cf. Figure 20.2 in Chapter 20) evoked the habit of women and small children who carried Gospels around their necks as phylacteries (*Andriantes* 19.14 = PG 49 196.37–40; CPG 4330). Normally, these would be pieces of papyrus, parchment, or other materials, bearing phrases or citations—a use attested also in other Mediterranean societies (Luijendijk 2014: 55; Hamès 2007). A small parchment sheet (mm 40 x 26) found in Antinoe (P.Ant. 2.54), perhaps dated to the early Byzantine period and bearing a part of the *Our Father*, could be linked to such practices (Mt 6, 9–13: Kraus 2006: 233f.); another piece of parchment (P.Oxy. 2065) on which, in the fifth or sixth century, someone wrote the first verses of Psalm 91 ("He that dwelleth in the secret place . . .") could also have served as a phylactery (for further examples pertaining to the Psalter, see Zellmann-Rohrer 2018). The idea that writing, or more precisely books, could have a protective and thaumaturgic function is attested, for instance, in the *Life of Saint Antony the Younger* (p. 196; BHG 142), where a woman regains fertility thanks to the sheets of a book placed around her abdomen like a belt.

Reliquary books were considered special cases either because they were believed to be autographs of saints or because they had come into contact with the body of a saint. An example—and an interesting case of a diplomatic gift—is perhaps Paris, BNF, gr. 437, containing works attributed to Dionysios the Areopagite and sent as a gift by the emperor Michael II to Louis the Pious in 827. In that period, Hilduin, chaplain to Louis and abbot of Saint-Denis, wrote a *Life of Dionysius* (BHL 2192d) in which he identified Saint Denis, the bishop of Lutetia, with the homonymous Athenian disciple of Paul mentioned in the *Acts of the Apostles* (*Acts* 17: 33–34). The so-called *Areopagitic Corpus* (c. 600), known only partially north of the Alps, was therefore a significant political token. The book, perhaps peddled by the Byzantines as an autograph, was received with extraordinary ceremony (Magdalino 2011: 106f.): it was carried in procession from Compiègne to Saint-Denis, where it was greeted at night by a large crowd that was composed, among others, of ill

people. Nineteen of these were healed as a result of the mere contemplation of the object, even though its contents, written in Greek, could probably not be read (cf. Chapter 22, "Translations II: Greek Texts into Other Languages," Forrai, "Section I. Latin," in this volume).

Books could also be useful for evoking or casting out demons. An example of the first case is testified by Niketas Choniates, who tells us that a certain Aaron Isaakios of Corinth, who collaborated with the Latins, was caught "unrolling a book of Solomon (βίβλον Σολομώντειον) which, when unfolded and perused, could conjure up legions of demons" (*History* p. 146.47–51). Another, much later, but surviving scroll had the opposite function—the object is post-Byzantine, yet it seems that such scrolls-amulets were common earlier as well (for the early Christian period, see de Bruyn 2010). Written in the sixteenth century, the Vienna, ÖNB, Suppl. gr. 116, which measures about three meters and is made by six parchment pieces sewn together, contains four texts, two of which date to the Byzantine period. One of the Byzantine compositions concerns the *Mandylion*, the other the narration of the clash between the Archangel Michael and the demon Gylou (BHG 1288s–1288t: Szegvári 2014). They are followed by a list of sorcerers and an exorcism written by the same hand on an added parchment piece. This object aimed to protect a certain Antony and his family, evidently the owners of the book, who were mentioned also in the text on the *Mandylion*. Moreover, in the text about Gylou (known to menace and kill newborns: Patera 2010), the demon is forced to reveal all his names: their full transcription rendered the scroll a phylactery which could stop the monster from trying to enter the place where it was kept. Such a tradition is transmitted by an analogous text, conserved in the fifteenth-century ms. Paris, BNF, gr. 2316 (ff. 432r–433r; Spier 1993).

Books for Eating

In one of its most quoted passages, the book of Revelation records the following: "the voice [said to me]: 'Take the book which is open in the hand of the angel . . . , and eat it up. It will make your stomach bitter, but in your mouth it will be as sweet as honey' " (Revelation 10.4–11). Evoking a similar scene in the Old Testament Book of Ezekiel (Ez. 3.1), this image influenced many Byzantine stories about authorial inspiration (Papaioannou, "Authors," Chapter 20 in this volume). But for some this was no mere image. "Graphophagic" (ingestion of writing) practices are attested in all societies of the Mediterranean basin, for instance among the Jews during the Middle Ages (Abrahams 1896: 348) or in Coptic Egypt (Wöhrle 2009). So also in Byzantium: some children were supposedly asked to eat (with the help of consecrated wine) pieces of writing materials bearing prayers to angels with allusive names such as Διδακτικός or Σοφώτατος, Teacherly or Most Wise (Browning 1978: 52; Cavallo 2006a: 26–27).

Books as Ritual Objects

Last but not least, certain kinds of Byzantine manuscripts (especially Gospel books) were aimed (also) for "visual" usage in a liturgical context. Such codices were not miraculous

books per se, but objects that fulfilled symbolic and ceremonial functions (Cavallo 2006b). After all, the Book was not only the pillar of orthodoxy, but also one of the tangible manifestations of the *Logos* and the body of Christ (Auzépy 2004; Magdalino 2010). When the first council of Nicaea established that the Gospel is the *typos* of Christ, sanctioning its veneration in physical form, it took note of an ancient custom (Lowden 1990). Accordingly, a central moment in the various versions of the Byzantine *Liturgy* was the procession, known as Μικρὰ Εἴσοδος (Little Entrance), made by the priest or deacon who carried the holy Gospel; after a short prayer, the Gospel was to be raised and the people were asked to remain standing because of the "Wisdom" that was presented before them (cf. e.g. Brightman 1896: 367–372). Seeing and venerating the Gospel could thus be equally (if not more) effective as reading it. For a significant number of Byzantines, such activities (and not reading or, even, listening) were primary modes of contact with books.

Suggestions for Further Reading

The best recent and concise introduction to Byzantine book culture in its contemporary cross-cultural context and with an emphasis on technical (rather than cultural) aspects is provided in Bausi (2015), especially the chapters on "Greek Manuscripts" and "Greek Codicology" by Marilena Maniaci, "Greek Palaeography" by Daniele Bianconi, and "Catalogues of Greek Manuscripts" by André Binggeli; here one will also find all the earlier bibliography; cf. also Touwaide (2012) and Pérez Martín (2017). For a bibliographical essay/work-in-progress on matters of Byzantine Greek palaeography and book culture, see Papaioannou, *Βιβλία καὶ λόγοι* (https://byzbooks.wordpress.com); for an introduction to Greek palaeography, see *Greek Paleography from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, by T. Janz, at https://spotlight.vatlib.it/greek-paleography. For more extensive surveys, one should consult Hunger (1989) and Cavallo (2006), together with the relevant, and crucial for the subject, chapters in Perria (2011) and Crisci and Degni (2011). See further Klingshirn and Safran (2007) and Stroumsa (2016) on early Christian book culture.

Matters of papyrology for the early Byzantine period are covered in Bagnall (2009a); see also Hickey (2008). For matters of codicology for the entire Byzantine period, one must consult Agati (2017; revised and updated edition of Agati 2009) as well as Maniaci (2002a) and Andrist, Canart, and Maniaci (2013); see also Mokretsova, Naumova, Kireeva, Dobrynina, and Fonkič (2003). For the related aspect of textual transmission, see Pérez Martín, "Modes of Manuscript Transmission," Chapter 23 in this volume. For some exemplary surveys of specific topics, we may direct readers to the following studies (to name just some representative examples): Bianconi (2005c, on the book culture of middle and, especially, late Byzantine Thessalonike; 2015, on books and the Byzantine court; and 2018, on book restauration in Byzantium); Parpulov (2014, on Byzantine Psalter books; and 2015, on the ninth-century manuscripts); and Kavrus-Hoffmann (2016, on scribes, scriptoria, and patrons of New Testament Manuscripts).

Finally, some essential resources:

- for ancient and early Byzantine manuscripts:
  - the *Trismegistos* project, at http://www.trismegistos.org/index.html
  - the *Leuven Database of Ancient Books* (LDAB), at http://www.trismegistos.org/ldab/
  - http://papyri.info/
  - the collection of links at http://dvctvs.upf.edu/links/
  - https://elmss.nuigalway.ie/ (ELMSS: on [also] early Byzantine books in Latin)
- for all Byzantine and post-Byzantine books:
  - the *Diktyon* project, at http://www.diktyon.org/
  - the *Pinakes*, at http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/
  - the Princeton University resource *Digitized Greek Manuscripts* (run by David Jenkins) at http://library.princeton.edu/byzantine/manuscript-title-list
  - http://pyle.it/facsmiles/lake-online/, a digital version of Lake and Lake (1934–1945)
- for New Testament manuscripts:
  - *The Center for the Study of New Testament Manuscripts*, at http://www.csntm.org
- for Byzantine liturgical books (*Evangelion, Praxapostolos, Psaltêrion, Prophêtologion, Euchologion, Hôrologion, Mênaion, Triôdion, Pentêkostarion, Oktoêchos, Paraklêtikê, Stichêrarion, Heirmologion, Synaxarion, Panêgyrikon, Kyriakodromion*, etc.):
  - *Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts* in liturgical context (CBM) at https://www.pthu.nl/cbm/
- for the immense corpus of manuscripts with the works of Gregory the Theologian:
  - the *Repertorium Nazianzenum: Orationes, Textus Graecus* (Paderborn, 1981–) series
  - the relevant links cited on the page of Centre d'Études sur Grégoire de Nazianze (Université catholique de Louvain), at https://nazianzos.fltr.ucl.ac.be/002Contenu.htm
- for the equally immense corpus of manuscripts with the works of John Chrysostom:
  - the *Codices Chrysostomici graeci* (Paris 1968–) series
- for scribes:
  - the RGK, namely the *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800–1600* (Vienna 1981–1997; vols. 1 and 2 were edited by E. Gamillscheg, D. Harlfinger, and H. Hunger, and vol. 3 by E. Gamillscheg and H. Hunger)
  - the earlier but still useful Vogel and Gardthausen (1909)
  - also Politis and Politi (1994) for scribes of Greek mss. in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries
- for book-poetry, scribal notes, and "para-texts":
  - DBBE (*Database of Byzantine Book Epigrams*, at http://www.dbbe.ugent.be)
  - Rhoby (2018)
  - the *Σημειώματα-Κώδικες* project, at http://simeiomata-kodikon.arch.uoa.gr
- for Byzantine monastic library holdings:
  - *Artefacts and Raw Materials in Byzantine Archival Documents*, at http://typika.cfeb.org/index/.

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CHAPTER 4

THEORY OF LITERATURE

STRATIS PAPAIOANNOU

Even a quick glance at the surviving Byzantine texts, manuscript books, and inscriptions would reveal that it was not only literature that was profusely produced in Byzantium, but also a substantial body of thought *about* literature. This theory of literature set a series of expectations for authors, story-tellers, performers, readers, and listeners; it defined norms of discursive behavior; and it created systems of taste regarding the beautiful, the moral, or the communicatively effective (and their opposites) in texts. As such, it warrants attention by any modern student of Byzantine literature. Though we shall not find answers to all of our questions in Byzantine theory, and though it is not always easy to draw direct links between theory and practice, Byzantine approaches to textual aesthetics do offer an important window into the premises that shaped the production and consumption of literature in Byzantium.

The present chapter aims to introduce this thought by focusing on the following three questions: Where do we encounter Byzantine literary theory? What are its main features and major preoccupations? And what are the notions of "literature" that emerge from it? Our exploration will alternate between the general and the specific. We shall begin with an overview, move to a closer look at a single field (namely *rhetorical* theory), return to an examination of problems and trends shared by different types of theory, and finish with a case study that traces Byzantine approaches toward a key concept in modern literary theorization: fiction.

Theories

The plural in the title of this section is emphatic. Just like its modern equivalent, Byzantine literary theory is a polymorph creature that is hard to pin down. The first obvious place to look for it is the Byzantine school, namely the manuals and textbooks, but also commentaries, treatises, dictionaries, anthologies, and notes, written in the context of discursive education. Though the school in Byzantium was itself a

notoriously heterogeneous institution (if one can call it that), two main varieties may be identified: ecclesiastical and secular education. "Ecclesiastical" and "secular," we should add, indicate textual (and thus partly ideological) preferences, rather than clearly distinguished categories, contexts, or career paths. A Byzantine bishop, for instance, could very well have started his education in schools of "secular" orientation, and a civil servant could have been exposed only to basic "ecclesiastical schooling," etc.[1]

The core literature of ecclesiastical education comprised books from the Old and New Testament used in liturgical contexts, with the Psalter and the four Gospels holding the most prominent place. Around this Byzantine version of the Bible (Crostini 2012; Parpulov 2012), traditions of both philological work and theological exegesis were created. The former was deployed in editions, prefaces, and explanatory notes. The latter took the form mostly of "sermons" on specific passages (ὁμιλία and λόγος were the most frequent Greek titles), but also of line-per-line "commentaries" (ὑπόμνημα[2], ἑρμηνεία, ἐξήγησις—though these titles were frequently used for sermons as well; cf. Figure 18.1 in Chapter 18 of this volume).

Secular education formed a parallel field, organized under what were termed as the "discursive arts" (e.g., Anonymous, *Introduction to Rhetoric* 727.18–22) or "discursive sciences" (e.g., Gennadios Scholarios, *Prolegomena on Aristotle's Logic and Porphyry's Isagoge* 4.85–104 and, for a concise Byzantine overview, Treu 1893): grammar, rhetoric, and dialectics or logic, usually taught in this sequence.[3] Logic trained students in philosophical argumentation and introduced basic philosophical concepts; not occupied with literary texts per se, and usually distinguished in Byzantine manuscripts from the other two discursive arts, logic will not concern us here.[4] Grammar and rhetoric, however, are crucial for our subject. Grammar provided the basics of literacy and also formed habits of reading and writing (primarily poetry). Rhetoric was devoted to discursive composition, and its instruction cultivated all aspects of expression: from diction to style, from prose (its main focus) and verse rhythm to narrative patterns, and from specific genres such as funerary rhetoric and letter-writing to the wider categorizations of festival, advisory, and forensic discourse.

Taken together, the amount of relevant texts and manuscripts is impressive. Yet they do not actually cover the entire field that we are set to explore here. Literary theory is observable in virtually all corners of Byzantine discursive and writing culture. We find

[1] On the many facets of Byzantine education, see the recent treatments (with the earlier bibliography) in Markopoulos (2006, 2008, 2013), Giannouli (2014), Nesseris (2014), Loukaki (2015, 2016), along with various contributions in Gemeinhardt, Van Hoof, and Van Nuffelen (2016) and Steckel, Gaul, and Grünbart (2014); see also Riehle, "Rhetorical Practice," Chapter 11 in this volume.

[2] For this multivalent term, see Gribomont (2012) and also Schiffer (2004).

[3] The list of these "λογικαὶ τέχναι/ἐπιστῆμαι" may vary in Byzantine texts, but grammar, rhetoric, and logic are, throughout Byzantine history, the three main branches.

[4] Of course, logic was not separated from the teaching of rhetoric in practice; moreover, logical concepts often played an important role in the development of rhetorical terminology (MacDougall 2017). For an introduction to Byzantine logic, see Erismann (2017).

it, for example, in commentaries on pre-Byzantine texts in the Neoplatonic tradition (Hoffmann 2006). These elucidated a significant part of the Platonic and Aristotelian corpus, including key texts on literary theory, such as Plato's *Gorgias*, the *Phaedrus*, and the *Republic*, or Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, and extended to interpretations of non-philosophical texts, especially Homer (Lamberton 1986).[5] Commentaries—most of which remain virtually unstudied—on Christian (but non-biblical) texts also belong here.

We also encounter literary thought in what we may call "para-texts" (for the term, see Genette 1997) which abundantly populated Byzantine manuscripts: titles (when not penned by the author, but assigned by later readers/scribes/compilers), colophons, dedicatory epigrams, short summaries that prefaced texts, marginal or interlinear scholia (cf. Figures 4.1, 4.2, and 4.3 later in this chapter, and Figure 20.1 in Chapter 20), etc.[6] Finally, literary theory is also enveloped in what we may term "meta-literary" or "meta-textual" theory. This includes (a) the (usually implicit) theoretical presuppositions by which texts were selected and arranged in manuscript books, which usually took the shape of collections of texts. It also encompasses (b) those theoretical reflections about literature that were embedded *within* literary texts themselves: in titles (when penned by the author herself/himself), prefaces (often termed "προθεωρία"), and conclusions; and in shorter or longer side remarks about literature, which peppered almost every Byzantine text, regardless of genre, function, and ideological orientation.

Notions of literary theory, whether they be tacit assumptions, explicit statements, or systems-in-the-making of thought, are thus omnipresent in the surviving corpus of Byzantine literature.

Rhetorical Instruction

In order to unravel some of the features of literary theory and identify the problems inherent therein, let us take a closer look at what was perhaps the most theorized literary type of discourse in Byzantium: rhetoric.[7]

[5] For the mss. of Byzantine commentaries of Aristotelian texts, see the project *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca et Byzantina* (https://cagb-db.bbaw.de). For the 12th-century commentaries of Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, see recently Vogiatzi (2019); for the Aristotelian commentary tradition in general, see, e.g., Sorabji (2016a, 2016b).

[6] For middle and late Byzantine book-epigrams, see Rhoby (2018), along with DBBE (*Database of Byzantine Book Epigrams*: http://www.dbbe.ugent.be) and the *Σημειώματα-Κώδικες* project (http://simeiomata-kodikon.arch.uoa.gr). See also Lied and Maniaci (2018).

[7] Unlike western medieval Europe (Irvine 1994; Copeland and Sluiter 2009: 1–60), Byzantine discursive education (at least not until the twelfth century and the new commentaries on grammar-school texts, namely the Homeric epics, etc.) did not privilege grammar over rhetoric as the main field for literary theoretical reflection.

The canon of Byzantine rhetorical theory was established by the end of the sixth century (Hunger 1978: I 77) and remained more or less unchanged until the end of the Byzantine period. The primary textbook comprised the following five works in this order: Aphthonios's (fourth-century) relatively brief discussion and examples of *Preliminary Exercises* (*Προγυμνάσματα*), followed by four treatises attributed (two of them wrongly) to the second-century rhetorician Hermogenes: *On Issues* (*Περὶ στάσεων*); *On Invention* (*Περὶ εὑρέσεως*. pseudonymous); *On the Forms of Discourse* (*Περὶ ἰδεῶν λόγου*); and *On the Method of Force* (*Περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος*. pseudonymous). The four Hermogenian treatises were entitled jointly *The Art of Rhetoric* (*Τέχνη ῥητορική*).[8]

Aphthonios's *Progymnasmata* introduces students to the basics of rhetorical composition by training them in a variety of discursive "modes," that is, habits and methods (rather than simply "genres," as they are often interpreted): narration (the progymnasmata of *Μῦθος/Fable* and *Διήγημα/Narrative*); short memorable phrase (*Χρεία/Anecdote* and *Γνώμη/Maxim*); praise and blame (*Ἐγκώμιον/Encomium* and *Ψόγος/Invective*); personification (*Ἠθοποιία/Speech-in-character*); description (*Ἔκφρασις/Description*); etc. Hermogenes's *On Issues* addresses the needs of forensic rhetoric by surveying thirteen possible types of proof in judicial circumstances. *On Invention* offers a series of techniques and topics necessary for declamation; its first three parts treats consecutively the preface (προοίμιον), the narration or statement of facts (διήγησις), and the confirmation or proof (κατασκευή), while the fourth and last part deals with various figures of speech (σχήματα λόγου). This latter subject was expanded by *On the Method of Force*, which beyond figures deals briefly with various issues such as "On Praising Oneself without Offense" (section 25), or "On Speaking in Tragic Style" (33), and alternatively, "On Speaking in Comic Style" (34).

On the Forms of Discourse (*Περὶ ἰδεῶν*) is a much more substantial and intellectually demanding work. The larger part of the treatise (sections 1.2–2.9) presents a universal system of style, arranged under the rubric of various stylistic virtues termed "Forms" (ἰδέαι) and explicated through examples deriving mostly from Hermogenes's ideal rhetor, Demosthenes. The concluding sections (2.10–12) sketch out a comprehensive map of learned discourse and identify the most important model authors in each genre.

This primary textbook for the instruction of rhetoric, which as already noted enjoyed lasting success, became the object of a continuous tradition of commentary by Byzantine teachers of rhetoric. Commentaries on Hermogenes appeared already in the third

[8] For all these texts one may consult the introductions, notes, and indexes in the following editions and French translations (Patillon 2008, 2009, 2012a, 2012b, and 2014); see also the English translations of Aphthonios (Kennedy 2003), Ps.-Hermogenes's *On Invention* and *On the Method of Force* (Kennedy 2005), and Hermogenes's *On Issues* (Heath 1995). The best comprehensive treatment of Hermogenian aesthetics is found in Patillon (2010). The English translation of Hermogenes's *On the Forms* (Wooten 1987) requires an update.

century, while those on Aphthonios seem to have started in the early ninth. Both lines of exegesis continued to 1453 and beyond.

A large part of this tradition is now lost. But a good amount of relevant texts survives: introductions (προλεγόμενα) to Aphthonios or Hermogenes; summaries (συνόψεις); marginal scholia that were sometimes arranged in the form of the so-called *catenae* ("chains" of glosses on the same passage, culled from different commentators) and often included explanatory diagrams[9]; glossaries[10]; and extensive word-for-word commentaries, independent works with lengthy introductions, appendices, summaries, and the like.[11]

A typical manuscript of the *Progymnasmata* and the *Art of Rhetoric* was accompanied by such additional material. Take, for instance, three middle Byzantine manuscripts with Aphthonios and the four Hermogenian treatises that are available online. Paris, BNF, gr. 1983, tenth century: scholia and *prolegomena* by the early Byzantine commentators Syrianos and Troilos, treatises on meter (Lauxtermann 1998: 12) and rhetorical figures, and Theophrastos's *Characters*; Florence, BML, Plut. gr. 60.15, eleventh century: marginal scholia (mainly on the *Progymnasmata* of Aphthonios; Sabatucci 1908; Figure 4.1[12]); and Florence, BML, Plut. gr. 57.5, dated to the late twelfth century, and probably in Maximos Planoudes's (c. 1255–1305; PLP 23308; RGK I 259 bis and II 357) possession a century later (Mazzucchi 1990): commentaries by Ioannes Doxapatres (c. 1040s) on Aphthonios and on Hermogenes's *On Issues*, Ioannes of Sardeis (early ninth century: Resh 2021) on Ps.-Hermogenes's *On Invention* (in the ms. this commentary is attributed to Georgios Diairetes or an anonymous commentator), Ioannes Sikeliotes (c. 950–after 1010?) on the *On the Forms*, and Gregorios Pardos (twelfth century) on ps.-Hermogenes's *On the Method of Force* (cf. Papaioannou 2019).

And this is not all. Several Byzantine dictionaries are part of the same field of rhetorical instruction to the extent that they offered models for rhetorical *lexis*, and also gathered important concepts of literary analysis. Then, there were shorter or longer texts of what we might call literary criticism, a large number of which were heavily indebted to the theoretical vocabulary of rhetorical manuals. The most well-known examples of such texts are patriarch Photios's massive collection of book reviews, the so-called *Bibliothêkê*, and Eustathios of Thessalonike's even more enormous *Parekbolai,* commentaries on the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Both the *Bibliothêkê* and the *Parekbolai* were written from the perspective of rhetoricians steeped in Hermogenian thought.[13] To these, we may append an important part of the tradition of scholia to those ancient authors who were upheld as models of rhetoric (including Homer, Plato, Demosthenes,

[9] For one among many examples, see Paris, BNF, gr. 1983 (tenth century), f. 182r, available online.

[10] For an example see Pontani (2014).

[11] The concise survey of this tradition by Herbert Hunger remains unsurpassed (1978: I 75–91), but much work on the subject remains to be done.

[12] F. 13r: the end of the example exercise on the *progymnasma* of *comparison* (Achilles and Hector) and the beginning of the definition of *êthopoiia*.

[13] See Kustas (1962), Schamp (1987), and Acquafredda (2015) on Photios, and Cullhed (2016) and van den Berg (forthcoming) on Eustathios.

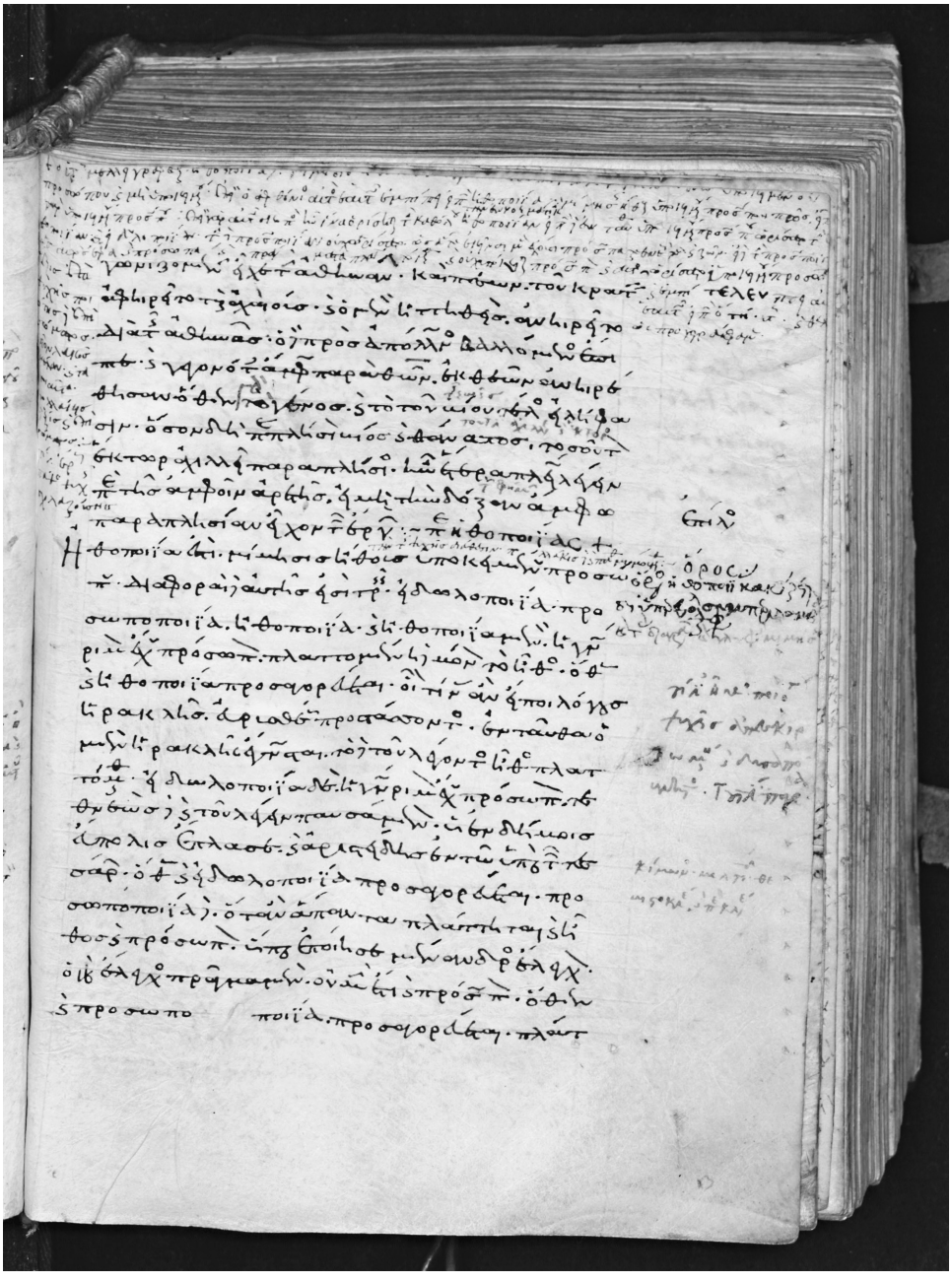

FIGURE 4.1. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 60.15; parchment; eleventh century; Aphthonios and Hermogenes's *Art of Rhetoric* with *scholia* (mainly on the *Progymnasmata*); f. 13r: the end of the example exercise on *comparison* (Achilles and Hector) and the beginning of the definition of *êthopoiia*.

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Lucian, Ailios Aristides, and Philostratos). These scholia often alerted the reader to matters of rhetorical style. It is, after all, important to note that throughout its ancient and Byzantine history, rhetorical theory and literary criticism, i.e., *prescriptive treatises* and *descriptive or explanatory works*, were mutually enhancing and supplementing discourses, rarely separated by clearly defined boundaries, whether in school life or in manuscript culture.

As is perhaps already evident, the number of works produced by Byzantine teachers of rhetoric is considerably large. What is more, these are works that have been generally neglected and, as a result, much remains unpublished and/or unstudied. For this field of Byzantine writing (if we stick to the main corpus alone) has attracted relatively little attention since the valiant efforts of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century (especially German) philologists to decipher the complex tradition of rhetorical commentaries and handbooks and to produce the first good editions—leading among these philologists was Hugo Rabe (1867–1932), a student of Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff and Hermann Usener. The reasons behind this neglect are several. Among them, we may certainly count the fact that theoretical writing about rhetoric may appear, at first glance, as too technical and, in its obscurity, marginal. There is also, however, the dominance in recent decades of a certain brand of classicism that is perhaps less comprehensive than its nineteenth-century and pre–World War II predecessor. This has revived interest in Aristotelian rhetorical theory and its Roman epigones, as well as in late medieval theorizations of "humanist" authors like Dante, but has left the medieval Greek tradition mostly outside its purview.

Challenges also emerge from a historiographical perspective. The beginnings of the history of Byzantine rhetorical theory, just as many other aspects of Byzantine culture, begin *in medias res*, followed by a series of apparent gaps. The *Art of Rhetoric* and Aphthonios's *Progymnasmata* were the products of a long tradition of theory that can be traced back at least to the fourth century BCE, to Plato and Aristotle.[14] A student of Byzantine rhetorical theory needs to be aware of this complicated web of theoretical discourses, from which the "bible" of Byzantine rhetoricians emerged. Even more important is the understanding of the Byzantine trajectory of Aphthonios and Hermogenes. But how does one proceed? In his comprehensive treatment of this trajectory, Herbert Hunger observed a more or less stable tradition (1978: I 75–91). However, middle and late Byzantine rhetorical theory displays a series of creative expansions of the Aphthonian-Hermogenian canon whose impact on rhetorical thought is yet to be fully charted.

We may highlight here three important such expansions. The first took place during the early Byzantine period, when Hermogenes and Hermogenian aesthetics were embraced in Neoplatonic philosophical schools (Heath 2009). This is evident in

[14] Recent important overviews are offered in various contributions to Porter (1997), Worthington (2007), and Gunderson (2009).

at least three domains: the Neoplatonic commentaries on Hermogenes that survive in a somewhat fragmentary state (with the exception of the work of the fifth-century Syrianos [Rabe 1892–1893]); the Neoplatonic modes of exegesis evident in rhetorical commentaries in general (for example in *prolegomena*; see Rabe 1931 with MacDougall 2017: 721–723); and the presence of rhetorical jargon and preoccupations in several fifth- and sixth-century philosophical commentaries on works of Plato and Aristotle (a matter that has not yet been fully investigated). An influential mixture of rhetorical theory with Neoplatonic philosophy was thus taking shape; this mixture, we may add, was probably the key factor in the subsequent predominance of Hermogenes in Byzantium.

The second significant expansion is noticeable in the middle Byzantine period when rhetorical theory—which until then was apparently a mostly non-Christian affair—began to open up toward *Christian* rhetorical practice. The most significant example, Ioannes Sikeliotes's outstanding (though still available in a poor edition) commentary on Hermogenes's *On the Forms of Discourse*, dates to the 1010s (Papaioannou 2015, 2019; see also Magdalino 2017); notable in Sikeliotes's work is the frequent replacement of examples from Demosthenes, the unquestioned Rhetor of the earlier tradition (Conley 2003) with passages from Gregory the Theologian's *Orations*. In the same period, non-Christian rhetorical-theoretical writing consistently informed the commentaries and readings of the Christian patristic canon; this happened, for instance, in the popular work of Basileios the Lesser, dated to the mid-tenth century (Schmidt 2001; Rioual 2019). From this point onward, Christian rhetoric featured recurrently in rhetorical theoretical writing and the latter was implemented in commentaries of Christian rhetoric, though never with the intensity encountered in Sikeliotes and, to a lesser extent, in Michael Psellos.[15]

A third kind of expansion also made its appearance in the second half of the tenth century but reached fuller force in the work of Psellos a hundred years later and, beyond him, from the twelfth century onward. This entailed recourse to alternative theoretical models for the understanding of discursive phenomena. Without setting Aphthonios and Hermogenes aside, teachers and students of rhetoric began to copy, read, and review other pre-Byzantine rhetorical theory. For instance, after the mid-tenth century, we find manuscripts and summaries of Dionysios of Halikarnassos (Littlewood 2017). During the first half of the twelfth century, two separate and remarkable Byzantine commentaries on Aristotle's *Rhetoric* were written (Rabe 1896; Hörandner 2007), an Aristotelian work that was practically neglected until then (Conley 1990). Finally, in the Palaiologan period, we find the first Greek translation of a text from the voluminous Latin rhetorical theory (Bernardinello 1973).

[15] See Papaioannou 2013: 50–127, idem, contributions in Papaioannou and Barber 2017: 11–23 and 99–178, and Papaioannou 2021a: 89–165. A similar wave of renewal of the canon is evident in texts of the late thirteenth century, when middle Byzantine rhetors too (for instance, Psellos and, notably, Symeon Metaphrastes) are treated as canonical, model rhetors and are discussed in rhetorical manuals. Cf. Papaioannou 2013: 254–266 and 2021: 279–304 with Hörandner 2012.

What Theory? The Case of Rhetoric

Despite the aforementioned limitations, we may hazard some general observations about the Byzantine art and science of rhetoric as literary theory, taking as our starting point the most ambitious theoretical project, Hermogenes's *On the Forms of Discourse* and its reception. In Hermogenes's account, there are seven basic types or virtues of style, some of which are divided further into subcategories. The comprehensive list is as follows:

(1) clarity (σαφήνεια) and its two subcategories, purity (καθαρότης) and distinctness (εὐκρίνεια),
(2) grandeur (μέγεθος), divided into solemnity (σεμνότης), asperity (τραχύτης), vehemence (σφοδρότης), brilliance (λαμπρότης), vigor (ἀκμή), and amplification (περιβολή),
(3) beauty (κάλλος),
(4) rapidity (γοργότης),
(5) character (ἦθος), which is produced by
    (a) simplicity (ἀφέλεια) and its "intensifications" (*On the Forms of Discourse* 1,3,24) sweetness (γλυκύτης) as well as piquancy and beautiful, graceful, and pleasant discourse (δριμύτης/ὡραῖος, ἁβρός, καὶ ἡδονὴν ἔχων λόγος),
    (b) moderation (ἐπιείκεια), and the related (c) Form of
(6) sincerity (ἀληθινὸς λόγος) and its own subcategory, sternness (βαρύτης), and, finally, the culmination of Hermogenes's system of style,
(7) δεινότης, often translated as force or forcefulness in English (and *habileté* in Patillon's French rendition) and which we may understand as rhetorical or discursive intelligence, the ability, that is, of the rhetor to show skill and shrewdness, and be awesome and powerful at the same time.

These stylistic virtues are then dissected according to eight aspects of style, where each of the Forms may be achieved (though not all Forms have distinct characteristics in all aspects):

(1) thoughts (ἔννοιαι): content appropriate for each style;
(2) method (μέθοδος): modes of presentation, arrangement, composition, and narrative;
(3) diction (λέξις): choice of words and expressions;
(4) figures of speech (σχήματα): various stylistic devices (see Valiavitcharska, "Rhetorical Figures," Chapter 12 in this volume);
(5) colons (κῶλα): clauses, that is, semantic units of usually seven to ten syllables;
(6) composition (συνθήκη): arrangement of words within sentences;
(7) cadence (ἀνάπαυσις): the ending of clauses and sentences;

(8) rhythm (ῥυθμός): the rhythmical patterning of entire sentences.

A random but typical example of how all this operates within Hermogenes's treatise is offered in what follows, together with the relevant commentary by Ioannes Sikeliotes in c. 1010. The example is taken from Hermogenes's discussion of the Form of beauty (κάλλος), where he presents, among others, the following rhetorical figure (*On the Forms of Discourse* 1.12.31):

Ἔτι τῶν ἐπιφανῶς καλλωπιζόντων ἐστὶ μετὰ ἐναργείας καὶ τὸ κλιμακωτὸν καλούμενον σχῆμα . . . οἷον (Demosthenes, *On the Crown* 179):

"Οὐκ εἶπον μὲν ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔγραψα δέ· οὐδ' ἔγραψα μέν, οὐκ ἐπρέσβευσα δέ· οὐδ' ἐπρέσβευσα μέν, οὐκ ἔπεισα δέ."

Among the figures that manifestly beautify discourse with vividness is also the so-called *klimakôton*[16] . . . ; example:

"It is not that I said these things, but did not make a motion; nor did I make a motion, but did not serve as ambassador; nor did I serve, but did not persuade."

And Sikeliotes's commentary (340.11–19):

Εἴρηται δὲ οὕτως ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τῶν κλιμάκων, ὅτι καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων τὸ τέλος τῆς προτέρας ἀναβαθμίδος ἀρχὴ γίνεται τῆς δευτέρας· οἷον (Gregory the Theologian, *On the Theophany* = Or. 38.7 [see also Or. 45.3]):

"'ἵνα τῷ ληπτῷ μὲν ἕλκῃ πρὸς ἑαυτό,[17] τῷ δ' ἀλήπτῳ θαυμάζηται· θαυμαζόμενον δὲ ποθῆται πλέον, ποθούμενον δὲ καθαίρῃ, καθαῖρον δὲ θεοειδεῖς ἀπεργάζηται"·

τοῦτο τὸ κλιμακωτὸν θαυμάσιόν τι ἔχει καὶ παρὰ τὰ ἄλλα ἐξαίρετον· οὐ γὰρ κατ' ἐπιτήδευσιν γέγονεν, ἀλλ' ὡς αὐτὴ τοῦ πράγματος ἡ φύσις ἀπήτει.

This figure is metaphorically called *klimakôton* [lit. "scale/gradation"] in reference to ladders, since also in their case the end of each step becomes the beginning of the next; example:

"so that the Divine may draw us to itself through comprehensibility, but be the cause of marvel through incomprehensibility; being marveled, it is desired more; being desired, it purifies us; by purifying us, it renders us divine-like";

This particular *klimakôton* contains something marvelous and is truly exceptional; for it was not made for the sake of affectation, but rather according to what the nature itself of the subject demanded.

There is much to discuss here, but let us restrict ourselves to some general remarks. Both by the outline of Forms and stylistic categories and also by the specific examples, it becomes obvious that rhetorical instruction was *practice*- and not *theory*-oriented. Its main goal was to introduce students to a specific mode of speaking and writing. At that,

[16] For this figure cf. the Glossary of Rhetorical Figures at the end of this volume.

[17] Corrected from the edition's "ἑαυτόν."

its approach was primarily *formalist.* Its concern was *how* one may create the most effective text, and not *what* a text means or should mean (which is the subject of hermeneutics). Indeed, many of the formalist considerations were geared toward those aspects that would create the most effective prose for rhetorical *performance*: three of Hermogenes's stylistic categories deal primarily with what we might call prose rhythm (colons, cadences, and rhythm), while another three (diction, figures, composition) partly pertain to euphony and sounds effects.

Moreover, rhetorical training was concerned with the *pragmatics* in discursive situations: who talks to whom, when, and where. The Form of beauty, for example, is defined by Hermogenes as "οἷον κόσμος τις ἐπικείμενος ἔξωθεν κομμωτικός [some kind of adornment superimposed from the outside for the sake of embellishment]," evident only in the inferior elements of style, in diction, figures, colons, cadences, composition, and rhythm (1.12.7; cf. 1.1.32 on the hierarchy of the elements of style); as such, beauty is not considered appropriate for every situation, but is to be used somewhat sparingly.[18] Such examples could be multiplied.

Although directed toward practice, form, situation, and performance, Hermogenian rhetorical theory was not void of ideological-cum-aesthetic priorities that, taken together, reflect an underlying theory about discourse with universal pretentions. For instance, before analyzing in detail the particular Form of beauty, Hermogenes spends some time on another, larger and more significant, type of beauty in discourse. "Properly speaking," he writes, "one would call 'beauty' the congruence and symmetry of all those elements (such as thoughts, methods, diction, and the rest) which create all the Forms of discourse, accompanied by a certain single quality of individual character [ἤθους] that is visible throughout the discourse and is appropriate to its appearance, like color is to a body" (1.12.2; cf. 2.2.2) The philosophical background of this statement is dense and will not be analyzed here.[19] What interests us is the *ethics* of discourse promoted by Hermogenes, according to which certain aspects (such as symmetry) can be used as yardsticks for judging speech-making. It is no accident that certain Forms, such as solemnity, vigor, moderation, or sincerity, sound more like moral qualities rather than traits of style. After all, rhetoric for Hermogenes ultimately signified a sociolect for the civic elite, the preservation and cultivation of what he called "civic discourse = πολιτικὸς λόγος."[20]

Some eight centuries later, Sikeliotes was to go a step further and suggest even a moral *ontology* of discourse. In Sikeliotes's commentary, "political discourse" was interpreted not simply as a sociolect for all (including trivial civic matters), but as speech appropriate for the Christian gentleman, at pains to cultivate the inner "city" of the soul in preparation of the future "city" of eternity. "This," Sikeliotes states, "is the true civic discourse: the one that grants equilibrium to the powers of our souls, those intelligible

[18] For Sikeliotes, e.g., the main purpose of the Form of beauty is "that the listener may be captivated by the beautiful appearance of discourse and be persuaded also in reference to striking concepts, those hard to comprehend" (326.8–327.4).

[19] Platonic echoes are most prevalent: cf. e.g. *Philebus* 64e5–7 on beauty and symmetry.

[20] For the persistence of this "political/civic" definition of rhetoric in Byzantium, see Schouler (1995) and Papaioannou (2017a) with further bibliography.

cities, . . . transferring us to that original polity from which we were snatched away" (*Commentary on the Forms of Hermogenes* 467.2–7).

In reading Sikeliotes one may be inclined to think that the Byzantines were moving toward a stricter, theological aesthetics. Yet neither his approach, nor Hermogenes's text which he explicated, nor the reception of Hermogenes and Aphthonios in general, were ever reduced to a universal system of literary theory with hard lines and inviolable standards. For instance, though rhetorical teachers liked to create a mind-boggling network of technical terms (such as *klimakôton,* figure of speech, Form, etc.), the method of producing as well as applying these terms was by default open to interpretation. Why, one may ask, is "gradation" a figure of speech that produces artificial beauty? Teachers of rhetoric rarely addressed such questions.

Nor did they ever (despite appearances) treat questions comprehensively. The Aphthonios-Hermogenes handbook covered mainly speech writing and speech giving. But what about other genres such as letter writing, epigram, or various types of narrative? While these other genres are occasionally addressed in the handbook and its commentators, and while we also find treatises in Byzantine rhetorical manuscripts that dealt with them specifically, we never encounter an all-encompassing treatment of discursive production. There are thematic exclusions as well. Hagiographical texts, for instance, that form the most voluminous field in Byzantine literary practice, rarely figured as a topic in rhetorical theory (for some exceptions, see Resh 2015). Rhetorical thinking was thus characterized by its fragmented nature; some aspects were over-theorized, others less so, and no single system emerged.

This open-endedness was further enhanced by the fundamental orientation toward authors as models of rhetorical style, rather than toward rules and prescriptions. As is perhaps evident from the preceding examples, what determined a theorist's view of style was not so much certain preconditioned principles, but the need to ascertain what made certain rhetors, such as Demosthenes or Gregory, models for emulation. This means that the analysis of specific texts was what produced general views.

In this spirit, it is telling that the ultimate and most important virtue of style was what we called earlier "rhetorical/discursive intelligence," namely what Hermogenes termed "force (δεινότης)" and defined as the "correct use (ὀρθὴ χρῆσις)" of all other Forms: "the ability to use as necessary and according to occasion all those elements that naturally constitute the body of discourse = τὸ πᾶσι τοῖς πεφυκόσι λόγου σῶμα ποιεῖν χρῆσθαι δύνασθαι δεόντως καὶ κατὰ καιρὸν" (*On the Forms of Discourse* 2.9.1 and 2.9.38 with Sikeliotes, *Commentary on the Forms of Hermogenes* 445.22–448.15). In other words, rather than any absolute guidelines, what took precedence was "mixture" and "variation" according to situation.[21] It was up to the rhetor himself to decide when to deploy

[21] The words κράσις/μίξις, and ποικίλον/ποικιλία and related terms are recurrent in Hermogenes and his commentators.

what. After all, as Hermogenes had made clear (e.g., 2.10.3), the generic "forceful" style was identical to Demosthenes's (Sikeliotes would say Gregory's) individual style. The fundamental freedom of personal talent of model authors, that is, ultimately determined the norm; not vice versa.[22]

Orthodoxies and Deviations

If we were to widen our angle, and look also at other Byzantine types of literary theory, a comparable impression emerges. First of all, we encounter similar problems: neglected traditions, fragmentation of disciplines, unedited texts, uncharted histories. For instance, we know much about early Byzantine theological hermeneutics—one could simply peruse the *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* (CPG) and get an immediate sense of what parts of the Bible attracted commentary (see especially the most useful appendix in vol. 5: 115–147). Yet we have nothing equivalent for the period after the year 800; for, though much work has been done on early Christian and patristic exegesis, the middle and late Byzantine traditions remain rather unexplored (cf. Constas, "Biblical Hermeneutics," Chapter 5 in this volume).

Comparably, the study of Byzantine grammar and philology has enjoyed sustained attention. But this attention has been sparked mainly by the interest in the reception of ancient literature,[23] which is usually divorced from other types of philological work. This is a divorce with which the Byzantine grammarian would probably not agree, as Byzantine philology (generously conceived) applied itself also on the Old and New Testament[24] as well as on Byzantine texts.[25]

Related to such philology was, for instance, the little studied Byzantine editorial work on popular monastic and lay Christian readings, such as Ioannes Sinaites's *Ladder* (CPG 7852), a text translated in all Byzantine Christian languages, and circulating widely in Greek. The *Ladder* (which, we might add, is not yet available in a modern critical edition, like so many other seminal Byzantine texts) is often prefaced in manuscripts by a *Prologos* (BHG 882a) and a biography of Ioannes (BHG 882) and accompanied by scholia (on which, cf. CPG 7853) as well as illustrations (Evangelatou 2017) (for an example, see Figure 4.2[26]). Similarly, major works produced in the context of grammatical training remain poorly published—e.g.,

[22] In this respect, Byzantine rhetorical theory looks much less dependent on ethics and conventional morality in comparison to the respective traditions either in medieval Arabic (Kemal 2003: 174–221) or, especially, in medieval Latin (Aertsen 1992; Gillespie 2005; Copeland and Sluiter 2009: 53–60).

[23] Dickey (2007, 2015, 2017) with Matthaios (2020) and Pontani (2020) provide the best recent overviews in English; see also Pontani (2005).

[24] See several recent publications (e.g., Willard 2009; Blomkvist 2012; and Scherbenske 2013), especially on the work of Euthalios (fourth century?), much transmitted in Byzantine manuscripts; cf. Figure 21.3 in Chapter 21 of this volume.

[25] Hunger (1978: II 1–83) contains references to Byzantine philological work on Byzantine texts as well.

[26] Patmos, Μονὴ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου 122; eleventh-century illustrated (cf. Ševčenko 2010) parchment copy of the *Ladder* by Ioannes Sinaites, written in *Perlschrift* and accompanied by marginal *scholia*; f. 3v: the end of the *Prologos* to the *Ladder* (BHG 882a) and the beginning of the *Life* of Ioannes Sinaites by Daniel, monk of Raithou (PmbZ 1219) (BHG 882).

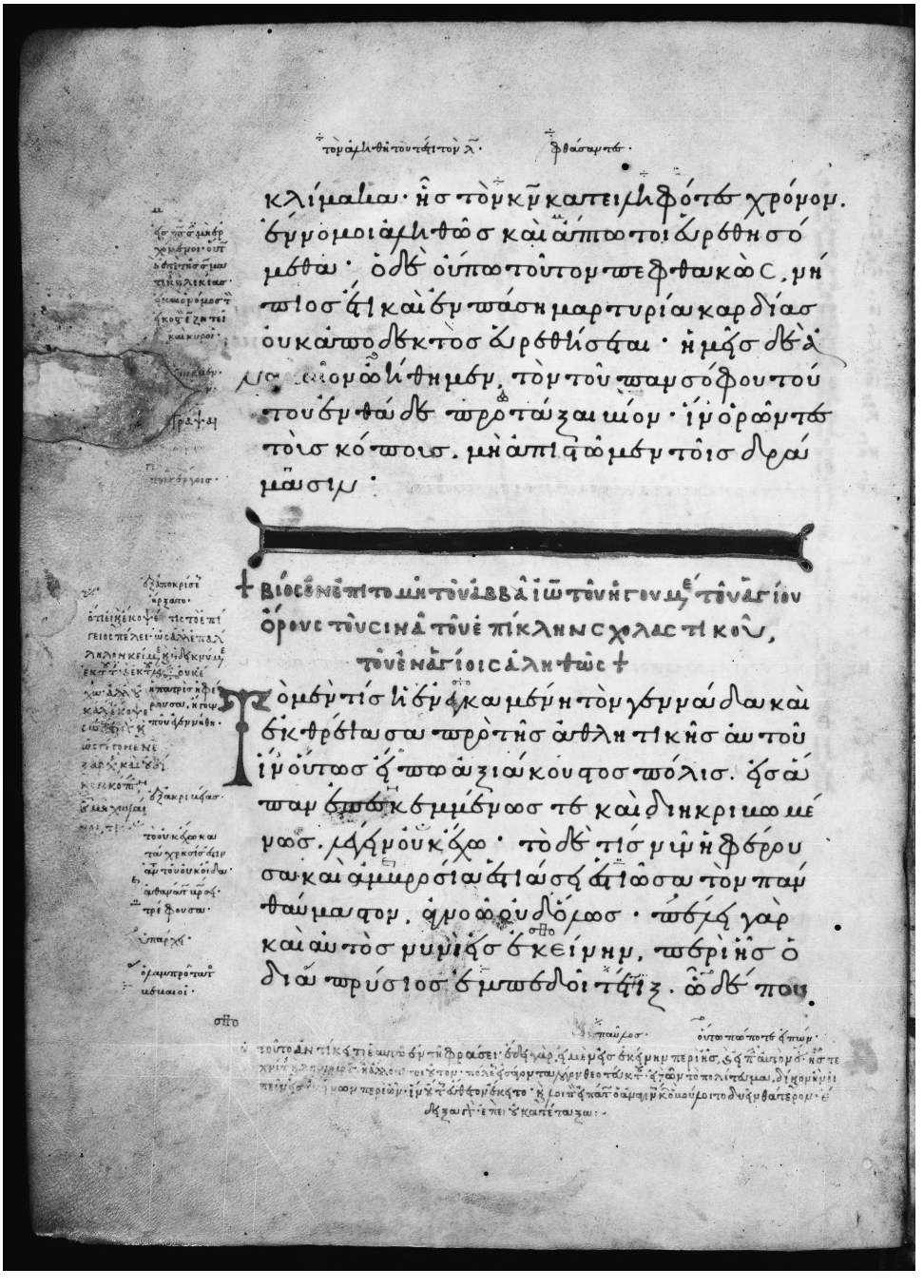

FIGURE 4.2. Patmos, Μονὴ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου 122; parchment; eleventh century; illustrated copy of the *Ladder* by Ioannes Sinaites, accompanied by marginal *scholia*; f. 3v: *Prologos* to the *Ladder* and *Life* of Ioannes Sinaites by Daniel, monk of Raithou.

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much of the influential production of Georgios Choiroboskos, a *grammatikos* and "ecumenical teacher," deacon and *chartophylax* (secretary) at the Constantinopolitan Patriarchate, in the mid-ninth century (PmbZ 2200; Resh 2015).

We are thus very far from developing a history of Byzantine grammar (its confluence with rhetorical training in the twelfth century, e.g., is a related topic that needs to be analyzed anew). We are equally far from understanding the history of archaizing philosophical hermeneutics and their attitude toward literature, even if concentrated work has appeared on early Byzantine Neoplatonism (especially on Proklos; recent overview in Sheppard 2017) and on middle Byzantine philosophical allegory (Cesaretti 1991). Finally, literary theory in para-texts and meta-literary statements remains a rather virgin territory.

Furthermore, there are historiographical challenges in studying the various Byzantine fields of discursive theory. Admittedly, much Byzantine thought projected a rather atavistic, introverted, and conservative attitude. The core treatises and canonized models were usually pre-Byzantine or early Byzantine in date and often persisted unchallenged for over a millennium: the Aphthonios-Hermogenes handbook, along with Demosthenes and Gregory the Theologian (cf. Figure 6.1 in Chapter 6 of this volume), in rhetorical training; Dionysios of Thrace's (c. 170–c. 90 BCE) *Art of Grammar* and Homer, as well as the Psalms, in grammatical education; John Chrysostom (on whom see Constas, "Biblical Hermeneutics," Chapter 5 in this volume; cf. Figure 20.2 in Chapter 20) and the Old and New Testaments in theological exegesis. This relative conservatism has tempted modern scholars to produce historiographies of uninterrupted continuity and stability.

But, as we saw earlier on rhetorical theory, revisions and expansions of the canon were in fact the norm. The study of non-Homeric poetry in grammatical contexts is one such case of expansion; we may point, for instance, to the study of: Gregory the Theologian's poetry (Simelidis 2009: 75–79), Christian hymns (Papaioannou, "Sacred Song," Chapter 18 in this volume), and "secular" poetry (cf. Figure 4.3).[27] Another field of expansion was the proliferation of theology-related learnedness during the tenth and eleventh century, which has not been examined sufficiently in conjunction with the so-called "Humanism" of the period.[28] Many similar cases await discovery and discussion.

Setting aside whatever limitations exist, let us again attempt to formulate some generalizations. In grammar, just as we saw in rhetoric, we notice the same concern

[27] Here belongs, for example, the rather unknown but very interesting early fourteenth-century grammatical manuscript on paper, with commentaries on poems from the *Greek Anthology*, Sinai gr. 1207; Figure 4.3: f. 44r, the end of scholia on *GA* 9.440 (Moschus), followed by other ancient love epigrams (9.497, 9.52, etc.) with scholia. I hope to return to this manuscript and its texts in the near future.

[28] An example from this context is the tenth-century ms. Patmos 263, on which see Messis and Papaioannou, "Memory," Chapter 6 in this volume, and Figure 6.3.

for practical advice and discursive form; grammarians worried about acquaintance with proper linguistic usage and training in performance (such as the proper recital of texts; see Papaioannou, "Readers and Their Pleasures," Chapter 21 in this volume). Hermeneutical disciplines, by contrast, appear more attuned to content-oriented aesthetics. These disciplines promoted specific views about the world and human behavior that were projected upon canonical texts, be it the Bible, Plato, or Homer. In their case, form was treated only to the extent that it was considered able to reveal or, alternatively, mask truths.

Simultaneously, the open-endedness of these disciplines is evident as well; for rhetorical theory was not alone in lacking a unified, consistent, or universal approach. To a certain extent, this is noticeable in the very behavior (so to speak) of theoretical/disciplinary texts in Byzantine manuscripts. Rhetorical, grammatical, but also hermeneutical texts often circulate anonymously or pseudonymously and show a proclivity toward reworking, extensive and often unacknowledged borrowing, and thus a sometimes remarkable fluidity in their modes of transmission.[29]

Open-endedness is observable on a deeper level as well. Within the maze and volume of Byzantine discursive theories, two main poles of gravity are discernible. The first we may regard as *theological* "orthodoxy," a Christian accent whose prerogatives were the promotion of Christian morality and Christian understandings of the world. The second was a *rhetorical* "orthodoxy" that propagated archaizing linguistic idioms and styles of expression and perpetuated the value of (also) non-Christian, *Hellenic* texts for Byzantine readers. The boundaries between these two orthodoxies were permeable. Disciplinary borders did not preclude mixture (and the manuscripts that preserve the relevant texts are most telling in this regard; for examples, cf. Figures 4.3 and 6.3). We find, in any case, Christian moralists among the grammarians or the rhetoricians in non-ecclesiastic education, as well as militants of high rhetoric among Christian preachers. Nevertheless, a consistent combinatory or reconciling system of theological and rhetorical orthodoxy was never successfully put into place (despite some attempts, such as Gregory the Theologian's didactic poetry or Ioannes Sikeliotes's commentary on Hermogenes).[30] Nor was the strongest of the two orthodoxies, namely Christian theology, ever able to displace the other, despite attempts to censor Hellenizing learnedness throughout much Christian writing (especially in those texts geared toward monastic and ascetic circles). Rather, Byzantine authors, performers, readers, and listeners were exposed to a wide horizon of different and often dissonant theoretical models and discourses, which they could activate for different audiences and occasions by picking and choosing, combining, and nuancing.

[29] Indeed, this fluidity may be an additional reason why scholars often have kept such texts at a safe distance.

[30] In this regard, Kustas's magisterial study of 1973, a must-read for anyone working on Byzantine rhetorical theory, tends occasionally to overemphasize the Christianity of Byzantine approaches.

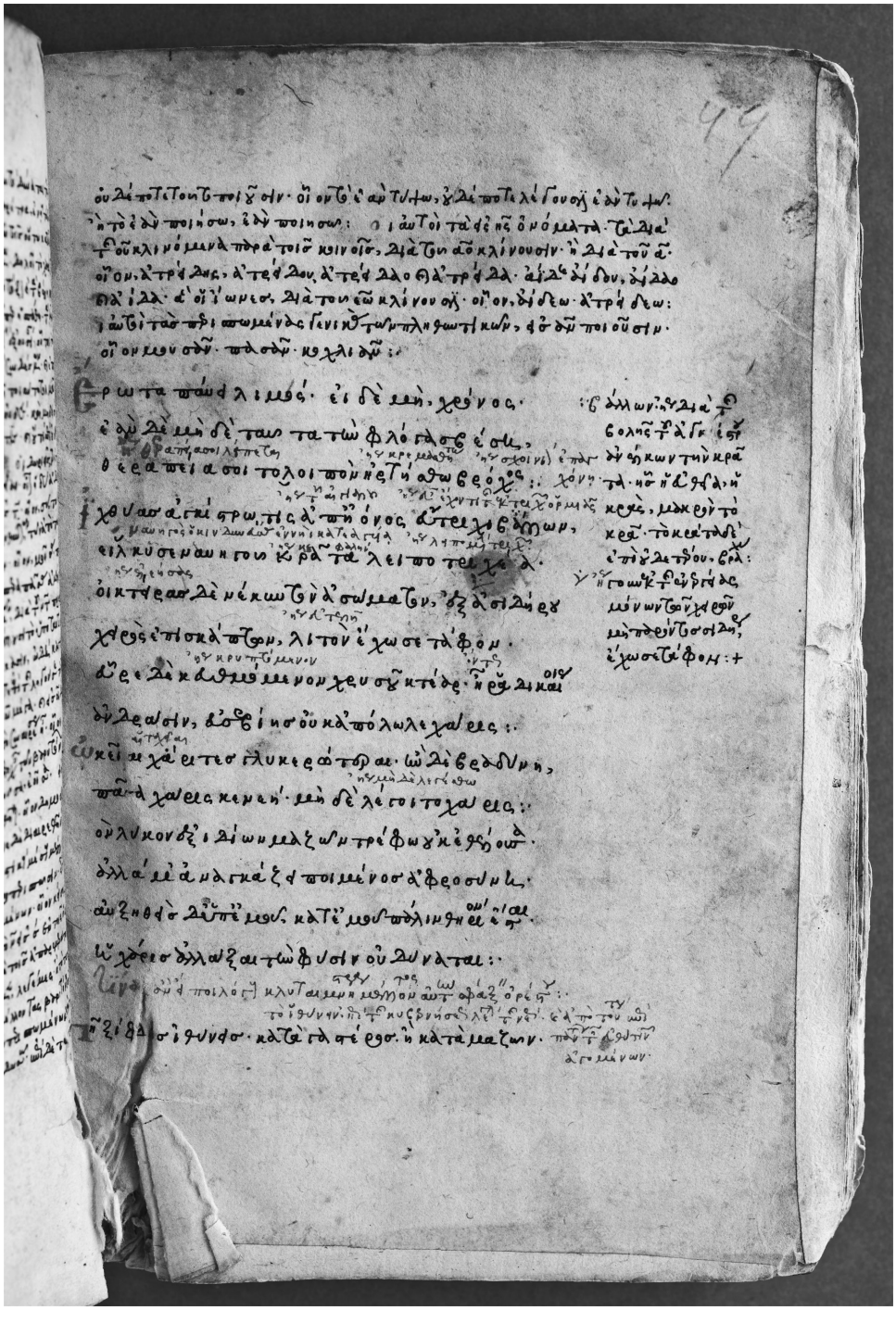

FIGURE 4.3 Sinai, Μονὴ τῆς Ἁγίας Αἰκατερίνης, gr. 1207; paper; fourteenth century; Miscellany that includes commented poems from the *Greek Anthology*; f. 44r: the end of *scholia* on *GA* 9.440 (Moschus), followed by other ancient love epigrams (9.497, 9.52, etc.) with *scholia*.

© Sinai, Μονὴ τῆς Ἁγίας Αἰκατερίνης.

What Literature? Fiction and Fictionality

We are left, however, with the question of how "literature" was conceived in this highly diversified field of Byzantine discursive theory. Simply put, what was "literature" for Byzantine theorists? Let us take a test case and submit the relevant Byzantine material to an essentially modern interrogation by taking a cursory look at the emblematic notion of fictionality.[31]

Just as our understanding of "literature" is unequivocally associated with the category of fiction, so also the definition of what is the main quality of fictional texts has been a nearly obsessive quest of modern literary theory.[32] At first glance, such a quest is rather un-Byzantine. For Byzantine theorists the main issue appears to have been how discourse could convey truth, comply to linguistic correctness in terms of grammar, and be stylistically persuasive from the perspective of rhetoric. Depending on context, fiction (the product) and fictionality (the quality) became subjects of discussion only in relation to these concerns, and were not regarded as either aims or distinctive features of exemplary literature. Indeed, in many contexts, fiction and fictionality were considered as those elements that characterized the *worst* kind of discourse.

Christian theological commentary was one such context. Patristic exegesis and, more generally, meta-literary theory in Christian texts consistently rejected, neglected, or devalued fiction in its basic meaning of invention, fabrication, falsification, *un-truth*. This comes as no surprise, especially considering the often polemical frame of Christian writing against pagans or heretics. It would not be difficult to cite statements (which are countless) by Christian preachers, exegetes, and storytellers disparaging the discourse of their ideological opponents for its supposed truthlessness, while promoting the veracity and reliability of their own words—a quick search in the works of Gregory the Theologian yields multiple such instances (e.g., *Apologêtikos* = *Or.* 2.104–105).

Given the centrality of theological types of discourse in Byzantium, the preceding stance is dominant. But it does not offer us a complete picture. The outright rejection of falsehood was throughout nuanced by the widespread, usually masked appropriation of the persuasive and aesthetic potential of fiction(ality) and—this is what interests us here—the less frequent, but still present *acknowledgment* of this desire. No thorough

[31] In what follows, we shall use the term "fictionality" in order to indicate all those elements, methods, and discursive strategies that constituted "fiction," namely invention/fabrication/fantasy in discourse. We should, additionally, note that in pre-modern literatures such as that of Byzantium, fiction (the product of fictionality) was often neither signaled as such by authors nor received as such by readers. See further the relevant discussion in Chapter 1.

[32] Three random and very recent titles: Kliger (2011); Klauk and Köppe (2014); Chateau (2015); seminal works: Iser (1993) and Schaeffer (1999). For the ancient tradition and further bibliography, see Halliwell (2015).

survey of this phenomenon exists, yet the examples of, again, Gregory, as well as John Chrysostom, with their polemic yet also creative and occasionally acknowledged use of the language of myth (Demoen 1996 on Gregory) and theater (Leyerle 2001 on Chrysostom) are telling. The spurning of falsehood, that is, in markedly Christian writing is not reducible to an expulsion of fiction and its methods.

This ambivalent approach is not a Christian invention, and many pre-Christian equivalents could be pointed out. Plato stands out as the most influential and most studied example (Ferrari 1989; Halliwell 2002: 37–147) and such indecision toward fictionality, often informed by the Platonic stance, was pervasive. Take Hermogenes's influential *On the Forms of Discourse*, for instance. The work closes (2.10–12) with a survey of all types of writing considered as model discourse (Patillon 2010: chap. 4). The survey is based on the fundamental distinction between (a) "civic/political discourse = πολιτικὸς λόγος" denoting rhetoric necessary for practical matters in the life of a citizen, especially advisory/deliberative (συμβουλευτικὸς λόγος) and forensic/judicial (δικανικὸς λόγος) discourse; and (b) "festive/panegyrical discourse = πανηγυρικὸς λόγος," a category which Hermogenes never defines precisely and which essentially includes three types of discourse that are *not* civic in the previous sense: philosophical dialogue (termed speech-writing: λογογραφία), historiographical narrative (ἱστορία), and poetry (ποίησις); according to Hermogenes, we should add, "panegyrical" discourse is best exemplified by Plato and Homer, in prose and verse, respectively.

Hermogenes's political and panegyrical discourses are situated in an implicit hierarchy. What matters most is the former as exemplified by Demosthenes, the author most discussed in *On the Forms*. By contrast, panegyrical discourse appears to be subsidiary, included in the discussion only for the sake of the desire to be comprehensive. The reasons for this implicit hierarchy are again never specified—Hermogenes was continuing earlier traditions of thought and did not need to explain his most basic categories and choices. Yet one wonders if the presence of fiction and fictionality in philosophical dialogue, historiography, and poetry, as defined by Hermogenes, is a crucial element for the subsidiary character of panegyrical discourse. After all, in Hermogenes's view, panegyrical discourse is directed primarily toward the incitement of pleasure (1.1.33; 2.10.41; 2.12.2 and 7); it centers on narrative (ἀφήγησις, 2.10.24); it includes much fictional and mythological content (2.10.37–41 on Homer; 2.12.5 on Xenophon); and it is conditioned by a performative mode of representation, what Hermogenes calls μίμησις. The latter feature is presented as a distinctive feature of panegyrical discourse and presents us with an incipient notion of fictionality. It is termed variously by Hermogenes as the "*mimêsis* of all subjects" (2.10.31 on Homer), as "mimetic form" (2.10.24 on Plato; 2.10.46 on Homer), as "*mimêseis* of personae" (2.12.2 on panegyrical discourse in general; 2.10.26 on Plato; 2.10.48 on Homer; 2.12.9, on Xenophon), and as "*mimêsis*" of "various types of character and emotion" (2.12.20 on Herodotus).

However this might be, any implicit hierarchy does not lead to clear separation of the two main types of discourse. With the exception of mimesis, all other elements that

constitute panegyrical discourse (pleasure, narrative, and myth) are useful tools in the rhetor's apparatus and feature frequently in the description of various Forms (especially, we may note, in the Form of sweetness; chapter 2.4). Along these lines, the style of Demosthenes, Hermogenes's ultimate model of civic discourse (2.10.2), knows no boundaries between civic and panegyrical modes of expression (1.1.11); for the ideal Hermogenian style and its many instantiations in the relevant Byzantine tradition cannot do without some of the stratagems proper to fiction.

Let us approach the same material from another perspective. In Christian writing, as well as in the Byzantine varieties of Platonic and Hermogenian thought, two key semantic fields emerged in relation to notions of fiction. The first pertained to the ontology of fiction and was expressed by such terms as μῦθος, πλάσμα, φαντασία (myth/fable, fabrication, imagination/fantasy), etc., that conveyed the construction of fictional content. The second pertained to the morality of fiction, namely how fictional discourse related to those producing or receiving it. Here the principal terms were ὑπόκρισις, θέαμα, and δρᾶμα (feigning, spectacle, and action-play, which is a minimal definition of the multivalent δρᾶμα), as well as other locutions relating to the life and ways of the theater, impersonation, and enactment. Outside grammatical and rhetorical theory, both semantic fields usually carried negative connotations.

A related yet overarching category, which encompassed both the ontology and morality of fiction, was that of mimesis, understood either as representation or performance, or often (as we saw in Hermogenes) both. Here belong not only various terms deriving from the stem μιμ-, but also other words such as: the related couplet similar/dissimilar (ὅμοιος/ἀνόμοιος) and terms denoting the process of imaging (εἰκονίζω, παριστῶ), showing (δεικνύω, δηλῶ), imprinting/modeling (τυπῶ), and their cognates. Crucially, this alternative vocabulary unfolded a much wider semantic spectrum, since its most common use lay beyond the field of discursive aesthetics and was firmly rooted in Byzantine theology, anthropology, and icon-theory, as well as in commonplace ideas such as the biblical view that humans were created "in the image and likeness" of God or that saints were models of imitation (these are nicely summarized by Ioannes Damaskenos in his comprehensive definition of the term εἰκών [*Discourse against Those Who Reject the Revered and Holy Icons* 3.18–3.23]). At that, the terminology of mimesis was deprived from any immediate negative associations and, when applied to the discussion of texts, could denote *both* fictionality (as in Hermogenes, as discussed earlier) *and* the discursive expression of truth. In this regard, the semantics of mimesis was further enhanced by yet another related terminology, with almost exclusively positive connotations. This was the vocabulary of ritual, with terms such as revelation (ἔμφασις), symbol (σύμβολον), sign (σημεῖον), and their cognates, all of which were often used in Byzantine texts in order to explain, among other things, the ability of discourse to convey truth.

A modern comprehensive treatment of the relevant Byzantine language does not exist[33]; nor indeed were its theoretical implications usually articulated in a consistent fashion in Byzantine texts.[34] Its provisional mapping here is put forward only because it illustrates once again the remarkable adaptability that was built into the production of theoretical reflections on discourse and literature in Byzantium. This adaptability could only stimulate further the reluctance to draw firm boundaries between the recurrent anxiety toward fiction and the corresponding recognition of its appeal.

Given the fecund plurality of the relevant vocabulary, and the deliberate ambivalence of authoritative voices, various hermeneutical and discourse-analytical strategies were developed in order to deal with manifestly or potentially fictional texts. The aim of these strategies was not only to explain but also to appropriate fictionality that, when understood as the inventive potential of language (something of which Byzantine theorists were well aware), could imbue almost any type of discourse.

An important such strategy was allegory, which, in Byzantine writing, was usually defined as the discovery of natural, moral, historical, or theological truths hidden within a text, regardless of its form or fictional nature. This ancient method of reading, practiced in a variety of philosophical schools and quickly adopted by influential early Christian interpreters such as Origen, reached its peak during the early Byzantine period in two settings: in Neoplatonic readings of Homer and in Christian exegesis of the Old Testament (see Constas, "Biblical Hermeneutics," Chapter 5 in this volume). Some aspects of the reception and further development of this tradition in later centuries have been investigated (e.g., Cesaretti 1991; Roilos 2014b; Cullhed 2016). Nevertheless, we lack studies on the tradition of Byzantine allegory as a whole that would examine also such works as the many versions of the popular fourth-century (most probably) *Physiologos* (CPG 3766; Sbordone 1936; Cox Miller 2001; Scott 2002; Lazaris 2016), scholia on the *Passion of St. Marina* penned by the patriarch Methodios I (PmbZ 4977) in the ninth century (Usener 1886: 48–53), or Alexios Makrembolites's interpretation of Lucian's *Loukios or the Ass* in the fourteenth century (Messis 2020)—to cite just three examples.

However this might be, two aspects deserve to be highlighted here. The first is the presence of allegory in the context of grammatical education, which is especially evident in the eleventh and twelfth centuries (Cullhed 2016: 39*–44*), and may be related to the spectacular expansion of exegesis and creative writing (such as schedography

[33] The ancient vocabulary of mimesis is best surveyed in Halliwell (2002), to be read with Ford (2003), Ferrari (2004), and Konstan (2004). Recent discussion of some of the Byzantine terms in Papaioannou (2003, 2011, 2013, 2021a), with further bibliography.

[34] Exceptions, of course, existed such as Ioannes Damaskenos, mentioned earlier, and certainly Proklos, a rather systematic Byzantine theorist of fiction and fictionality. In this regard, the most significant text—though apparently not influential for later Byzantine philosophy or rhetoric—was Proklos's commentary on Plato's *Republic* (cf. Lamberton 2012 and the bibliography available at the *Proclus Bibliography* online project: http://hiw.kuleuven.be/dwmc/ancientphilosophy/proclus/proclusbiblio.html).

and *progymnasmata*) in discursive training in this period. The second aspect is the fact that the practice of allegorical reading of texts should be set within a wider circle of hermeneutical practices. I am referring to the Byzantine hermeneutical habit of decoding external appearances and material forms of all sorts—words, names, myths, and also bodies, gestures, stars, dreams, visions, natural phenomena, etc.—as signs of inner and hidden meaning. This habit can be explored in several Byzantine semiotic sciences such as physiognomy, astrology, and dream interpretation, but also in the interpretation of "facts" promoted in chronicle and some hagiographical narratives, especially those associated with Christian imaginations of the future of humanity (*Visions* and *Apocalypses*). Allegorical semiotics thus transcended the limits of literary theory, for the Byzantine allegorical habit aimed at the transformation of almost everything into decodable discourse, into some kind of universal fiction that invited attentive and creative readers.

Let us return to the Byzantine school, however. The use of allegory by Byzantine grammarians was partly necessitated by the overwhelming presence of clearly fictional texts in the early stages of discursive training. Homeric poetry and Aesopian fables were, after all, the main introductory texts throughout the Byzantine period. To these, we should add the extensive exposure to Greek mythology also through the reading of Christian literature such as the poetry and homilies of Gregory the Theologian (cf. Messis and Papaioannou, "Memory," Chapter 6, and Kaldellis, "The Reception of Classical Literature and Ancient Myth," Chapter 7, in this volume; see also Figure 6.1 in Chapter 6).

Furthermore, as we saw earlier, instruction in rhetorical composition began with an awareness of fictional writing, with the *progymnasmata* of μῦθος (fable), the δραματικὸν or πλασματικὸν διήγημα (fictional narrative), and the προσωποποιΐα, one of the types of ἠθοποιία (speech-in-character), dealing with imaginary *personae*. Teachers throughout Byzantine history not only composed such model short fictional texts for their students, but also talked about the techniques of fictional writing in their commentaries and, we can assume, in their classrooms.

In this environment, the Byzantine vocabulary of fictionality became richer and more nuanced. Interesting terms arose such as that of the "fiction-writer," who is called πλασματο-γράφος by a twelfth-century anonymous commentator of Aristotle (*Commentary on Aristotle's Rhetoric* 122.2–6), citing Libanios's *Declamations* (μελέται) as an example, or alternatively λογο-ποιός, defined by Sikeliotes as "creator of things that do not exist = πλαστουργός . . . τῶν μὴ ὄντων" and exemplified by "myths, declamations, and prose dramas = οἱ μῦθοι καὶ αἱ μελέται καὶ τὰ πεζὰ δράματα" (*Commentary on the Forms of Hermogenes* 486.27–487.2).

More importantly, the semantics of mimesis took center stage. In Aphthonios, the exercise of ἠθοποιία was defined as an "imitation of an underlying persona = μίμησις ἤθους ὑποκειμένου προσώπου" (*Progymnasmata* 11.1). Similarly, in the exercise of ἔκφρασις the rhetor was expected to "adorn with various figures and, in general, imitate the things described = διαφόροις ποικίλλειν τοῖς σχήμασι καὶ ὅλως ἀπομιμεῖσθαι τὰ ἐκ

φραζόμενα πράγματα" (12.3) Inspired by such utterances, Byzantine commentators engaged with the mimetically fictional requirements of rhetoric.[35]

Similar discussions continued into advanced rhetorical and philosophical training, since the question of fictionality confronted the Byzantine student also in the study of Hermogenes and Plato. Fictionalization needed to be justified, for instance, in understanding the impersonation of characters in the genre of the philosophical dialogue (see, e.g., Ioannes Philoponos, *Commentary on the Categories* 4.10–22). Fiction also required elaboration when dealing with rhetorical techniques, such as the feigning of spontaneous sincerity discussed in the chapter on the relevant Hermogenian Form (2.7 on "ἐνδιάθετος καὶ ἀληθὴς καὶ οἷον ἔμψυχος λόγος") and in a chapter "On Pretense" in the pseudo-Hermogenian treatise *On Forceful Speaking* (17).

Accordingly, Byzantine rhetoricians occasionally prescribed fiction. Menandros the Rhetor in the fourth century urged future writers of encomia: "if you are able to create a fictive account [about a king] persuasively, do not hesitate = ἐὰν δὲ οἷόν τε ᾖ καὶ πλάσαι καὶ ποιεῖν τοῦτο πιθανῶς, μὴ κατόκνει" (*On Epideictic Speeches* 371.11–12). Similarly, outdoing even Hermogenes, Ioannes Sikeliotes claimed that imitation and dramatization (τὸ μιμητικὸν καὶ δραματικόν) are present in virtually all genres of rhetoric to the extent that "... it is necessary to adopt the form of the underlying personae = ... συμμορφάζεσθαι γὰρ ἀνάγκη τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις προσώποις" (*Commentary* 482.13–483.2) and that rhetoric was, after all, a mimetic art of various "personae and matters = προσώπων καὶ πραγμάτων" (103.24–25) or of "all beings and becomings = πάντων τῶν ὄντων καὶ γινομένων" (248.3–5), as it "enacts/impersonates, to a reasonable extent, anything that becomes its subject = πᾶν ὑποκρίνεται τὸ ὑποπίπτον αὐτῇ μέχρι τοῦ εἰκότος" (329.28–330.1). Finally, the twelfth-century anonymous commentator of Aristotle's *Rhetoric,* mentioned earlier, proclaimed the following (309.12–14 on *Rhetoric* 1403b22):

Ἡ ὑπόκρισις μέγιστόν ἐστιν ἔν τε ποιήσει καὶ ἐν πεζοῖς λόγοις. Ὡς ὁ Χρυσόστομος τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἀβραὰμ μελετήσας ἐμιμήσατό τε τοῦτον ἄριστα καὶ τὴν Σάρραν καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ τοὺς δούλους καὶ τοὺς Ἰσμαηλίτας.

Enactment/impersonation is the most important thing in poetry as well as in prose. Just like Chrysostom, who in declaiming about Abraham perfectly imitated him, Sarah, Isaac, the servants, and the Ismaelites.[36]

More generally, a shared perception comes into view that, within the various dimensions of discursive expression, a separate mode should be acknowledged for certain types of discourse, such as ancient poetry and rhetoric, that operated outside the

[35] See, e.g., Ioannes of Sardeis, *Commentary on Aphthonios' Progymnasmata* 194–230, and Ioannes Doxapatres, *Rhetorical homilies on Aphthonios' Progymnasmata* 493–509 (ed. Walz—another work in need of a new edition).

[36] The continuation of the passage (lines 18–27) switches gears, defines ὑπόκρισις in the usual fashion, as the proper dramatic delivery of speeches, and offers some interesting information about the recital of gospel lessons (on which see Martani, "Recitation and Chant," Chapter 19 in this volume), a rare yet neglected twelfth-century evidence regarding this practice.

ambit of truth and falsehood. Recurrent, for instance, is the notion that poets (especially Homer and his followers) created their works under a special condition termed "ἐξουσία" or "αὐτονομία," "poetic license" (Papaioannou 2013: 118). A similar status was occasionally claimed for rhetoric:

Ἡ ῥητορικὴ οὔτε περὶ ἀλήθειαν καταγίνεται, οὔτε περὶ ψεῦδος· ἀλλὰ περὶ τὸ πιθανὸν <ἡ> ἀναφορὰ καὶ βεβαίωσις.

Rhetoric is occupied neither with truth nor with falsehood; rather, its reference and confirmation[37] pertain to what is persuasive.

This is proposed in an unpublished maxim, written in an early fourteenth-century manuscript (Vatican, BAV, Vat. gr. 900). The book is an Aphthonios-Hermogenes manual of the usual, expanded form: with abundant marginal scholia, diagrams (e.g., f. 28v and 214r), and additional shorter texts in the middle (27v–28r) and in the end of the manuscript (ff. 198v–214v), namely excerpts from commentaries, model rhetorical pieces, short poems, and maxims such as the one cited (Schreiner 1988: 82–87; our sentence is on f. 210v). The view expressed by the maxim echoes similar (though not identical) statements found in rhetorical treatises, such as the *Prolegomena on Rhetoric* by the early Byzantine rhetorician Trophonios (12.23–25), or in discussions of Aristotelian logic, in which the view may have in fact originated.[38]

Incipient valuations of fictionality were at work in all of the preceding examples, and I believe we have merely scratched the surface. For we have only looked, and rather swiftly at that, into some representative notions and texts from certain parts of discursive theory. How did the Byzantine theoretical approaches to fiction and fictionality differ from the approaches developed in literary theory written in other languages during the Middle Ages (for Latin, e.g., see Minnis and Scott: 165–196)? Or, more widely, how about the way manuscripts treated fictional texts? In what types of manuscripts did such texts survive, and how were they placed and presented? And what about the treatment of hagiographical stories with contents of rather doubtful truth, such as those declared heretical in the canons of councils (Detoraki 2012; Kälviäinen 2019) or in manuscript comments[39]? Even more generally, what about processes of fictionalization of history through ritual discourse and, conversely, historicization of fictional tales and authorization of literary tropes through their inclusion in official cult (for examples and

[37] Notably these two terms, "ἀναφορὰ καὶ βεβαίωσις" relate to Ps.-Hermogenes's *On the Method of Force* 28 (on narration); this frequently commented chapter is alluded to also in a letter by Niketas *Magistros* that, among other things, includes comments on fiction (*Letter* 31).

[38] See, e.g., Aristotle, *On Interpretation* 17a2–7, together with Psellos, *Short and Most Clear Instruction about the Ten Categories, the Propositions, and the Syllogisms* = Phil. min. I 52.299–305: a very interesting text with a rather rare intersection of logical and rhetorical training.

[39] For an example, see Sakkelion (1890: 136) and Dmitrievskij (1895: 104), with a prefatory remark on "heretical" miracles attributed to the Virgin Mary, and restored to "correct" and "beneficial" ones, preserved in Patmos 266, a well-known *Typikon/Synaxarion* (on which see Papaioannou, "Sacred Song," Chapter 18 in this volume, and Figure 21.1 in Chapter 21).

discussion, see Papaioannou 2017, 2021b, and forthcoming)? The questions and the answers that await us are many.

What is "literature" then for Byzantine theory? Let us round off our discussion with a preliminary and brief, but nevertheless assertive answer. We do find in Byzantine discursive theories extensive treatment of elements which we would view not as distinctive features, but only as epiphenomena of purely literary discourse. The Byzantines, that is, focus their attention on style (the formal aspects of texts and speeches), on the morality of verbal communication (with hierarchies of what is good and beautiful or correct and incorrect, and concerns for the ethically beneficial), and on the ontology of discourse (a preoccupation with truth, authority, and divine inspiration). These are larger analytic categories, in which "literature" may take part, but is not the protagonist. Literature as we usually understand the term—namely, texts viewed as products of principally the creative and original imagination of an author or as an expression of her/his inner world; texts whose primary or sole purpose is entertainment and aesthetic pleasure; and texts consciously written and read as fictional creations—occupied *as such* the sidelines, margins, or undercurrents of Byzantine theoretical reflection.

To put it differently, the Byzantine discursive arts and exegetical practices dealt with more or less literary texts, but their concerns did not lay so much with (what from a modern perspective would be viewed as) their "literariness." Homer, Demosthenes, Lucian, Gregory the Theologian (cf. Figure 6.1 in Chapter 6), or Symeon Metaphrastes (cf. Figures 20.3 and 20.4 in Chapter 20) were read and discussed in grammatical and rhetorical education with an eye mainly to the cultivation of literacy, rhetorical proficiency, and moral behavior. Comparably, the Old and New Testaments of Christian exegesis and the Platonic and Homeric corpus of Neoplatonic hermeneutics presented, first and foremost, authoritative and divinely inspired texts. *Literary* notions, such as those expressed with respect to fiction and fictionality, as we saw earlier, but also in regard to authorship and reading, as we shall see in later chapters, do emerge, but they never stand in the foreground. It is up to us to discover literariness in Byzantine thought, but also to learn how to accommodate its subordination to theories and practices of discourse that usually privileged either the rhetorical performance, or the theological rituals, of truth.

Suggestions for Further Reading

As often repeated earlier, much remains to be done on the many dimensions of Byzantine literary theory. Beyond the bibliography already cited, the interested reader may consult a series of recent publications where often surveys of the earlier bibliography are provided. The list that follows is rather eclectic. For early Christian literary aesthetics: Calvet-Sebasti (2008); for grammar: Ciccolella (2008: 55–118) and Ronconi (2012); for the commentary traditions: Wilson (2007), and also Most (1999) and Avezzù

and Scattolin (2006); for Byzantine lexica: Valente (2019); for Byzantine rhetorical theory: Romano (2007) and the contributions in Barber and Papaioannou (2017: 1–246); for allegory and Neoplatonic exegesis: Struck (2004) and also essays in Copeland and Struck (2010); for literary criticism: Conley (2005), Agapitos (2008), and Bourbouhakis (2017); for fictionality: Delehaye (1927 [= 1998]), Agapitos (1998), Porter (2011), Turner (2012), Agapitos (2013), Messis (2014), Roilos (2014a), and Cupane and Krönung (2016); see also De Temmerman and Demoen (2016) and Anderson (2019).

For Greek terms in the field of rhetorical theory (widely conceived), see, e.g., the brief lists at Gunderson (2009: 291–298: "Appendix 1: Rhetorical Terms"), Papaioannou at Barber and Papaioannou (2017: 380–384), or related lemmata and sections in the more extensive treatments in Berardi (2017) (for the *progymnasmata* specifically), the monumental Lausberg (1990 [= 1998]), and the massive *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik* (*HWR*; 1992–2015).

Aspects of Byzantine literary theory resurface on several of the chapters in this volume; see especially: Constas, Chapter 5, "Biblical Hermeneutics"; Messis and Papaioannou, Chapter 6, "Memory," and Chapter 9, "Orality and Textuality"; Nilsson, Chapter 10, "Narrative"; Riehle, Chapter 11, "Rhetorical Practice"; Valiavitcharska, Chapter 12, "Rhetorical Figures"; Hörandner and Rhoby, Chapter 17, "Metrics and Prose Rhythm"; and Papaioannou, Chapter 20, "Authors," and Chapter 21, "Readers and Their Pleasures."

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CHAPTER 5

BIBLICAL HERMENEUTICS

FR. MAXIMOS CONSTAS

Byzantine commentaries on the Bible have survived in staggering abundance, in terms of manuscripts and genres, as well as in translations into other medieval languages. The commentaries included: (1) line-by-line commentaries (ὑπομνήματα) (which only rarely cover the entire biblical book under investigation); (2) exegetical homilies (commenting on a particular biblical book through a series of sermons delivered over a period of weeks or months); (3) exegetical anthologies (ἐκλογαί, συλλογαί)—the so-called *catenae*—normally dedicated to a single biblical book and commenting on each verse by linking together hundreds of excerpts from dozens of diverse commentators; (4) shorter essays and treatises on specific biblical passages (or even a single verse); (5) collections of *Questions and Answers* (ἐρωταποκρίσεις) concerning obscure and difficult passages of the Bible (Efthymiadis 2017); and (6) biblical *scholia*, short comments on a single word or verse, often appearing on the margins of manuscripts. There are, moreover, important ancillary genres where exegesis was undertaken, including: (7) hagiographical texts, in which the *Lives* of saints were modeled after the lives of biblical figures; (8) various monastic and ascetic writings; (9) theological texts of various sorts, such as polemical treatises, heresiologies, conciliar statements, letters; and, not least, (10) liturgical texts. To these discursive types we should add liturgical practice and iconography.

Although the liturgical and iconographic materials fall outside the scope of this chapter, Byzantine biblical hermeneutics cannot be limited to texts, and the following examples will help to indicate the rich array of hermeneutical frameworks that the Byzantines brought to the interpretation of the Bible. Basil the Great's *Eucharistic Prayer* (the *Anaphora)*, for example—part of the *Liturgy* attributed to Basil, a text commonly used until the tenth century—contains over 200 densely interwoven biblical citations and allusions, and is a masterpiece of Byzantine biblical interpretation. The interpretation offered by the *Anaphora* receives an additional layer of hermeneutical complexity in illuminated liturgical scrolls, in which Basil's prayer is framed by clusters of images depicting figures and scenes from biblical and apocryphal narratives (Vocotopoulos 2002: 96–123). Even greater hermeneutical complexity is found in the treatment of the

eleven accounts of Christ's post-resurrection appearances described in the Gospels. Each biblical *pericope* (i.e., a self-contained passage) was read in rotation once every eleven weeks at the Sunday *Matins*, and was accompanied by the chanting of special hymns amplifying and expounding its meaning. In the later Byzantine period, these eleven *pericopes* were depicted in monumental fresco cycles that combine elements from the biblical narratives, the hymns, and Byzantine exegesis in a single artistic form (Zarras 2006). Altogether, the richly articulated liturgical setting of Byzantine churches offered congregations a multifaceted interpretation of the biblical lesson, repeated multiple times throughout the year.

It was in this same liturgical setting that the majority of Byzantine commentary on the Bible was delivered in the form of homilies. Primary examples include Basil the Great's *Hexaemeron,* a series of nine homilies covering the first six days of creation described in Genesis (Gen 1:1–2:3); John Chrysostom's more than 500 homilies on different books of the Bible (200 of which are dedicated to the letters of Paul; cf. Figure 20.2 in Chapter 20); the festal orations of Gregory the Theologian, Ioannes Damaskenos, and Andreas of Crete, or the *kontakia* of Romanos Melodos; the exegetical sermons of patriarch Photios; as well as the dozens of Gospel sermons delivered in the late Byzantine period by Gregorios Palamas, Philotheos Kokkinos, Isidoros Glavas, Theodoros Meliteniotes, Gabriel of Thessalonike, and many others (for an overview, see Antonopoulou 2013). The ritual-liturgical setting was a powerfully informing context for Byzantine hermeneutical projects. It privileged with extensive commentary those books of the Bible that figured prominently in the lectionary cycle (on which see the bibliography in Martani, "Recitation and Chant," Chapter 19 in this volume; cf. Figure 19.1 in Chapter 19 and Figure 21.2 in Chapter 21), while marginalizing those that did not, notably the book of Revelation, which was not read publicly in Byzantine churches, and consequently received only minimal commentary (see Suggit 2006 and Scarvelis Constantinou 2011, translations of the sixth-century commentaries of Oikoumenios and Andreas of Caesarea, respectively; see also Scarvelis Constantinou 2013). Not least, the liturgical locus of Byzantine exegesis ensured that the exposition of Scripture was shaped by the preacher's paraenetic, didactic, and pastoral aims (Cunningham 2011; Maxwell 2006).

In addition, Byzantine monastic literature brings a unique and fascinating hermeneutic to the Bible that is usually overlooked in studies of patristic and Byzantine exegesis (but see Burton-Christie 1993; Blowers 1991). Works such as the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, the *Macarian Homilies*, the *Ladder of Divine Ascent* by Ioannes Sinaites (CPG 7852); the ascetic discourses of Dorotheos of Gaza, Abba Isaiah, and Isaak the Syrian; the letters of Barsanouphios and John; the collected aphorisms of Markos the Monk, Hesychios of Sinai, Diadochos of Photike, and Maximos the Confessor; the *Catecheses* of Theodoros Stoudites and the *Ethical Discourses* of Symeon the New Theologian; and Byzantine ascetic anthologies, such as the *Gerontikon* and the *Evergetinos*, are deeply engaged with the interpretation of Scripture and its role in ascetic and spiritual life. For example, the *Precise Method and Rule for Hesychasts* by Kallistos and Ignatios, a codification of Hesychast life compiled in the second half of the fourteenth century, is not simply a catalog of monastic regulations, but an explicit initiation into the life of

mystical prayer revealed in the Scriptures (*Philokalia* 4:197). Similarly, Basil the Great's *Long Rules*, the foundational document of Byzantine coenobitic monasticism, is composed almost entirely of passages taken from the New Testament (Gribomont 1957), so that ascetic practices and monastic communities are seen as concrete expressions—literal, living interpretations—of biblical precepts and doctrines.

To these we may add the many ascetic and monastic works that were specifically exegetical, such as Evagrios's *scholia* on Job, Ecclesiastes, Proverbs, the Gospel of Luke, and the Lord's Prayer (Casiday 2006); and Maximos the Confessor's (c. 580–662) *Commentary on the Lord's Prayer*, extensive sections of his *Ambigua* (10–11, 21, 31–33, 37–38, 46–62, 66–68), and especially his *Responses to the Questions of Thalassios*, a massive work elucidating sixty-five difficult passages from Scripture from the perspective of monastic anthropology and moral psychology (Blowers 1991; Constas, 2018). Monastic exegesis consistently read the Bible as a script for actual ascetic practice, encouraging an existential performance of the text, so that the true interpretation of Scripture was a life lived in accordance with it. As Basil the Great argued in a letter to Gregory the Theologian, the personages of the Bible—David, Joseph, Moses, and Job—were all prototypes and exemplars of the Christian life, whose virtuous qualities could be transposed to and embodied by ascetic strivers (*Letter* 2.3). Monastic exegetes were working within a tradition that stretched back (at least) to the third-century biblical scholar Origen of Alexandria, for whom the interpretation of Scripture was not simply the mechanical application of exegetical techniques, but rather a process that required the moral engagement and personal transformation of the exegete. The biblical symbol of this transformation was the apostle Paul's ascent to the third heaven (2 Cor. 12:2–4), which Origen understood both as a model for the soul's passage from visible to invisible realities and as a paradigm for the exegetical movement from "letter to spirit" (2 Cor. 3:6; cf. Rom. 2:29, 7:6), which was at the heart of the Byzantine hermeneutical enterprise (cf. Constas 2016a).

Influences and Antecedents

Byzantine biblical hermeneutics emerged from the dialectical crucible of Hellenism and Judaism, an ancient polarization that Christian authors disrupted and redefined, laying claim to both traditions while offering allegiance to neither. Moving from binary to tertiary schemes was to cross a critical dividing line in the organization of cultural and religious thought, and was a process through which the sacred corpora and hermeneutical practices of Hellenism and Judaism became part of the distinctive "double helix" of the Byzantine Christian identity (Stroumsa 1999: 8–43; Niehoff 2011).

At a moment contemporary with the writing of the New Testament, the first-century Jewish exegete and philosopher Philo of Alexandria was interpreting the Hebrew Scriptures (which he read in a Greek translation) in light of Stoic and Middle Platonic moral and philosophical categories. Philo's commentaries were a boon to fledgling

Christian exegetes, providing them with a bridge from Judaism through Greek philosophy to Christian theology (Runia 1997 and 2004; Schenck 2005: 73–95; Dillon 1996: 139–183). Philo was convinced that there was nothing superfluous or accidental in Scripture, and he employed a range of allegorical techniques to draw out the text's deep inner meaning, especially by etymologizing the names of biblical personages and places (Grabbe 1988; Runia 2004). The Old Testament itself engaged in etymological word play, which Philo developed in light of Stoic allegory (Long 1996: 58–84; Long 1997; Boys-Stones 2003).

Byzantine biblical interpretation was also influenced by the work and methods of more traditional Jewish exegesis. Midrashic techniques and exegetical themes find close parallels in patristic commentaries, especially those produced in Palestine from the third through the fifth century (Hirshman 1988; Visotzky 1988; Basser 2008; Gallagher 2012; Bar-Asher Siegal 2013; cf. de Lange 1976). For example, Jewish and Byzantine exegetes alike adhered closely to the literal meaning of the text while also exploring allegorical interpretations. For both communities, the motivation for commentary was usually generated by peculiarities and difficulties (philological, conceptual, etc.) in the sacred text. Solutions for such difficulties were frequently found by connecting an exegetical motif from one passage with parallel motifs from another. Once established, exegetical motifs could be transferred to new contexts and combined with still other motifs, a process that often resulted in the de facto canonization of the motifs in question (Kugel 1994: 247–270). On the level of technique, then, there is no absolute sense in which Jewish exegetical procedures differed from the interpretive practices of patristic and Byzantine commentators, or for that matter from the Greek exegesis of Homer and Plato, since all were expressions of common hermeneutical codes that prevailed throughout the late antique world (Alexander 1990; Berthelot 2012; Moss 2012; but see Handelman 1982). To be sure, Jewish and Byzantine hermeneutics diverge in the theological orientation provided by their differing religious commitments, and in the extent to which such commitments determined the direction and themes of their exegetical work—although even here, recent scholarship has established intriguing connections between Jewish apocryphal literature and Byzantine mysticism (see volume 3 of the journal *Scrinium,* published in 2007).

Hermeneutical Foundations

For many Christian commentators, the human word (λόγος) was a reflection of the divine Word (Λόγος), and thus words were granted a potentially inexhaustible significance. Meaningful verbal expressions were underwritten by the assumption of the divine presence, by the "Word who speaks silently through words" (Symeon the New Theologian, *Practical and Theological Chapters* 2.5), and who was the foundation of all existence and intelligibility. If true propositions could be affirmed, it was because truth was not considered simply a conventional property of grammar, but a transcendental

determination of being as such. The Word, who is beyond being, contains all beings in potential, and was thus the ground and condition for the subsequent articulation of beings in multiplicity, analogous to the way that language contains all potential meaning and expresses itself in speech (Constas 2016b).

In such a framework, language, meaning, and interpretation already contained ontological presuppositions; they were embedded within a particular understanding of God and the world. Philo argued that even a body of law presupposes a cognate cosmology, which is why Moses prefaced the Jewish law with an account of creation in Genesis (*On Creation* 1.1). Several Byzantine exegetes developed this idea, so that both creation and Scripture were understood as parallel manifestations or embodiments of the divine Word, two modes of a single divine revelation. In this context, Scripture was seen as an intelligible "cosmos," a universe composed of letters and words. The physical universe, on the other hand, was seen as a book or text, so that natural phenomena constituted a language in which the divine Word was legible to those capable of seeing past the surface (Maximos the Confessor, *Ambigua* 10.31; Blowers 2002).

Reflection on these two "texts" was a hermeneutic work that was described as one and the same activity, namely, spiritual "vision" or θεωρία (normally translated as "contemplation"), so that the contemplation of Scripture and the contemplation of nature became two moments in a single, unified process (cf. Guiu 2014; also Papaioannou, "Readers and Their Pleasures," Chapter 21 in this volume). Like the contemplation of nature, insights into the language of the sacred text were simultaneously insights into the intelligible order of reality, a passage from surface appearances to spiritual truths. Hermeneutics was thus part of the larger human vocation, inasmuch as the human person was a microcosm of the larger symbolic order, possessing the capacity to "read" and decipher its symbols as traces of the Word immanent in the world (Perl 1994).

Such divine immanence, however, was possible only as a consequence of divine transcendence, and thus the positive capacity of language to signify the truth was matched by a systematic negation of language. Language is always incommensurate with its object, especially when the "object" is God, who is always in excess of linguistic and symbolic forms of expression. The chronic disjunction of the signifier and the signified was acutely felt by Byzantine exegetes, who developed various hermeneutical coping strategies, not least of which were sophisticated forms of symbolic and spiritual exegesis.

c. 300 to c. 800

Early Byzantine exegetes employed all the hermeneutical tools and techniques available to the ancient world, including philology, rhetoric, and history, in order to draw out, clarify, and expound the basic meaning of the text (cf. Papaioannou, "Theory of Literature," Chapter 4 in this volume). They were not, however, restricted by the logic of these methodologies; neither did they work in a religious or theological vacuum. Instead, they worked within communities of faith and practice, so that ethical and

theological commitments constituted an essential part of how they encountered, experienced, and interpreted the Bible. Perhaps the most significant feature of early Byzantine hermeneutics was the extraordinary development of anagogical forms of exegesis, which are generally grouped under the category of "allegory."

Allegory

Allegory is an associative and connective hermeneutical practice that places a word, person, or event in relation to another word, person, or event, usually through the uncovering of hidden (but cognate) meanings, and often in an entirely new context and set of ideas (Reiser 2004). For certain Byzantine writers, allegory was never narrowly limited to theological literature, but could be expressive of the entire economy of verbal representation. To be sure, with the rise of modern historical-critical methods, allegory has fallen out of fashion. Even biblical scholars working within confessional traditions have rejected and attacked allegory as something foreign to the text. Many of these same scholars nonetheless maintain a commitment to "typology" (or "figural" exegesis), inasmuch as the latter was used in the New Testament. However, recent studies have demonstrated that rigid distinctions between typology and allegory do not accurately represent the practice of early exegetes, or even of Scripture itself, and that the distinction is largely a modern scholarly construction that can no longer be maintained (Martens 2008).

Allegorical exegesis of Scripture reached an early zenith in the work of Origen (Heine 1997; Daley 1998; Edwards 2003; Martens 2012). Origen's exegesis, which was subject to all the false steps of a pioneer, was modified in the following century by Basil the Great (Lim 1990), Gregory the Theologian (Fulford 2012; Hofer 2013: 11–54), and especially Gregory of Nyssa (Canévet 1983, a seminal study; see also Ludlow 2002). In his defense of allegory, Gregory of Nyssa adhered closely to the hermeneutics of Origen, but did not insist on the use of the word "allegory" as such. Gregory noted that Paul himself used the words "allegory" and "typology" interchangeably, and that the two were merely different "modes and names of contemplation" for a "single form of instruction." Allegory was necessary for finding something worthy in the often mundane and indecorous behavior of biblical heroes, but it was also necessary for speaking about a God who is beyond language. To offer the faithful the Bible without allegorical interpretation, Gregory contended, would be like giving them food fit only for "irrational animals," since it was "unprepared, uncooked, and unsuitable nourishment for rational beings," a situation which applied to the words of the New Testament as well (Gregory of Nyssa, *Homilies on the Song of Songs* 5–11; Heine 1984).

The Cappadocian exegetical legacy was given philosophical depth by the late fifth- or early sixth-century author writing under the name of Dionysios the Areopagite, whose *On the Divine Names* is the most important Byzantine treatise on the theory and practice of biblical hermeneutics (Rorem 1984 and 1989; Perl 2007). Dionysian hermeneutics were further refined by the seventh-century theologian and biblical exegete, Maximos

the Confessor (Blowers 1991; de Andia 1997; Constas, 2018). Maximos was the last of the early Byzantine allegorists, and his influence on the later tradition ensured that allegory would remain a viable hermeneutic option throughout the Byzantine period.

The School of Antioch

In various degrees of tension with the Alexandrian hermeneutical tradition was the "school" of Antioch, composed chiefly of the exegetes John Chrysostom, Theodoretos of Kyrros, Diodoros of Tarsos, and Theodoros of Mopsuestia (Guinot 1995 and 2012; O'Keefe 2000; McLeod 2009; Perhai 2015). These writers were generally averse to allegory, and at times espoused a narrowly literal and theologically reductive understanding of the Bible, especially the Old Testament. Of these writers, Chrysostom was by far the most important for the later Byzantine tradition, a brilliant exegete who conveyed to the Byzantine world the positive achievements of Antiochene exegesis without its extremes or deficiencies. His voluminous exegetical homilies—extant in some 2,000 manuscripts (surveyed in the *Codices Chrysostomici graeci* [Paris 1968–] series)—won universal acclaim from later generations of Byzantine readers and were widely imitated. Chrysostom's Pauline commentaries, which constitute nearly half of his extant sermons, enjoyed particular acclaim, diffusion, and influence (Mitchell 2002; Constas 2016a).

In expounding the letters of Paul, Chrysostom's first task was to establish the literal meaning of Paul's arguments, typically by working through the text verse by verse and chapter by chapter, employing all the contemporary tools of textual analysis. As a highly trained rhetor, Chrysostom was especially sensitive to Paul's formidable rhetoric. As a pastor, his textual exposition was never without a strong ethical application or, famously, a stirring moral exhortation. Chrysostom's aim was to inculcate in his listeners a deeper acquaintance with Paul, and a deeper understanding of his message in the hope of fundamentally transforming their lives in light of the virtues made visible in Paul (Maxwell 2006).

The Catenae

A new form of biblical interpretation and commentary was developed in the schools and monasteries of late antique Palestine, crystallizing in the late fifth and early sixth centuries. It became one of the most popular and enduring literary forms for biblical study and spread throughout the Byzantine world and beyond (for a full list of Greek catenae, see CPG C 1–180 and, for two manuscript examples, cf. Figure 6.2 [Chapter 6] and Figure 18.1 [Chapter 18]). Modern scholars refer to this new form as a "chain," based on its medieval Latin designation (*catena*), although the Greek terminology remained fluid (e.g., ἐξηγητικαὶ ἐκλογαί, συλλογαὶ ἐξηγήσεων, etc., all of which denote an anthology or collection of exegetical extracts) (Devreesse 1928; Dorival 1985;

Kannengiesser 2006: 978–987; Kolbaba 2012: 488–493; Alexakis 2015; Constas 2016a).[1] In a typical catena, the first verse of the biblical book was cited in full, followed by a series (or "chain") of patristic quotations, followed in turn by the second verse, and so on. The individual quotations usually cited the name of the patristic author in the genitive (often in some abbreviated form) at the beginning of the quotation, and were grouped either in columns parallel to the biblical text or were written on the margins of the text. They were often connected to the verse by a system of symbols, such as a small arrow, cross, or dotted obelus (see, e.g., Parpulov 2014: 67 on catenae [and commentaries] on the Psalms and their manuscript arrangement). Some catenae bear the name of their compiler, while many others are anonymous, such as the Palestinian *Catena on Psalm 118*, the *Sinai Catena on Genesis and Exodus*; and the *Catena of the Three Fathers on Ecclesiastes*, in which the "three fathers" were not the compilers but the patristic authorities whose interpretations were being cited.

The most important compiler of early biblical catenae was Prokopios of Gaza (c. 465–c. 528; Bitton-Ashkelony and Kofsky 2004; Haar Romeny 2007). Prokopios was not the inventor of the genre, although he did much to perfect and popularize it, exploiting earlier works such as the anonymous *Catena on the Octateuch*. The result was the massive *Commentary on the Octateuch*, his largest surviving work (CPG C 3; cf. Haar Romeney 2007: 179–181 and Westberg 2013). In the prologue, Prokopios described the twofold process according to which he compiled the collection. He first selected excerpts "from the fathers and from others," irrespective of whether these agreed with each other; when the selected excerpts did not agree, Prokopios added his own interpretation for the sake of clarification. He explained how the proliferation of earlier commentaries created the need for judicious compilations. He began the project by initially compiling complete and unabridged extracts, but found this too cumbersome and subsequently undertook the task of considerable alteration and paraphrase, modifying and summarizing his sources, and omitting those passages that did not bring anything new to the commentary (PG 87:21A–24A; on Prokopios's commentaries on the books of the Septuagint, some of which are unedited, see CPG 7430–7446).

The catenae were a logical and in some ways necessary response to the intense and voluminous exegetical production of the previous centuries. No individual or single school, church, or monastery could have a library containing all the exegetical writings of the church fathers. In addition to this, these writings were neither easy to study nor to reference. The catenae, on the other hand, which were compiled under the direction of competent textual critics, exegetes, and theologians, were eminently useful for study, for the preparation of sermons, and, not least, for the clarification of disputes concerning the meaning of a biblical passage and the refutation of theological heresies.

[1] Cf. further the CATENA project (University of Birmingham): https://www.birmingham.ac.uk/research/itsee/projects/catena/project.aspx. See also Parpulov 2021.

c. 800–1204

The middle Byzantine period was a time of synthesis and consolidation. Although reflection on Scripture continued, the early patristic exegetes, popularized through the catenae, had attained the status of unimpeachable authorities, and had become the criteria against which subsequent exegetical work were measured. The biblical commentaries produced by middle Byzantine writers drew massively from patristic exegetical writings, and to a certain extent replaced those writings. This was partly because the new commentaries were shorter, better organized, and easier to read, and partly because the multiplicity of patristic sources and citations was effectively brought together in a single authorial voice. The middle Byzantine commentators remain largely unstudied, and only the following four authors, who are representative of the different approaches undertaken in this period, will be presented briefly here: Photios, Theophylaktos of Ochrid, Euthymios Zygabenos, and Niketas of Herakleia.[2]

Photios

Photios's (c. 810–893; PmbZ 6253) views concerning the interpretation of Scripture are found scattered throughout his *Bibliothêkê* and his *Amphilochia*, the latter a collection of 300 mostly short essays devoted to problems of biblical exegesis and interpretation (Constas 1999). Photios inveighed against the allegorical exegesis of Philo, whom he blamed for "introducing allegory into the church," and consequently insisted on different forms of literalism (*Bibliothêkê* 103–104; Runia 1993: 271; cf. Junod 2003). He likewise expressed concern about Maximos's *Responses to the Questions of Thalassios*, which "drifts away from the letter and the historical level of the narrative" (*Bibliothêkê* 192). In the *Amphilochia*, Photios championed the literalist approach of the school of Antioch (O'Keefe 2000; Hidal 1996).

The literalist exegesis of the *Amphilochia* may support the hypothesis that Photios supervised the illumination of the famous Khludov Psalter, whose marginal illuminations are often so literal as to border on the absurd and grotesque. Surely the most egregious example is the image accompanying the verse: "They have set their mouth against heaven, and their tongue has passed over the earth" (Ps 72:9), which depicts two men—identified by an inscription as "heretics," and thus presumably iconoclasts—with beaked jaws touching the sky and six-foot tongues hanging from their mouths to the ground (Corrigan 1992: 14, fig. 17). Photios's reductive exegetical program may perhaps reflect contemporary tendencies toward cultural uniformity

[2] Outside the scope of this chapter is, for instance, the exegesis of Michael Psellos, who composed 150 essays on religious topics, several of which deal with passages from the Bible, along with significant exegetical works among his poetry; see further Papaioannou (2017).

and political control, compounded by a reactionary mentality hardened in the wake of Iconoclasm (Lemerle 1971: 177–204; Mango 1977; Alexander 1978; Constas 1999: 106–107). Whatever concerns and fears motivated his emphasis on a reductively literal exegesis, this approach had little impact on the general Byzantine commitment to non-literal interpretations of Scripture.

Theophylaktos of Ochrid

A deacon of Hagia Sophia, *maistôr* of rhetors, and later archbishop of Ochrid, Theophylaktos Hephaistos (c. 1050–after 1126) produced commentaries on the Psalms, the Minor Prophets, the four Gospels, and the letters of Paul.[3] While these massive exegetical projects were subsequently brought to completion in Ochrid, they had begun in Constantinople, where Theophylaktos was a teacher (Poneros 2002: 172–176)—the various schools in Constantinople were an important context for biblical exegesis, especially during the twelfth century.[4]

Modern scholarship has focused largely on Theophylaktos's correspondence, and there are almost no studies of his prodigious and influential exegetical writings (Beck 1959: 649–651; Podskalsky 1990: 542–546; Poneros 2002).[5] Each of his Gospel commentaries began with a biographical sketch of the Gospel author. This was followed by a list of chapters (the numbering of which corresponds to modern usage), and a preface touching on the historical and theological themes of each Gospel (PG 123:139–1348, PG 124:9–318). The commentaries on the letters of Paul followed the same pattern, and the chronology of the letters was organized by information from the book of *Acts* (PG 124:335–1358, and PG 125:9–404). Theophylaktos's exegesis generally took the form of short comments on each verse, and ranged from questions of grammar and philology to matters of doctrine. Theophylaktos pursued a variety of interpretations based on the historical context, the larger aim of the passage, and rational deduction (cf. PG 123:749A, 849A, 916C, 1084B, etc.). His exegetical work combined the philologically oriented exegesis of the commentaries with the paraenetic and didactic aims of popular exegetical sermons. While concerned with establishing the grammatical and literal meaning of the text, Theophylaktos was in no way averse to allegory, which he employed extensively in his exegesis of the Gospel parables.

In the introduction to his commentary on the Minor Prophets (in fact, he commented on only five: Hosea, Habakkuk, Jonah, Nahum, and Micah), Theophylaktos noted that the

[3] The commentaries on the *Acts of the Apostles* and the *Catholic Epistles* published under his name are now ascribed to Arethas of Caesarea (Saunders 1957: 35–36).

[4] For a detailed review of various works, several of an exegetical character, their authors, and their twelfth-century educational contexts, see Nesseris (2014) with the earlier bibliography.

[5] See also Mpones (1937) on a similar corpus of exegetical homilies, contemporaneous to those of Theophylaktos and attributed to Ioannes Xiphilinos; and, further, Katsaros (1988) on Ioannes Kastamonites, a later Constantinopolitan teacher with work similarly focused on biblical exegesis.

work was commissioned by Maria of Alania, the wife of Michael VII Doukas (c. 1050–1090; cf. Figure 16.4 in Chapter 16). The empress had charged him with producing an anthology that would both abridge and clarify the exegetical writings of the early fathers. In addition, she had asked him to provide the prophetic writings with a "threefold interpretation," that is, historical, ethical, and mystical (Poneros 2002: 277–291). Theophylaktos begged the reader's indulgence, since the large mass of material made the task nearly impossible, and neither were all the prophecies open to a threefold interpretation (PG 126:564–565).

Euthymios Zygabenos

Euthymios Zygabenos (fl. c. 1100), monk and court theologian to Alexios I Komnenos (r. 1081–1118), produced major commentaries on the Psalms, the four Gospels, and the letters of Paul (Papavasiliou 1979; Constas 2016a). Because Zygabenos's Gospel commentaries were commissioned by Alexios I to counter the teachings of the Bogomils, it has been suggested that his commentaries on the letters of Paul were also directed against that same group (Kalogeras 1887: 1:xliv; Papavasiliou 1979: 221–222; cf. Hamilton and Hamilton 1998: 180–207). In his major theological work, the *Dogmatic Panoply* (PG 130:20–1360 with Ficker 1908: 89–111; cf. Rigo 2009), Zygabenos reported that the Bogomils rejected the Old Testament, with the exception of the Psalms and certain prophecies, and adopted a truncated version of the New Testament (PG 130:1292BC). The closing section of the *Panoply*, dealing extensively with the Bogomil interpretation of Scripture, suggests that Zygabenos had access to a Bogomil commentary on the Gospel of Matthew, which used allegory to distort the biblical text in light of Bogomil doctrines (PG 130:1321B–1332D; cf. Hamilton 2005).[6] Zygabenos was a fine philologist and a keen theologian in his own right (Papavasiliou 1979: 239–268). His exegetical work was informed by an impressive range of theological writers, including Basil and the two Gregories, Cyril of Alexandria, Dionysios the Areopagite, and Maximos the Confessor (Papavasiliou 1979: 268–277). While making use of earlier writers, he worked creatively with his sources, responding to theological problems that arose after the era of the early patristic exegetes, such as dualist beliefs associated with the Paulicians and the Bogomils, Islam, and ongoing doctrinal disputes with the Latins, the Armenians, and other Christian groups.

Niketas of Herakleia

Before becoming metropolitan of Herakleia, Niketas ὁ τοῦ Σερρῶν (nephew of the bishop of Serres <Stephanos>) (c. 1060–1117) was also, like Theophylaktos, a deacon of

[6] Rejecting the patristic exegetical tradition, the Bogomils contended that the "false prophets" of Matthew 24:11 were actually the great church fathers of antiquity (PG 130:1309A–B; 1328D) and explicitly rejected the biblical interpretations of John Chrysostom (i.e., the "Golden Mouth"), whom they mockingly called the "Swollen Mouth" (PG 130:1317B).

Hagia Sophia and a teacher in Constantinople (as *prôximos* and *maistôr* at Chalkoprateia, and as *didaskalos* of the Gospel). His biblical scholarship is exemplified in his catenae on the Psalms, the Gospels, and on the letters of Paul, all of which were based on his scholarly research, teaching, and lecture notes (Browning 1962–1963; Dorival 1992: 562; see also Krikonis 1976: 23–24; Roosen 1999: 135–137).

With access to the resources of the patriarchal library, Niketas's catenae are rich and far-reaching in their range of citation. The *Catena on Matthew* (CPG C 113), for example, contains more than 1,600 excerpts from more than thirty patristic writers from Origen to Ioannes Damaskenos. Although more than 900 of these excerpts are from Chrysostom, the large number of quotations from Alexandrian writers prevents the exegetical orientation from being narrowly Antiochene. The *Catena on Luke* (CPG C 135), which is considered Niketas's masterpiece, is an even greater example of his scholarly erudition and energy (Sickenberger 1902; Krikonis 1976 with Lackner 1975, Aubineau 1977, and Fourlas 1980). The work, divided into four books, contains more than 3,000 excerpts from nearly seventy writers, ranging from Flavius Josephus (c. 37–100) to Ioannes Geometres (c. 935/940–1000; PmbZ 23092). In addition to excerpting material from patristic exegetes, Niketas included material from a number of early Christian writers (Ignatios of Antioch, Irenaeus of Lyons, Hippolytus), along with quotations from the leading theologians of later periods (from Athanasios and Basil to Ioannes Damaskenos and Photios). In addition, he included a large number of excerpts from ascetic writers and even Latin writers (Cyprian, Julius Africanus, Sylvester of Rome, Ambrose, Cassian, Leo I)—obviously in Greek translation. Niketas's work is a monument of Byzantine erudition. The range and character of his sources demonstrate clearly that Byzantine biblical hermeneutics was not limited to textual criticism and literary questions, but was deeply informed by traditional Byzantine theology and spirituality.

1204–1453

As with middle Byzantine exegesis, to date there are no monograph-length treatments of late Byzantine biblical hermeneutics, for which this final section surveys the major exegetes and sources. Commentary on Scripture continued largely in the polemical literature surrounding the Hesychast controversy, but to this general rule there were notable exceptions.

The classical scholar Manuel Gabalas (PLP 3309; RGK I 270, II 370, III 445), later metropolitan (Matthew) of Ephesos (1329–1351), composed essays on biblical books and themes, including a prologue to the book of Susannah, and compilations of moralizing excerpts (with commentary) from the books of Job, the Prophets, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes (all extant in the author's autograph: Vienna, ÖNB, theol. gr. 174, fols. 69–70; 152–277v; cf. Treu 1901: 24, 27).

Makarios Chrysokephalos (1300–1382; PLP 31138; RGK I 242 and II 336bis), the metropolitan of Philadelphia (from 1336 onward), compiled a two-volume *Catena on*

Genesis, the first volume covering creation, and the second the biblical patriarchs. He also compiled a multivolume *Catena on Matthew*, and a one-volume *Catena on Luke* (in which he omitted the passages Luke has in common with Matthew). The first and the second volume of the *Catena on Matthew*, each organized in 20 *Homilies*, are preserved in two autograph manuscripts: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barocci 156 (completed in 1344; Hutter 1982: 242–243) and Patmos 381 (completed in 1349; Komines 1968: 18–19 = 1970: 35; cf. Figure 20.1 in Chapter 20). The material in the Lucan catena was organized around the lectionary readings for the Dominical Feasts, and this prompted Chrysokephalos to call his compilation the *Great Alphabet* (*Μεγάλη Ἀλφάβητος*), since it contains the letters (στοιχεῖα) constitutive of salvation in twenty-four chapters—the same number of letters as in the Greek alphabet—symbolizing Christ himself, who is the "alpha and the omega" (Rev 22:13; PG 150:244; cf. Beck 1959: 790; Lamberton 1986: 76–77; and Darshan 2012; the prologues to the catenae on Matthew and Luke are published in PG 150:240–154).

Matthew Kantakouzenos (c. 1325–1391; PLP 10983), the son of John VI Kantakouzenos (c. 1295–1383), authored a *Commentary on the Wisdom of Solomon*, which survives in fragments, and an allegorical *Commentary on the Song of Songs*, notable for its interpretation of Solomon's bride as the Mother of God (PG 152:997–1084).

Niketas of Naupaktos (PLP 20278), writing in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, compiled a *Catena on Matthew*, closely following the catenae of Theophylaktos and Niketas of Herakleia (Beck 1959: 711).

Nikephoros Kallistou Xanthopoulos (c. 1256–1335; PLP 20826), teacher and priest of Hagia Sophia, wrote a *synopsis* of the Old Testament in iambic verse (PG 147:602–624).

The work of Malachias the Monk (PLP 16504), who wrote commentaries on Proverbs, the Wisdom of Solomon, and the Wisdom of Ben Sira, may probably also date to this period. Malachias's remarkable interest in textual criticism has proven valuable to modern textual critics of the Septuagint (Ceulemans 2013).

The patriarchal official, deacon, and teacher Theodoros Meliteniotes (d. 1393; PLP 17851) wrote a massive commentary on the Gospels in nine volumes, of which three are preserved; it has been calculated that the entire work would have run to 2,500 folios (Astruc 1970; cf. PG 149:883–988).

The theologian and polemicist Markos Eugenikos, metropolitan of Ephesos (c. 1392–1445; PLP 6193) wrote a number of essays on biblical themes and subjects, some of which remain unedited: *Solution to Biblical Difficulties*, *On Philippians 2:7*, *On Galatians 5:22*, *On the Talents of the Gospel Parable (Mt 25:14–30)*, *Commentary on Elijah the Prophet* (Constas 2002: 425–426, nos. 18–20; 435, nos. 82–83).

During this same period, bishops and clergymen continued to preach exegetical homilies on the cycle of Gospel lessons appointed by the Byzantine lectionary. Among the more notable preachers of this period was Gregorios Palamas (1296–1357; PLP 21459), with nearly twenty extant *Homilies* on the Sunday Gospel readings—although we can be certain he delivered a much larger number than this during his twelve-year

tenure as archbishop of Thessalonike. Gregory's later successor, Isidoros Glavas (sed. 1380–1396; PLP 4223), produced more than twice that number (Christophorides 1992–1996), while Glavas's immediate successor, Gabriel of Thessalonike (c. 1335/1345–1416/1417; PLP 3416), produced an even greater number of homilies, although many of these borrow extensively from existing collections of lectionary sermons known as the *Ὁμιλιάρια* and the *Κυριακοδρόμια* (Zographos 2007: 188–208).

Late Byzantine preachers worked from the rich tradition of patristic biblical exegesis and commentary, but, as was common practice, they rarely made explicit reference to previous exegetes or exegetical works. It seems clear, however, that early patristic exegesis was mediated through later anthologies and collections, as suggested by a passage in Palamas's *Third Antirrhetic against Akindynos*, where he cited the *Commentary on Matthew* by Theophylaktos of Ochrid (cf. Krikonis 1976b). This, however, should not be taken to mean that late Byzantine preachers and exegetes did not continue to have access to the original sources, since these continued to be copied throughout this period.

One of the more remarkable preachers of the late Byzantine period was Philotheos Kokkinos (1300–1379; PLP 11917), a disciple of Palamas and twice Patriarch of Constantinople (1353–1354, 1364–1376). In the winter of 1353 or 1354, over the course of two successive days, he delivered a detailed, verse-by-verse exegetical homily on Psalm 37. His exegesis, which unfolded along historical, moral, spiritual, and doctrinal lines, was built up through sustained cross-referencing of parallel verses from other psalms and cognate passages from across the Bible as a whole. His interpretation alluded to multiple patristic commentaries on the Psalter, notably those by Athanasios and Cyril of Alexandria. Based on references in the work, it is believed that the homilies were most probably commissioned by and delivered in the presence of John VI Kantakouzenos. Likewise, a series of three exegetical homilies on Proverbs 9:1 ("Wisdom has built her house and established it on seven pillars") were delivered in response to a request by Ignatios, the bishop of Panion, who was a close friend and supporter of Kokkinos. Another series of three homilies (in fact, epistolographic treatises) on the Beatitudes (Mt 5:3–12) were delivered in the presence of Helen Kantakouzene, the wife of John V Palaiologos (r. 1341–1391). Also among Kokkinos's works are two homilies for the Gospel reading of the Tenth Sunday of Luke (Lk 13:10–17) (for the texts, see Pseutogkas 1979). In addition, under the name of Kokkinos, the manuscript tradition preserves a cycle of Sunday Gospel homilies for the entire ecclesiastical year (altogether the collection contains around 180 homilies). Extant in more than 100 manuscripts, this collection (which in fact is two distinct collections) contains homilies by previous patriarchs of Constantinople, along with a number of anonymous or unattributed homilies (Ehrhard 1938: 520–631; cf. Tsentikopoulos 2001: 318–321).

Despite the abundance and variety of relevant texts, late Byzantine biblical exegesis is still unexplored territory. Many important exegetical works remain unedited and unknown, and many edited works have never been translated and lack basic studies. Whereas certain aspects of late Byzantine theological culture (notably, Hesychasm) have

for decades received sustained attention, there are almost no studies dealing directly with late Byzantine biblical hermeneutics (Constas 2016a). It is hoped that renewed interest in the study of late Byzantine theology will garner greater attention to hermeneutics, and provide us with a deeper understanding of the reception of the Bible and biblical studies in Byzantium.

Suggestions for Further Reading

The relevant chapters in Beck 1959 remain the most thorough survey of the corpus of Byzantine exegetical texts; these should be read together with Ehrhard (1897, esp. pp. 122–139); on Byzantine patristics and theological thoughts, see also Parry (2015), Conticello (2015), and Conticello and Conticello (2002), as well as several chapters in Kaldellis and Siniossoglou (2017). The CPG is a basic work of reference for patristic and early Byzantine theological literature until the eighth century, including exegetical and related texts, which may be searched through various indices; see also the overviews in Sieben (1983), Sæbø (1996; on the Old Testament) and Sieben (1991; on patristic homilies on the New Testament).

For surveys of (also) early Byzantine hermeneutics, see: Young (1997); O'Keefe and Reno (2005); Kannengiesser (2006); Elliott (2012); Blowers and Martens (2019); see also Pollmann (2009). For Byzantine exegesis, see the overview in Kolbaba (2012). Dawson (2002) questions the reduction of patristic exegetical tropes to parallel practices in modern literary theory. Martens (2012) offers a new approach to the study of Origen's exegesis; Harl (1983) remains a convenient point of entry to the Byzantine reception of Origen's hermeneutics. Hollerich (1999; on Eusebios) and Layton (2004; on Didymos the Blind) study two major exegetes working within the Alexandrian tradition. On the exegetes associated with Antioch, cf. Hill (2005); Greer (1961); and Wiles (1970). Mayer and Allen (2000) offer a good short introduction to Chrysostom; while Schaublin (1974) and Viciano (1992) focus on Antiochene exegetical methodology. On Byzantine monastic or ascetic exegesis, see Géhin (1987); Clark (1999); Alfeyev (2000: 43–72); Kattan (2002); Blowers (2015); and Constas (2018). See finally Cunningham (2016) on the interpretation of the New Testament in Byzantine preaching.

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CHAPTER 6

MEMORY

Selection, Citation, Commonplace

CHARIS MESSIS AND STRATIS PAPAIOANNOU

As in other societies, so also in Byzantium, the role of memory was fundamental in the formation of persons as members of a group. Memory cemented social cohesion and contributed to the creation and preservation of various identities (religious, social, familial, sexual, etc.), whose adoption or, alternatively, rejection partly defined each individual. The perception of time and space was equally punctuated by the fissures and prerogatives of memory, just as memory served as a primary means for the preservation, diffusion, and making of culture.

In the Greco-Roman and Byzantine worlds, memory defined the system of education, especially because orality was seminal in the acquisition and perpetuation of learning (Cavallo 2010). Serving as a storage of knowledge and often a substitute for the book, memory was instrumental in mastering all sorts of arts and sciences (cf. Coqueugniot 2008). Its centrality was further enhanced by Christianity; even though writing (the Bible and other related texts) acquired an unprecedented value in Christian settings, memorization persisted as a means by which Christian varieties of truth disseminated. As was put in reference to Antony the Great in the fourth century (Athanasios of Alexandria, *Life of Antony the Great* 3.7; BHG 140; cf. Figure 20.3 in Chapter 20 of this volume):

Προσεῖχεν οὕτω τῇ ἀναγνώσει, ὡς μηδὲν τῶν γεγραμμένων ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πίπτειν χαμαί, πάντα δὲ κατέχειν καὶ λοιπὸν αὐτῷ *τὴν μνήμην ἀντὶ βιβλίων γίνεσθαι*.

He paid so much attention to what was being read that he let nothing from the Scriptures go wasted, but rather he retained everything and thus *his memory took the place of books*.

Memory was thus crucial in the process of acquiring, maintaining, and distributing knowledge. But how exactly did this affect the production and reception of literature? As in other societies and cultures, so also in Byzantium, literary texts and discourses

related to memory in at least two intertwined ways: (a) literature, especially in narrative form, served the recording of past events and thus the creation and preservation of personal and communal memory; and (b) literature, especially in liturgical and ceremonial contexts, activated the remembrance and commemoration of events, persons, and lives in ways that aspired to render the past as present. This production of what we may call (a) "temporal" and (b) "ritual" memory was among the primary functions of Byzantine texts and discourses (Papaioannou 2014).

Yet memory was not merely an end to which literature was a means. It was also an intrinsic, constitutive element in the very process of literary creation and consumption. Texts and discourses, as a whole or in their various aspects, carried the memory of other texts and discourses, and aimed at the incitement, manipulation, and indeed the creation of such memory among their readers and audiences. This (let us call it) *textual memory* functioned as a code that defined the literary event in Byzantium. It is to this type of memory, as a textual/discursive category of literary analysis, that this chapter is devoted.

Theories and Techniques

It may be instructive to begin with a digression. Starting with the Platonic view that learning is a form of remembrance (ἀνάμνησις—see, e.g., *Phaedo* 73c4–5, 75e3–7, 91e5–6, etc.), namely the recuperation of pre-established knowledge, Greco-Roman philosophical theories of learning regarded memory as a seminal cognitive craft of storing and recollecting mental images (Nikulin 2015 for an overview; also Bloch 2007). In the Roman world and subsequently in the medieval Latin tradition, theories of discursive memory and related techniques of recollection and memorization were developed in the context of rhetorical training and discursive practice (see especially Carruthers 2008; also Carruthers and Ziolkowski 2002 and Minnis 2005). These were notions and practices that traced their origins to Aristotle's *Topics* (the fifth among a series of logical treatises known collectively as the *Organon*), his *Rhetoric* (especially 1395b21f.), and his *On Memory and Recollection* in their Ciceronian reworkings. The emphasis in these traditions lay on the notion that memory is stored in *topoi* or *loci*, "locations in the brain . . . made accessible by means of an ordering system" (Carruthers 2008: 33 with Sorabji 1972: 26–34). Various mnemonic techniques cultivated precisely such ordering systems and thereby created methods for dialectical argumentation and rhetorical composition, and, more generally, processes of reading and meditation.

At first glance, none of this seems to have any equivalent in Byzantium. Aristotle's *On Memory and Recollection* and, especially, his *Topics* were read and commented upon.[1] Yet the Aristotelian and then Byzantine understanding of memory and logical

[1] See Kotzabassi (1999) on two Byzantine commentaries on the *Topics*, with van Ophuijsen (2002) on the earlier but influential *Commentary* of Alexandros of Aphrodisias; for the Byzantine reception of *On Memory and Recollection*, see Bloch (2005, 2008); for a concise summary of predominant Byzantine

argumentation did not cross into rhetorical theory and training. In texts related to literary education, the notion of memory played a minor role, and no special mnemonic devices were developed. Such conspicuous absence may well have to do with the relative obscurity of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* in Byzantium. The prevalence of Hermogenian aesthetics, with their considerable indifference to explicitly Aristotelian approaches to argumentation, paid little attention to either memory or *topoi*.[2]

However, the absence of an articulated rhetorical definition of memory or any systematized techniques of memorization should not be confused with an absence in practice. Quite the contrary. For a start, Byzantine students, teachers, and other performers of discourse customarily learned texts by heart—ἀποστοματίζειν is among the common technical words for this practice. References to such habits are numerous, from school and monastic contexts, to the memorization of the *Psalms* (Parpulov 2014: 71 and 75) and that of Homer. In the twelfth century, for instance, Michael of Ephesos remarked the following (*Commentary on Aristotle's Ethics* 613.1–6):

Ἐπίσταται δὲ ὁ πατὴρ σπουδαῖος ὤν, τίνων μὲν ἀντέχεσθαι δύναται καὶ πρὸς ποῖα τῶν μαθημάτων εὐφυῶς ἔχει, πρὸς ποῖα δὲ ἀνεπιτήδειός ἐστι καὶ πόσον ἀνεπιτήδειος· οἷον εἰ τριάκοντα Ὁμηρικοὺς ἀποστοματίζειν δύναται καὶ μηδὲν πλέον, μὴ ἀναγκάζειν αὐτὸν ἐπέκεινα τῶν τριάκοντα ἀποδιδόναι, εἰ δὲ πεντήκοντα, μὴ πλέον τούτων.

The wise father knows what his son can handle, for which subjects he has a natural inclination, for which he is unsuited, and to what degree he is unsuited—for example, if his son can learn by heart thirty lines of Homer and no more, he does not force him to learn more than these thirty; if he can learn fifty, then no more than these.

Some eight centuries earlier, Libanios, in one of his preliminary exercises (*Progymnasmata*), offered the following description of speech performance in a school environment (text and translation in Gibson 2008: 66–67):

Σκόπει γάρ· ἵδρυται μὲν ὁ διδάσκαλος ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ τινος, ὥσπερ οἱ δικασταί, φοβερός, συνάγων τὰς ὀφρῦς, θυμὸν ἐμφανίζων, οὐδὲν εἰρηναῖον προδεικνύς. Δεῖ δὴ τὸν νέον προσιέναι τρέμοντα καὶ συνεσταλμένον ποικίλην ποιησόμενον τὴν ἐπίδειξιν ὧν εὗρεν, ὧν συνέθηκε, μνήμης ἐπὶ τούτοις.

Just consider: the teacher is seated on a lofty seat, like the members of a jury, dreadful, knitting his eyebrows together, exhibiting his anger, showing nothing conciliatory. The

notions of memory, see the relevant chapter in Ioannes Damaskenos, *Precise Exposition of the Orthodox Faith* 34 (Περὶ τοῦ μνημονευτικοῦ = On the faculty of memory).

[2] There exist two exceptions of treatises on memory in rhetorical contexts: a single late tenth-century manuscript with Longinos's *On Memory* (Papaioannou 2017a: 75–76); and a fifteenth-century translation of the chapter on memory from *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, attributed to Cicero (Bernardinello 1973). For logic and rhetoric, as well as the reception of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and the prevalence of Hermogenes, see Papaioannou, "Theory of Literature," Chapter 4 in this volume.

young man must approach him, trembling and cowering, in order to make a complicated speech from what he has invented, from what he has composed—and from memory, at that.

The examples could be multiplied.

As one might expect, lavish praise was poured upon people with exceptional memory. Theodosios Goudelis's presentation of Leontios, patriarch of Jerusalem (c. 1110–1185) offers one such remarkable instance (*Life of Leontios, Patriarch of Jerusalem* 24):

Ἡ δὲ γλῶττα αὐτῷ τετόρητο ὑπὲρ ῥήτορας, τὰ ἐπισυναγόμενα ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ διδόντος ἀνθρώπῳ γνῶσιν θείου πνεύματος τορῶς διὰ ταύτης ἐκφέροντι καὶ βίβλους ὅλας ἀποστηθίζειν δεδυνημένῳ, οὐ μόνον ὅσαι βίους πατέρων ἢ μαρτύρων ἡμῖν ἀπαγγέλλουσι, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἀλλοίας, αἳ τὸ ἠθικῶς συντεθεῖσθαι καὶ γνωματικῶς συμπεπλέχθαι τὰ ἡμέτερα ἤθη ρυθμίζουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσαι περὶ δογμάτων ὑψηλῶν καὶ τῶν ὀλίγοις βατῶν διὰ τὸ τῆς ἀνόδου πρόσαντες, ὡς ἔχειν αὐτὸν ὁπόταν δέοι καὶ καιρὸς καλοίη καὶ γράφειν καὶ ἀποστοματίζειν ταῦτα, ὡς εἴ τις μετὰ χεῖρας τὰς τῶν ζητουμένων βίβλους πάσας κατέχοι, τὰς σποράδην ταῦτα ἐχούσας ἐγκείμενα, ἢ καὶ αὐτὴν ὅλην καταπίοι τὴν τῶν ὀρθῶν δογμάτων πηγήν . . .

His tongue became sharper than the orators', as he eloquently expounded through it what was gathered in his heart by the good and divine spirit which gives men understanding, and as he could learn by heart whole books, not only those which proclaim to us the lives of fathers or martyrs, but also different ones—those which being composed in moral terms and interwoven with sayings, regulate our habits, and moreover those which concern lofty doctrines and are accessible to few because of the steepness of the ascent. In this way he could, when it was needed and when the time required, both write and quote these things, like one who had in his hands all the books that are sought after which contain these matters scattered in them; or as if he swallowed the whole fountain of correct doctrine. . . . (trans. Tsougarakis)

Readers were thus encouraged to ἀπομνημονεύειν, ἀποστοματίζειν, and ἀποστηθίζειν—all verbs signifying "to learn and recite by heart" (cf. *Suda* α 3441 and 3561). Among the admonitions of Saint Antony, for example, we read (*Life of Antony the Great* 55.3):

. . . εὔχεσθαι συνεχῶς, ψάλλειν τε πρὸ ὕπνου καὶ μεθ' ὕπνον καὶ ἀποστηθίζειν τὰ ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς παραγγέλματα, καὶ μνημονεύειν τῶν πράξεων τῶν ἁγίων πρὸς τὸ τῷ ζήλῳ τούτων ῥυθμίζεσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπομιμνησκομένην ἐκ τῶν ἐντολῶν.

. . . pray constantly, chant before and after sleep, learn the precepts found in the Scriptures by heart, and remember the deeds of the Saints so as to attune the soul in the rhythms of their emulation, being reminded of the commandments.

This pervasive intention to activate or support discursive memory also had a technical side, which was encoded in various ways in the writing and textual culture of Byzantium. Let us start with the most basic: abbreviation signs in inscriptions and manuscripts (Allen 1889; Gardthausen 1913: 334–352; Oikonomides 1974; McNamee 1981; Cereteli 1969;

Atsalos 1991; Perria 2011: 172–173; see also Irigoin 2005); titles and/or the first few initial words (the *incipit*) of texts which may be listed in tables of contents[3] or used as a quick reference for a text—the latter is especially common in hymnography (e.g., in *prosomoia*); marginal notes on the pages of manuscripts; acrostics (some of them alphabetic) in versification;[4] and, of course, ekphonetic and musical notation. All these functioned as memory aids and triggers that guided the reader's perception or performance of texts. In the context of education, meter offered the most common formal feature to facilitate memorization; as the fifth-century Neoplatonist Hermeias noted, "τὰ ἔπη τῶν καταλογάδην εὐμνημονευτότερά ἐστιν [verse is easier to memorize than prose]" (*Scholia on Plato's Phaedrus* 238.10–11); unsurprisingly, the number of Byzantine didactic texts in verse is quite large.[5] The function of melody in the context of sacred song was similar.[6]

But textual memory was not merely a mechanical skill; it was rather a prerequisite to comprehension and creativity. Readers were frequently warned against the dangers of mere memorization. In the fifth century, Proklos disparaged the person who "memorizes" a text—in this case the Platonic dialogue *Parmenides*—"and is able to recite it by heart, but is ignorant of its hidden meaning" (*Commentary on Parmenides* 682.1–3).[7] The tenth-century *Suda* recorded the following dictum (σ 62) in an entry that derived from Damaskios's *Philosophical History*: "οὐ γάρ ἐστι ταὐτὸν ἐς πλῆθος ἀποστηθίζειν καὶ γράφειν ἐς κάλλος [memorizing texts in great numbers is not the same thing as composing a text with beauty]." To cite also a text in the monastic tradition, Symeon the new Theologian (c. 1000) posed the following question (*On Repentance and Contrition* = *Katechesis* 4.337–341):

Τί οὖν ὁ ὄφελος αὐτῷ, ἐὰν μὴ πνευματικὴ ὑπάρχῃ καὶ μετὰ γνώσεως ἡ ἐργασία αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ κάθηται ἀναγινώσκων πρὸς τὸ ἀποστηθίσαι τι, ἵνα ἔχῃ τοῦτο λέγειν ἐν καιρῷ συνάξεως ἢ καὶ παρουσίᾳ φίλων, ὥστε φαίνεσθαι αὐτὸν γνωστικόν;

What is the benefit to him [i.e., the superficial monk], if his work is neither spiritual nor with understanding, but rather he spends his time reading in order to memorize

[3] For just two examples, see the table of contents of an eleventh-century *Mênologion* Paris, BNF, gr. 1468, ff. 1–2 and a twelfth-century copy of Gregory the Theologian's *Orations* followed by the commentary of Ps.-Nonnos (on which see also later discussion in this chapter), Vatican, BAV, Vat. gr. 1947, f. 151r.

[4] Notably, the beginning letters forming the acrostic were occasionally written in different colored (usually red) ink; for an example, see a thirteenth-century copy of a penitential poem attributed to Symeon Metaphrastes in Vatican, BAV, Pal. gr. 367, f. 135v.

[5] Lauxtermann (2009) and Hörandner (2012). We may also note that the fifteen-syllable or "political" verse is prominent in this category of texts after the eleventh century.

[6] For various mnemonic devices in the context of hymnography, recital, and musical performance, see Papaioannou, "Sacred Song," Chapter 18, and Martani, "Recitation and Chant," Chapter 19, in this volume.

[7] The same sentiment, influenced by Proklos, was echoed by Michael Psellos in the eleventh century (*Chronographia* III,3 and *In what way does Plato think that the Souls inhabit the Bodies of Irrational Animals* = *Phil. min.* II 29 [106.26–30]).

something so as to be able to mention it during the time of the gathering of the fathers or in front of friends and thus appear knowledgeable?[8]

In reaction to such warnings, meditation (μελέτη) was advised as a buttress for the working of memory in the context of religious training. The instructions given to Eirene Choumnaina (PLP 30936), a notable figure of late Byzantine intellectual and social elite, by her spiritual father, Theoleptos, metropolitan of Philadelphia (1283/1284–1322, PLP 7509; *Discourse Clarifying the Hidden Work in Christ and Showing Succinctly the Goal of the Monastic Profession* 317–341) are to be taken as such. Similarly, in the context of rhetorical training, students were motivated to approach memorable statements and memorable stories creatively. The first four rhetorical exercises in the *Progymnasmata*, the *Μῦθος/Fable, Διήγημα/Narrative*, *Χρεία/Anecdote,* and *Γνώμη/Maxim*, were devoted to the elaboration of memorable and morally beneficial short fictional stories (the *mythos*; with animal, Aesopic fables as the default genre), short mythological, fictitious, or historical narratives (the *diêgêma*), utterances by famous people placed in a context (the *chreia*), and universal useful statements, without attribution or context (the *gnômê*). The elaboration of recollected knowledge took the form of composition exercises. These explained, paraphrased, and supported further, with additional citations of stories and statements, the pithy tales and aphorisms of the past.[9]

Selection

With the four *progymnasmata*, we arrive perhaps at the heart of textual memory in Byzantium. Memorable, and thus authoritative, *phrases* and *short stories* were the two most prominent structuring grids in Byzantine literary production.[10] They were ubiquitous in Byzantine literature, regardless of genre, level of style, performative context, or social and ideological setting. Whether at school, at the monastery, or at the church, readers/listeners and potential authors were trained to identify, learn, memorize, and replicate locutions and narratives they had encountered in earlier literature.[11]

[8] This is a concern to which Symeon returned on several occasions in his writings; see, e.g., *Katechesis* 20.201–202 and *Theological Oration* 1.4–13.

[9] See Kennedy (2003), Gibson (2008), Beneker and Gibson (2016), with English translations, commentary, and further bibliography on Byzantine collections of *progymnasmata*; also Hock and O'Neil (1986, 2002) and Hock (2012) on the *chreia.* On other rhetorical techniques related to memory in the Aristotelian Greek tradition, which, as noted, had limited impact on Byzantine thought, see Vatri (2015).

[10] Different terms that varied depending upon context, function, and intended nuance of meaning were applied to these. The maxim could be termed ἀποστόμισμα, ἀπόφθεγμα, γνώμη, γνωμικόν, ἐνθύμημα, θέσις, παραίνεσις, ῥῆσις, ῥητόν, ὑποθήκη, χρεία, χρῆσις, etc.; the brief narrative was called αἶνος, ἀφήγημα, ἀφήγησις, διήγημα, διήγησις, ἱστορία, λόγος, μῦθος, etc.

[11] For two Byzantine "manifestos" on the need to study *gnômai* and *historiai*, see the widely circulating brief *Life of Aesop,* attributed to Aphthonios, and an essay by Theodoros Metochites titled "On Memory, and that it is Necessary" (*Sententious Remarks* 2). For a Byzantine chart with different types of maxims, see Anonymous, *Commentary on Aristotle's Rhetoric* 300.

To this purpose, a series of tools (but also texts read in their own right) were developed to regulate, under a variety of criteria, the storage, memory, and recollection of maxims and tales to which the Byzantines were exposed. We are referring to that disparate body of textual material, usually called anthologies, which were read or written during the Byzantine period and whose discursive task was primarily (though not exclusively) the articulation, structuring, and activation of textual memory. A tentative and by no means complete list of such textual material, from different contexts and with different but overlapping functions, could include the following:[12]

- Collections/selections of maxims, quotations, passages, and longer excerpts from a variety of authors (or sometimes of a single author), arranged under various rubrics. Examples include the *Ἀνθολόγιον* of Stobaios, compiled in the fifth century (Reydams-Schils 2011) and two influential Christian anthologies, one by Ioannes Damaskenos (*Ἱερὰ Παράλληλα*, CPG 8056),[13] the other circulating widely and in many recensions under the name of Maximos the Confessor (Ihm 2001; also Sargologos 2001; CPG 7718); for an anthology of excerpts from a single author, we may mention the popular tenth-century anthology of Chrysostom excerpts (Haidacher 1902) made by Theodoros Daphnopates (c. 890/900–d. after 963; PmbZ 27694).
- Maxims attributed to notable sages of the past, such as the *Γνῶμαι* of Menandros and Philistion (ed. Jäkel 1964), or the sayings of the seven wise men (Tziatzi-Papagianni 1994);
- Maxims in verse form, such as the *Γνῶμαι* attributed to the ninth-century poet Kassia (Lauxtermann 2003: 241–270; for Kassia, see PmbZ 3636–3637; cf. in this volume, Valiavitcharska, Chapter 12, "Rhetorical Figures," and Hörandner and Rhoby, Chapter 17, "Metrics and Prose Rhythm");
- Alphabetical collections of proverbs (various Greek titles; edition in von Leutsch and Schneidewin 1839–1851);
- Dictionaries and encyclopedic dictionaries, most notably the *Suda* with c. 30,000 entries (Matthaios 2006);
- Collections/selections of fables (those attributed to Aesop were the most popular; Perry 1952 and Adrados 1993–2003);
- Collections/selections of ancient Greek myths, such as the *Βιβλιοθήκη* attributed to Apollodoros (probably dating to the second century CE; Papathomopoulos 2010);
- Collections/selections and interpretations of stories (mostly mythological) cited by prominent authors. The most widely circulating collection of this kind was the

[12] In several cases, we cite the Greek title, and either the edition or the most important recent study where readers could find further bibliography. See also http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/auteur/1109/ on various types of "florilegia" and their transmission. We have left out selections/collections that served the needs of purely theological, philosophical, or legal instruction and practice. We should also note that the many "excerpta" listed in the BHG remain an uncharted territory.

[13] An early, famous manuscript of the *Ἱερὰ* is illustrated throughout with c. 800 images (especially of authors/sages to whom maxims are attributed): Paris, BNF, gr. 923, dated to the ninth century.

Συναγωγὴ καὶ ἐξήγησις ὧν ἐμνήσθη ἱστοριῶν ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις Ἰρηγόριος [Collection and Interpretation of the Stories Mentioned by St. Gregory], namely commentaries on four *Orations* by Gregory the Theologian (*Orat.* 4 and 5 against Julian, 39 on the Theophany, and 43, the *Epitaphios*, for Basil the Great), attributed in few testimonies to a certain "abbas" or "monk" Nonnos (Nimmo Smith 1992, 2001) (CPG 3011)—among the earliest preserved testimonies of this work is Patmos 33, dated to 941 CE, a lavishly illustrated parchment copy of Gregory the Theologian's *Orations*, with an extensive scholia, followed by Gregory the Presbyter's *Life* of Gregory (BHG 723) and the commentary attributed to Nonnos (see Figure 6.1).[14]

- Collections/selections of sayings and short anecdotes by famous ascetics, namely γεροντικά or πατερικά, collections of ἀποφθέγματα (*Alphabetical Series,* CPG 5560: PG 65: 72–440; *Anonymous Series,* CPG 5561: Nau 1905, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1912, 1913, CPG 5562; *Systematic Collection*: Guy 1993–2005) (further bibliography in our Chapter 9, "Orality and Textuality," in this volume);
- Collections/selections and interpretations of sayings and stories of ascetics and monastics culled from earlier writings. A prominent example is the *Evergetinos* or *Συναγωγὴ τῶν θεοφόρων ῥημάτων καὶ διδασκαλιῶν τῶν θεοφόρων καὶ ἁγίων πατέρων [Collection of the divinely inspired words and teachings of the divinely inspired and holy fathers]*, a monastic anthology created by Paulos, the abbot of the monastery of Evergetis in Constantinople (1048/1049–1054; ed. Matthaiou 1957–1966);
- Collections/selections of commentaries on biblical texts—the so-called *Catenae* (see Constas, "Biblical Hermeneutics," Chapter 5 in this volume); for examples with unpublished *Catenae,* see the twelfth-century parchment ms. Patmos 269 with a *Catena* on the Psalms (cf. Figure 18.1 in Chapter 18 of this volume), and the early fourteenth-century paper ms. Patmos 304 with a *Catena* on the Gospels of Matthew, Marc, and Luke (see Figure 6.2 8[15]);
- Selections from historiographical works (cf. Manafis 2020). Those created under the patronage of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos are the best known (Flusin 2002; Németh 2018).
- Miscellany manuscripts that compile various texts and memorable material, compilations of collections as it were, often without thorough or extensive reworking. As examples we may cite: (a) the little-studied tenth-century parchment manuscript Patmos 263, a miscellaneous anthology with *Catenae, Gnômologia,* a

[14] F. 177v: Ps.-Nonnos, *Commentary* on *Oration* 39 (*scholia* on Chaldean astrology, the cult of Mithras, Isis and Osiris, etc.)—the ms. was copied by Nikolaos the monk and his son Daniel in Reggio (Calabria); see further Hutter (2009). Two further manuscripts of Ps.-Nonnos's commentaries are accompanied by illustrations: Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchate, Panagiou Taphou 14 (eleventh century, second half) and Vatican, BAV, Vat. gr. 1947 (twelfth century); cf. Weitzmann 1984: 6–92.

[15] F. 162r: the beginning of the Gospel of Matthew, surrounded by commentary. Patmos 304, which also contains the *Asketika* of Basil of Caesarea, was copied by Romanos *anagnostês* and *chartophylax* (RGK I 357, II 487, III 568); his script belongs to the so-called *Chypriote bouclée* style (cf. Canart 1977).

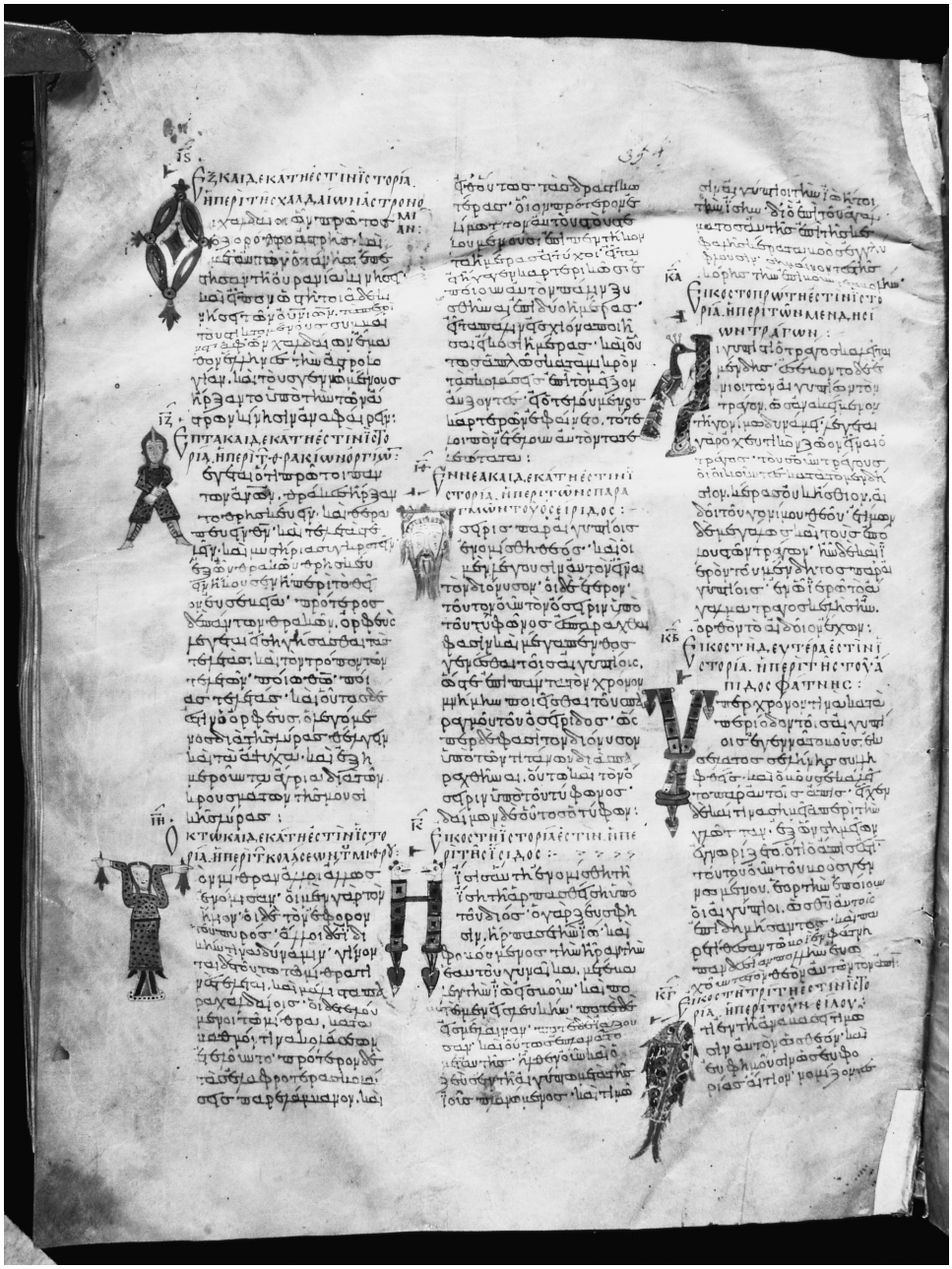

FIGURE 6.1 Patmos, Μονὴ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου 33; parchment, lavishly illustrated; 941 CE; Gregory the Theologian's *Orations* with extensive *scholia*; f. 177v: Ps.-Nonnos, *Comm.* on *Oration* 39.

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FIGURE 6.2 Patmos, Μονὴ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου 304; oriental paper; early fourteenth century; the *Asketika* of Basil of Caesarea and *Catena* on the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke; f. 162r: the beginning of the Gospel of Matthew, surrounded by commentary.

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Lexikon on the orations of Aeschines and Demosthenes, etc. (cf. Bertini Malgarini 1984 and Lucà 1990: 72; see Figure 6.3;[16] and (b) a late thirteenth-century paper book now in Istanbul at the patriarchal library, *Panaghia* 64, written by twelve different scribes, an impressive collection of smaller collections of maxims, excerpts, model texts, and the like (Kouroupou and Géhin 2008: 197–214).

- Micro-collections (a category related to the previous one) of notes, maxims, etc., sometimes copied toward the end of a manuscript and usually without any clear overarching plan. Take, for instance, Florence, BML, Plut. gr. 57.40, an early twelfth-century manuscript devoted mostly to works of Michael Psellos, with a series of excerpts in its concluding pages (Papaioannou 2014: 305–306).

The morphology and typology of this body of discourses still lack a comprehensive study that would examine all the relevant manuscript evidence, study the titles, survey the contents, trace historical continunities and discontinuities, and publish the large number of unedited material (important related research is listed in the Suggestions for Further Reading at the end of the chapter). Obviously, such a study cannot be attempted in the context of our present brief exposition. Yet we wish to note the existence in Byzantium of a long and polymorphous tradition of gathering (συλλογή, συναγωγή, σύνταγμα are common Byzantine titles), selecting (ἐκλογή is an even more common title), and ordering of elemental textual blocks: words, phrases, stories, and often combinations of all three.

In this tradition, diverging ideological axes and discursive registers, Christian and pagan, learned and popular wisdom, often intersected—even if several types of collections geared more toward one or the other end of the spectrum. Especially after the ninth century, a great number of florilegia contained "sacro-profane" content (for the term, see Richard 1962), where the Evangelists and other Christian writers cohabited harmoniously with pagan philosophers and rhetors. To present an example, we may look at two of the fifty-six rubrics contained in such an anthology dating to the eleventh century (Sargologos 1990). The first rubric, entitled "On Laughter" (chap. 27), contains 28 entries, among which 3 stem from the New Testament, 5 from the Septuagint, 12 from various early Byzantine church fathers (Basil the Great: 5; Gregory the Theologian: 3; John Chrysostom: 1; Clement of Alexandria: 2; Neilos: 1), and 9 from pagan authors (1 from Plato, Plutarch, Isocrates, Moschion, Cato, and Strabo and 3 from Epictetus). The second example, "On Good and Evil Women" (chap. 56), contains 69 entries, among which 5 stem from the New Testament, 17 from the Septuagint, 1 from Philo of Alexandria, 21 from various early Byzantine church fathers, and 25 entries from pre-Byzantine pagan wisdom (Solon, Pythagoras, Secundus, Diogenes, Euripides, Plato, etc.).

The exposure to this large body of excerpted and rearranged *textual*—let us call them—*fragments* formed habits of reading. Brief notes and signs (such as the sign for γνώμη or that of σημείωσαι/σημειωτέον [cf. Figure 6.2]), recorded on the margins of

[16] F. 271r: excerpts attributed to Porphyry and Orpheus, etc.

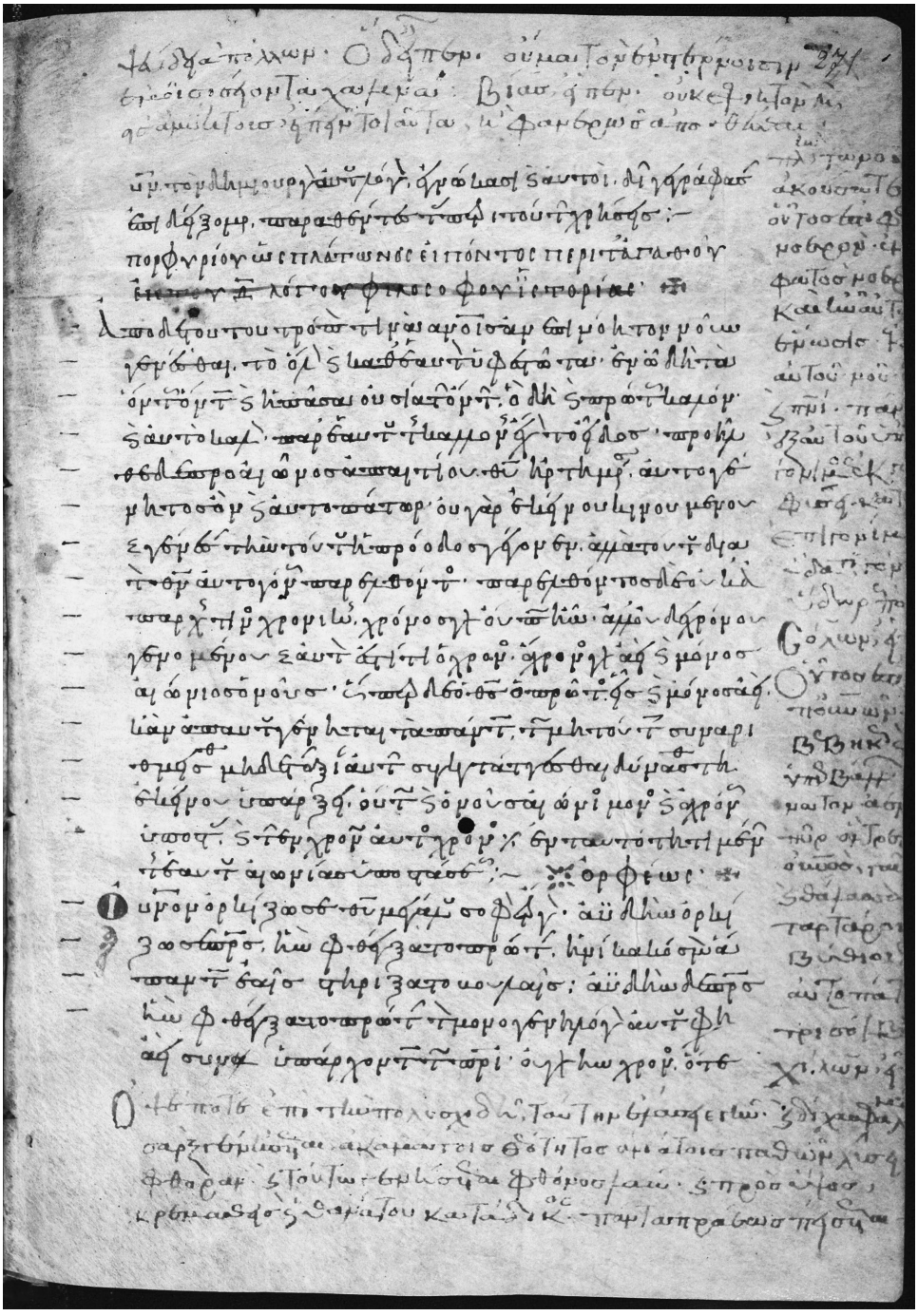

FIGURE 6.3 Patmos, Μονὴ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου 263; parchment; tenth century; miscellaneous anthology with *Catenae, Gnômologia,* etc.; f. 271r: excerpts attributed to Porphyry and Orpheus, etc.

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manuscripts, preserve vestiges of these habits. The ninth-century Heidelberg, Palat. gr. 398, to cite again just one example, is a case in point (Messis 2020; for further examples, see Papaioannou, "Readers and Their Pleasures," Chapter 21 in this volume). Rhetorical treatises and texts of literary criticism recurrently alerted students and readers to the presence of *gnômai* and *historiai* in model texts (see, e.g., Papaioannou 2017b: 19; cf. also Most 2003).

Accordingly, the study and use of anthologies established habits of writing. We encounter frequently, for instance, interjected sentences expressing what are presented as common-sense, general statements that resemble maxims; these are often introduced with the conjunction γάρ and may have different functions, such as that of creating the effect of "realism" in fictional accounts (Billault 1991: 265–301; Morales 2000). Many such statements may be found, for instance, in the corpus of the Metaphrastes's *Mênologion* (cf. Figures 20.3 and 20.4 in Chapter 20 of this volume), sometimes excerpted and collected in later manuscripts.[17] Yet the most important manifestation of these practices and modes of thinking in the written production is citation, to which we shall now turn.

Citation

Any modern reader of Byzantine texts is immediately struck by the amount of citations from, and allusions to, other texts enumerated in the so-called *apparatus fontium* in critical editions, mentioned in the footnotes of modern translations, and discussed in detailed commentaries. Modern editors, translators, and commentators may sometimes overburden Byzantine texts with such apparatuses of citations/allusions, yet the fact remains that intertextuality is omnipresent in Byzantine literature.[18]

As with anthologies, no modern study has attempted to describe and explain Byzantine citational practices in their totality (though brief overviews and studies on individual authors do exist; see the Suggestions for Further Reading). Nor indeed have we come far in deciphering the ways in which the habits of selection/collection, presented earlier, and those of citation and allusion related to each other—how, that is, anthologizing works influenced literary production. However this might be, such abundant intertextuality manifests conspicuously the mnemonic textual code, which this chapter aims to illuminate. Thus a few provisional remarks should be offered here. We shall focus more on *whom*, *what*, and *how* Byzantine writers cite or allude to, rather than

[17] For an example, see the thirteenth–fourteenth-century Vatican, BAV, Vat. gr. 633, ff. 149r–153v.

[18] Citations refer to literal (or with minor variation) quotations from another text (which may or may not be acknowledged as such by the author); allusions indicate words, turns of phrasing or of content, and even entire structural or thematic units that resemble those of another text without, however, allowing the reader to be sure as to whether the author is citing or not. For the remainder of the chapter and for the sake of simplicity, we use the term "citational" in order to refer to both types of references, as well as more generally to intertextuality, the memory of other texts within texts.

on why and for what purpose; we shall thus be more concerned with canon and method rather than the social, ideological, or other functions of intertextuality.

Horizons

Regardless of genre, occasion, or function, the authors who possessed the lion's share within citational horizons were unsurprisingly those whom rhetorical or religious education promoted as models and who were almost exclusively either pre-Byzantine or early Byzantine in date. Genre, occasion, and function—that is to say, tradition, performative context, and intended audience—defined the precise intertextual horizon of a text. Texts for monastic or ecclesiastical settings were rather impervious to non-Christian literature and usually reticent toward too many specific citations and allusions with the prominent exception of citations from church and monastic fathers and, especially, the Bible, which remained a constant and persistent referent (with the *Psalms* as the most frequently cited Christian text; Allenbach et al. 1995–2000; Krueger 2017).[19] On the other hand, the more a genre, an author, and his/her audience were indebted to and steeped in the classicizing rhetorical and philosophical tradition, the wider their spectrum of references and allusions, whether pronounced or hidden. In this case, the horizon of references was virtually limitless, including texts that do not survive today and extended deep into the pool of Byzantine and pre-Byzantine literature (from which Homer's *Iliad* was by far referenced most frequently; see, e.g., Browning 1975).

Individual genres displayed further particularities: for instance, the *Orations* of Gregory the Theologian are prominent in the Byzantine speech-writing tradition, and his *Poems* offer a dominant echo for learned poetry, especially from the ninth century onward. Moreover, we often observe certain clear generic boundaries, a kind of citational purity. For instance, just as early Byzantine *Passions* and low-register saints' *Lives* almost never reference any text other than the Bible (and from it mostly the *Psalms*), so also high-register rhetorical texts almost never reference low-register hagiography. The latter is somewhat surprising given the certainty that Byzantine rhetoricians (especially after the eighth century) were exposed to hagiographical tales as well. The situation changed slightly with the advent of Symeon Metaphrastes's (PmbZ 27504) *Mênologion*, which was occasionally cited in genres usually impermeable to hagiographical references, such as historiography (Messis and Papaioannou 2013: 38–39 offers an example; see also Papaioannou 2021b; the influence of Metaphrastes on post-1000 narrative remains unexplored).

The citational habit was so ingrained that relatively few anxieties as to its pervasiveness are recorded in Byzantine texts. In a discursive culture driven by authority and

[19] We may note that, usually, it is biblical citations that are marked as such with quotation marks in Byzantine manuscripts; these quotation marks are placed on the side of the column next to the relevant passage; for examples, see the eleventh-century Paris, BNF, gr. 921, f. 62v and passim, as well as Figure 6.3 (with quotation marks on non-biblical citations).

tradition, citation and allusion enhanced the persuasive and aesthetic value of a text and only rarely detracted from it. In some contexts, demarcated by a certain competitiveness as to who possessed the most authentic and most wide-ranging command of the cultural capital of classicizing learnedness, authors could and did face the accusation of plagiarism (cf. McGill 2012 for a study on plagiarism in Roman literature). Competent intellectuals strove to distinguish themselves from those who "in full *theatra* [i.e., performative settings], display theatrically what they steal at night [i.e., by reading]" (Nikolaos Kataphloron; Loukaki 2019: 94 [6,17–18] and the discussion in pp. 48–50). The equivalent in theological contexts was the accusation of falsification, that is, of attributing a statement or a text falsely to an author (Papaioannou, "Authors," Chapter 20 in this volume). This suggests a further distinction in citational practices between textual environments invested first and foremost on learnedness and those that prioritized Christianity. While in the former intertextuality should operate within the aesthetic decorum of rhetorical display, in the latter it should work within the limits of orthodoxy.

That the boundaries between these two environments were consistently blurred is evident by the citational horizon of Gregory the Theologian, himself one of the most frequently cited authors in middle and late Byzantine literature (Noret 1983). An erudite writer, educated in the best schools of philosophy and rhetoric of his time, Gregory chose to suppress his non-Christian *paideia* when he became a champion of orthodox Christianity in the 370s and 380s. In the corpus of his *Orations*, he cited most frequently biblical texts, especially from the Old Testament. This was an approach that fit well the public persona of a model Christian leader that he projected of himself. His debts to classical learning, however, sneak into all of his writings, whether in the form of philosophical diction that he uses in order to define his Orthodoxy, direct citations of classical texts, ancients myths that are mentioned in order to be rejected, and many more hidden allusions that often require hermeneutical effort on the part of the modern reader in order to be deciphered (see, e.g., Ruether 1969; Demoen 1996; Macdougall 2015; the Byzantines themselves were highly attuned to the pagan literary background of Gregory: see Smith 1992, 2001; Lozza 2000, etc.).

Methods

Rhetorical or theological accent conditioned what and whom one cited. But what about the *how*, the modes of citation? In order to map some possible answers to this question, let us look closely at a concrete example. We shall examine the ways in which non-biblical literature was treated in Michael Attaleiates's *History*, an extensive text (245 pages in the most recent edition) that covers the period from 1034 to about 1079, but focuses mostly on the turbulent decade of the 1070s.[20] A judge with a respectable career

[20] The following paragraphs rework ideas first presented in Papaioannou (2012).

in the imperial bureaucracy, Attaleiates (c. 1025–c. 1080s) represents writers of the middle tier. He was not a professional intellectual, neither a teacher nor a secular or ecclesiastical rhetor, but he had a good education, addressed a relatively learned audience, and could meet their expectations of orthodoxy and rudimentary rhetorical aesthetics.

Approximately 225 quotations, allusions, and parallel texts from non-biblical literature are cited in the *Index locorum* of the recent edition of the *History* that spans 246 pages of printed text.[21] The amount is, at first glance, remarkable. However, when one examines each reference closely, it appears that more than two-thirds of these citations/allusions only resemble slightly the actual original passage. For the remaining cases, we are still not dealing with citations or allusions, but with what Attaleiates himself might have called "seasoning" (cf. *History* 5). These are words, phrases, and proverbs that did not invoke a specific author or text, but circulated widely in Byzantine rhetorical texts as well as in dictionaries and anthologies; they were thus marked as belonging to the register of the educated person, and this is what Attaleiates too wishes to signal with their use.

There are admittedly a few phrases that are identified by Attaleiates himself as quotations; he mentions the name of the author or indicates, more vaguely, that he is about to cite an authoritative maxim. For instance, a verse of Homer (*Iliad* 6.448) is prefaced by "τὸ ὁμηρικὸν ἐκεῖνο ἔπος" (*History* 219) and two lines from Hesiod (*Works and Days* 763–764) are introduced as "τὸ ἡσιόδειον" (*History* 133–134). Conversely, a phrase best attested in Synesios of Kyrene (*Letter* 4.11) is presented as "ὁ λόγος" (*History* 28) and a statement on the last page of the *History* about how subjects eagerly follow their rulers is appropriately termed a "γνώμη" (*History* 322). Though masked as concrete citations, pointing their readers to specific authors or authoritative utterances, these references too are not exactly citations, since they do not necessarily show any extensive knowledge of, or (even less so) conscious interaction with, the texts from which each word or turn of phrase originated. Rather, we are again dealing with "seasoning" that displays Attaleiates's acquaintance with a certain learned discourse, acquired through basic education.

Finally, still in the same spirit, a limited number of citations/allusions are embedded into Attaleiates's own voice; they are, that is, consistently *not* signaled as quotations. Almost all of these references derive from a single corpus, namely a select group among Gregory the Theologian's *Orations,* the sixteen so-called "Liturgical Homilies," and almost half point to Gregory's most popular text among middle Byzantine rhetoricians, the *Epitaphios* for Basil the Great (*Or.* 43). These hidden borrowings of Gregory's phrases would have been (and were rather meant to be) recognized by Attaleiates's readers as Gregorian.

These three types—marked diction and phraseology that signaled a certain linguistic register, acknowledged citation of a well-known word or phrase stripped entirely from

[21] Tsolakis (2011); see also the commentary in Pérez Martín (2002).

its original context, and unacknowledged borrowing from an authoritative earlier text—are perhaps the most common in Byzantine texts. The first type is, for instance, quite common in ecclesiastical genres such as homiletics or hymnography, where stock words and phrases (often from the Bible) are a constantly rehearsed currency, without necessarily forming citations or, even, allusions to specific texts or authors. The second type is especially noticeable when a classical wording or figure is cited in an otherwise not classicizing text. And a telling example of the third type is the usage of the *Psalms* in first-person utterances in hagiographical *Passions*. All of these gravitate between signaling acquaintance with a certain type of discourse or alliance with certain kinds of authority, and all of them derive from basic, common education. Yet they usually do not require, either by authors or by readers, knowledge or perceptive understanding of the original referent texts in order to produce meaning.

Such citational methods are partially coherent with the few relevant theoretical statements that we find in Byzantine rhetorical manuals. There, a clear distinction is made between verbatim citation and adaptation of a quotation, and much emphasis is placed on the ability of the writer to appropriate what he cites. The *locus classicus*, a brief chapter in *On the Method of Force* (30), a work attributed (wrongly) to Hermogenes and often commented upon by the Byzantines, discusses the citation of lines of poetry within prose texts ("Περὶ χρήσεως ἐπῶν ἐν πεζῷ λόγῳ").[22] Students are urged to either use "quotation (κόλλησις—literally gluing, attaching)" or "adaptation" (παρῳδία):

Καὶ κόλλησις μέν ἐστιν, ὅταν ὁλόκληρον τὸ ἔπος εὐφυῶς κολλήσῃ τῷ λόγῳ, ὥστε συμφωνεῖν δοκεῖν. . . . Κατὰ παρῳδίαν δέ, ὅταν μέρος εἰπὼν τοῦ ἔπους παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸ λοιπὸν πεζῶς ἑρμηνεύσῃ καὶ πάλιν τοῦ ἔπους εἰπὼν ἕτερον ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου προσθῇ, ὡς μίαν γενέσθαι τὴν ἰδέαν.

It is quotation whenever one attaches the whole verse gracefully in the speech, so that it seems to harmonize with it. . . . It is adaptation whenever after quoting part of the verse, one in his own words expresses the rest in prose and then quoting another verse adds something of his own, so that the form of expression becomes one. (*On the Method of Forceful Speaking* 30; trans. Kennedy, slightly modified)

The passage is instructive in that, just as in *Progymnasmata*, it treats citation as a creative process. Direct quotation must take place "gracefully" (literally, "in a natural as well as ingenious manner: εὐφυῶς") while adaptation should rework and seamlessly weave the citation into the new text. Ioannes Tzetzes's comment on the passage is equally instructive ("On Adaptations and Quotations" = *Historiai* 169 [VIII.122–123]):

[22] See also Hermogenes, *On Sweetness* = *On Forms* II 4.22–29, where the term "παραπλοκή," literally "braiding," signifies quotation.

> Ἐγὼ δὲ ῥήτορι φημὶ πῶς παρῳδήσει ξένα
> καὶ συγκολλήσει τοῖς αὑτοῦ καὶ δόξουσιν οἰκεῖα
>
> I claim that the rhetor shall adapt foreign elements
> and glue them together with his own texts
> and they shall appear to be his own.

The ideal rhetor is thus expected not simply to cite or merely to adapt, but indeed to appropriate what s/he cites. The foreign voice is to become her/his own.

Neither directives in the context of rhetorical training nor the three common types of citational practices presented here comprise the entire range of possibilities of the citational manifestation of textual memory in Byzantine literature. There was, for instance, considerable differentiation among authors and genres in the quantity of intertextual referencing. Attaleiates was rather restrained with regard to the number of allusions and citations he employed, and this seems to reflect a general trend. As Gregory the Theologian noted in a letter that defined the principles of letter writing but *mutatis mutandis* could apply to much rhetorical discourse, "we must not appear to overuse these [i.e., maxims, proverbs, and aphorisms = γνωμῶν καὶ παροιμιῶν καὶ ἀποφθεγμάτων] excessively . . . ; one should use these as much as one would apply purple dye on cloth = μήτε λίαν τούτοις φαινοίμεθα καταχρώμενοι· . . . τοσαῦτα τούτοις χρηστέον, ὅσα καὶ ταῖς πορφύραις ἐν τοῖς ὑφάσμασι" (*Letters* 51.5–6). At the same time, there were many cases of heavy use of citation and large-scale recycling, both within the pointedly learned and within the Christian discursive tradition. Take, for instance, the *Chronicle* of Georgios the Monk (PmbZ 2264), which contains many pages that work essentially as an anthology (Magdalino 2011) or Nikolaos Kataskepenos's *Life of Cyril Phileotes* that combined biography with florilegium (Mullett 2002, 2004). Even more impressive is perhaps the case of Euthymios the Iberian's *Barlaam and Ioasaph* (BHG 224 and 224a; CPG 8120; cf. Figure 9.2 in Chapter 9 of this volume), which offered the reader a spectacular array of citations and allusions, all of which incorporated seamlessly and intentionally without attribution in the text (see the extensive apparatus in the recent edition of Volk 2006; for the text, see Chapter 8, "Translations I: From Other Languages into Greek, III. Arabic," Messis and Papaioannou, in this volume). An extreme equivalent of this practice in the learned, classicizing tradition is the cento (κέντρων in Greek, namely patchwork), an entire poem, of which several survive, composed out of the verses from other poems (Hunger 1978: II 92–107). Such literary "patchworks" existed in other genres and fields of Byzantine writing as well (see, e.g., Jeffreys and Jeffreys 2009).

Moreover, we encounter multiple cases where a reference, citation, or allusion, hidden or conspicuous, went far beyond the appropriation of a certain discourse as presented earlier, meshing with the content or the form of the referent passage or text. In these cases we cannot appreciate or indeed even make sense of the new text without

understanding the text that inspired it (some examples in Kaldellis 2004; Messis 2018; Papaioannou 2021a).[23] At the hands of skilled writers, citational memory offered an opportunity not only to display one's abilities (especially if patronage was forthcoming), or assert predilections and ideological affiliations (especially if one's orthodoxy was at stake), but also to play with the expectations of the audience, challenge the rules of a genre, and even compete against the authority of earlier authors and texts through subversion, parody, or irony. The virtuosity of such "iconoclastic" use of quotations could be such (Psellos is a brilliant example of this) that the pressure which the texts of the past exerted on later authors was effectively delegitimized.

Commonplace

We would like to finish this survey by addressing rather briefly one last dimension of the Byzantine textual memory that took the form of what we call *commonplace* and has been a cause of much misunderstanding and trivialization of Byzantine literature by modern readers. *Commonplace* pertains not only to words, phrases, and short stories that are repeatedly invoked as we move from one text to another, but even more so to scenes, motifs, and scenarios or plots, defined again by genre and occasion, which were rehearsed for Byzantine audiences time and again.

First, a clarification is in order. It is quite common in modern scholarship to refer to such commonplaces as *topos/topoi*, a term that originates in the Aristotelian theories of argumentation mentioned earlier.[24] In some early Byzantine rhetorical writing we do find some familiarity with this terminology in relation to rhetorical composition (see Theon, *Progymnasmata* 9 [111.11–112.2]). However, the term τόποι (places, locations, sites), understood as "the beginning and starting point of various arguments . . . based on which will be able to argue deductively about any subject set before us through agreed-upon notions" (*Suda* τ 783) remained in Byzantium a term employed strictly within the field of Aristotelian logic.[25] It is characteristic that the rhetorical notion of "κοινὸς τόπος (common topic)," the title of one of the *Progymnasmata*, was detached from the logical category of *topos*, even if it ultimately derived from it.[26] Instead, the

[23] We may note that such type of intensive intertextuality is common among professionals of discourse in Byzantium—people, that is, who were exposed to the detailed closed reading and were often authors of text commentaries.

[24] See Pernot (1986a); Dean Anderson (2000: 117–120); Gunderson (2009: 296–297); and Rambourg (2014); see further Brunt (1985) and also De Temmerman (2010).

[25] "ἀρχὴ καὶ ἀφορμὴ διαφόρων ἐπιχειρημάτων . . . ἀφ' ὧν ὁρμώμενοι δυνησόμεθα περὶ παντὸς τοῦ προτεθέντος δι' ἐνδόξων συλλογίζεσθαι." The entry is based—as numerous similar entries—on Alexandros of Aphrodisias's *Commentary* on the *Topics*.

[26] In his commentary on the discussion of Aphthonios's *koinos topos*, Ioannes Doxapatres is aware of the relation of the term *topos* to Aristotelian logic; *Rhetorical Homilies on Aphthonios' Progymnasmata* 369–404.

koinos topos of rhetorical training signified the generic version of (primarily) the invective (ψόγος) and (also) the encomium (ἐγκώμιον). This exercise "asked students to attack an acknowledged criminal, such as an adulterer, or to speak in support of an acknowledged benefactor, such as a war hero or lawgiver" (Gibson 2008: 141) but without having a specific individual in mind.

In Byzantine Greek, neither the logical term *topos* nor the rhetorical *koinos topos* denoted the notion of commonplace, nor (as we saw earlier) did the association of *topos* with the cognitive craft of memory play any significant role. The modern term is a result of the semantic history of *loci* and *loci communes* (the Latin translation of the Aristotelian terms) within western European languages. The term and concept of *topos* was elevated into a major mode of literary interpretation of pre-modern literatures by Ernst Robert Curtius (1953), who reintroduced the Greek word.[27] The fact then is that the Byzantines had no equivalent term for our "commonplace." The frequent use of the term *topos* to discuss Byzantine texts is thus perhaps a misapplication, especially if we transport with the ancient term connotations that it never had in Byzantium.

Yet, as is the case with many other most prominent features of the Byzantine literary tradition, what remained nameless in theory could abound in practice—and so did commonplace as well. And, even though we can neither survey here everything that can be considered commonplace in Byzantine texts nor examine in any detail how this deeper form of textual memory was activated by authors and enacted by readers, it may be useful for our purposes to propose a basic distinction and then conclude with a general remark.

In Byzantine writing, the commonplace may take the form of an element, a building block that carries with it specific meaning: a single word, a phrase, or formula (often traceable to a quotation), or (most commonly) a motif, namely a metaphor, a scene, or an idea. Though usually such elements signal a genre (for bibliography, see the Suggestions for Further Reading), they also possess a certain autonomy, becoming detachable pieces, transportable from one text, or from one genre, to another.

The commonplace can also take the form of a structure, a scaffold. This may be a discursive structure, such as the typical arrangement of an *Encomium* into praise of ancestry, birth, nature, education and upbringing, deeds, virtues, and death, and finally comparison with others (Pernot 1986b), or the typical structure of a *kanôn* hymn whose nine sections, called "odes," were expected to invoke the nine biblical Odes from which this hymnographic genre originated (see Papaioannou, "Sacred Song," Chapter 18 in this volume). Commonplace can also take the form of a typical plot, a scenario: for example, the sequence of falling in love, separation and adventures, reunion and marriage in the ancient and medieval novels; or the sequence of apprehension, trial, tortures, and death (usually by decapitation) that typify martyrdom accounts, the *Passions*.

[27] See especially Curtius (1953: 70–71) on his influential understanding of *topoi* and then *passim* for his frequent use of the term; see also Jehn (1972).

For us, commonplace usually signifies a stereotype, a customized idea, a conventional cliché and prejudice (Amossy 1991), and constitutes the most powerful element in constructing ideology and imposing identity. This was indeed one side of the Byzantine literary commonplace as well. It ritualized literary expression, affirmed social and cultural boundaries, and rendered the reader/listener an insider to dominant or familiar values. As a repeatable and memorable currency of diction, metaphor, and thought, or as matrices of speech-making and storytelling, literary commonplaces, however, were also the stimulus for literary invention, imagination, and creativity in Byzantium. Taking a closer look, the modern reader of Byzantine literature quickly realizes that the repertoire of commonplace was so large and that the approaches to it covered all varieties of a continuum—from obedience to subversion, from automated memory to willed forgetfulness—that it could render the site of literature a location not only for the rites of a society and culture, but also for the performance of the personal.

Suggestions for Further Reading

Much remains to be done in the study of "eclectic" (i.e., anthology-), "citational," and "topical" (i.e., commonplace-) textual memory in Byzantine literature.

For different types of anthologies, one may be begin with the following studies: Rochefort (1950), Richard (1962), Chadwick (1969), Odorico (1986, 1990, 2004), Searby (1998, 2007), Canart (2010), Alexakis (2015), and Manafis (2020); also the many contributions in van Deun and Macé (2011); see further the *Sharing Ancient Wisdoms* project with rich bibliography: http://www.ancientwisdoms.ac.uk/library/bibliography/. For the related ancient Greek tradition, see the overview in Dubischar (2016).

Regarding citation practices in Byzantium, one may consult the following: Hunger (1969–1970), Mullett (1981), Littlewood (1988), Chrestides (1996), Reinsch (1998), Nilsson (2001: 262–279), Mullett (2004), Kolovou (2006: 25*–75*), Calvet-Sebasti (2014), Cullhed (2016: 17*–27*), Krueger (2017), Papaioannou (2019: clx–clxiii and 1073–1207). The study of intertextuality is a field on its own, especially in what pertains to premodern Greco-Roman literatures. For a general introduction, see Allen (2000) and, of course, the classic study of Genette (1997 [1982]); for a perspective on citation, see also Compagnon (1979).

For commonplaces pertaining to specific genres, see: on hagiography and homiletics: Festugière (1960), Guidorizzi (1983), Bartelink (1986), Delierneux (2000), Delouis (2003), Pratsch (2005), Hinterberger (2014: 25–60), with Constantinou (2006) and Efthymiadis (2007); on the novel: Létoublon (1993), Fusillo (1999), and Jouanno (1992); on epistolography: Tomadakes (1969/1993: 108–122), Karlsson (1962), Hunger (1978: I 208–233), Mullett (1997: 98–161), and Papaioannou (2020); on panegyrical rhetoric (including the *Encomium*): Pernot (1986b and 1993: I 129–249) and Saradi (1995). See also Cupane (1984) (on the motif of nature as creator); Messis (2006) (on memory

and *topos*); Alexakis (2004) and Bernard (2014) (on feigned modesty as commonplace); Loukaki (2013) (on the image of the advent of spring).

Regarding popular folk stories and motifs in Byzantine storytelling, one may profit much from Hansen (1998, 2002) and may also consult the many volumes of the Greek journal *Λαογραφία* (1909–) which has been a venue for Greek folklore research (where often Byzantine references may be found); cf. also Braccini (2012). Also useful are Canadé Sautman, Conchado, and Di Scipio (1998), as well as Ziolkowski (2007) and Gray (2015). Finally, the fundamental studies of Propp (1968, first published in 1928) and Thompson (1955–1958) with Uther (2004) also deserve to be cited in this regard; see also Fludernik (1996), Degh (2001).

On memory in Byzantine literature, see further the relevant discussions in Drpić, "Inscriptions," Chapter 16 in this volume.

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CHAPTER 7

THE RECEPTION OF CLASSICAL LITERATURE AND ANCIENT MYTH

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Byzantine literature, as defined in this volume, was a phase in the continuous history of Greek literature. Conventional political periodizations do not always overlap with literary ones, and the foundation of Constantinople in particular does not correspond to any change in literary production that can be used to distinguish ancient from Byzantine literature. Many of the norms followed, adjusted, or challenged by Byzantine writers were contained within a relatively fixed body of canonical classical, late ancient, and early Byzantine texts that included both pagan and Christian exemplars (Hägg 2010; Papaioannou, "Theory of Literature," Chapter 4 in this volume). Moreover, the evolution of Byzantine literature was governed by largely internal factors and processes, with few foreign influences. The most significant "foreign" irruption experienced by the Greek literary tradition was the growth within it of Christianity, which exposed it to ancient Jewish texts and traditions. However, this began long before the foundation of Constantinople, and Hellenistic Judaism had been flourishing in the East for centuries previously. Christianity too had been acclimated as a Greco-Roman religion. Conversely, non-Christian Greek literature continued to be produced for centuries after 330. Thus, there was no clear break along religious or political lines in the fourth century, only gradual change. Finally, unlike Latin, Greek never branched off into separate languages and, even though spoken Greek diverged from its ancient forms to eventually become modern Greek, the difference between the ancient and the modern forms is smaller than for any coeval language, even for some much younger languages (Joseph 2009). Specialized study was of course required to read classical Greek in later times, but it was not a "dead" language, as in other linguistic traditions: it was present in the education of almost any Byzantine who could read. These facts, coupled with the linguistic conservatism of the Byzantine church and state, were mutually reinforcing.

Beyond the broad distinction between pagan ("Greek") and Christian texts, the experience of reading and writing in Byzantium was not structured by an awareness of periodization, nor was literature often historicized (that is, read as limited by the specific historical context in which it was produced). For many Byzantines, Greek literature was more a timeless literary patrimony, their own *paideia* or *logoi*. However, depending on the argument at hand, they could divide it between its pagan and Christian parts, which they tended to call "outside learning" (ἔξωθεν), or that which came "from beyond the threshold" (θύραθεν), and "our" *logoi*, i.e., Christian literature. This was the most basic distinction that Byzantine writers drew looking back over the tradition as a whole, though it was more important in some contexts than in others. Some ancient texts were more "tainted" by polytheism than others: a secular author such as Thucydides was merely "not one of us," but coping with texts that prominently featured the gods (such as Homer) posed greater challenges. Thus the present survey will focus, where possible, on mythological literature, which posed the most acute hermeneutical challenges for the study and use of ancient literature.

Byzantine writers, who saw themselves as Romans and Christians, generally viewed the Greeks as an ancient and foreign people and did not include them in their collective history, at least before 1200. They talked about them as we do: as a people who lived in antiquity and who also left us an amazing body of writing. Nevertheless, they knew that they spoke and wrote the same language, which created a powerful linguistic affinity that seeped into many areas of thought. In the later period, when many Byzantines were pushed by Latin aggression into the subject-position of *Graeci* rather than Romans, some thinkers experimented with notions of ethnic continuity with the ancient Greeks. The emperor Theodoros II Laskaris (1254–1258) claimed all of ancient Greek philosophy and Greek *logos* for the Byzantine side in his dispute with the Latins (*On Christian Theology* 7.1–10), and in one of his essays the statesman Theodoros Metochites (1270–1332; PLP 17982) claimed that "we" are descended from the Greeks and "have inherited their language" (*Sententious Remarks* 93). These were among the strongest expressions of continuity on all fronts. But the dominant trend was literary and philosophical engagement with the Hellenic tradition in a context of ethnic and religious alienation from it (see Kaldellis 2007 for the period before 1261).

The distinction between pagan and Christian sources gave to Byzantine literary culture a *paratactic* quality, as "inner" and "outer" elements were mixed and matched, often to say the same thing in two variant ways, though sometimes with self-conscious disclaimers that the Christian version was superior. Michael Choniates, bishop of Athens (d. 1222), cites Herodotus and Saint Paul side by side as witnesses to the history of his hometown (Chonai), and in a letter asking for news he explains that "ask" can be taken "evangelically as humbly entreat" (παρακαλῶ) or "in a Hellenic way as inquire to learn" (πυνθάνομαι) (*Encomium for Niketas* 39: v. 1, p. 36; and *Letter* 145.4). A rhetorical treatise of the thirteenth century proposes a canon of the four best speeches that includes two by pagans (Demosthenes and Aristeides) and two by Christians (Gregory the Theologian and Psellos) (Hörandner 2012: 105). But this parataxis of cultural elements operated within a hierarchy, as the Christian element ostensibly trumped the

pagan one wherever they collided. In his philosophical lectures, Michael Psellos (eleventh century) sets Greek and Christian thinkers, texts, and concepts on parallel tracks, intimating that they ultimately point to the same truths, but where they conflict he defensively proclaims the Christian ones to be superior.

Therefore, the literary culture had a two-track mind, but still managed to maintain its coherence, though some tensions are visible. In epistolography, classical references are sometimes so dense that they compete with Christian references; for example, there is anxiety over the use of pagan language to express Christian sentiments. A letter to a friend by Theophylaktos, bishop of Ochrid, illustrates the layering of these two registers: he quotes Homer on Zeus to discuss how he is being helped by God—"your poet," he then calls Homer in order to shift the "blame" for what *he* has done onto his learned addressee (*Letter* 31). An architectural illustration of this mentality could have been seen in the Parthenon church in Athens: the gods still stood on the pediments, yet they remained "outside" the church, literally "beyond the threshold," while the interior was reconsecrated to the Mother of God. This coherent but carefully articulated ensemble nicely captures the architecture of much Byzantine literary culture (Kaldellis 2009a).

The Byzantines had no technical term for picking out "the classics" among the whole of ancient literature, but learned Byzantine authors had ways of highlighting such texts, for example by the greater amount of attention and praise that they lavished on some authors. Our classical corpus comprises the texts that survive in the largest number of Byzantine manuscripts, have the most scholia, and are mentioned and alluded to most often by Byzantine authors. Among the poets, these were Homer, Hesiod, the tragedians, and Aristophanes, along with Hellenistic poets whom we no longer have but who were read in Byzantium—especially in the early period (e.g., Kallimachos). Curiously, Sappho was treated as if her poems survived, when in fact they probably did not: her reputation persisted, but not her works (Pontani 2001). Likewise among the prose writers, the Byzantine list of ancient classics corresponds to our own. One index of this are the prose authors with whom Metochites engages in his 120 *Sententious Remarks*, an extensive attempt to come to grips with the ancient tradition and its implications (Hult and Bydén 2002). This overlap between Byzantine and modern preferences is not a coincidence, as the next section will argue. Yet classical authors—praised for their quality and the *kind* of attention they received—were a minority among the totality of the ancient texts preserved in Byzantium. In terms of volume, that totality tended to favor literature of the Roman imperial period. In other words, a few classical authors received the bulk of learned attention and were preserved in many manuscripts, but the majority of preserved ancient literature (in terms of word count) consisted of authors such as Ailios Aristeides, Dio Chrysostom, Plutarch, and Galen. We have a few indexes that reflect this lopsided distribution, including the reviews of (prose) authors in Photios's *Bibliothêkê*; the sources and author-entries of the *Suda*; and the survival of ancient authors today. There were genres and periods in which Byzantine readers were less interested, which is the reason why we have no lyric poetry and almost no Hellenistic prose but so many scholarly authors of the Roman period

who consolidated their fields (e.g., philosophy, medicine, and biography). Later "encyclopedic" works were more likely to beat out earlier ones and, besides, the Byzantine learned authors had an affinity for the outlook of authors of the imperial period. This takes us directly to the problem of the Byzantine reception of ancient literature.

Reception as Serial Re-Creation

"Reception" typically signals the later reading of an earlier text. This sometimes implies an epistemological imbalance in favor of the moment of a text's original creation, compared to which later views are curiosities or epiphenomena (Wagschal 2015: 27). Classicists are rarely interested in how their texts traversed the distance from antiquity to the Renaissance or how they were read by Byzantines. But there are more interesting ways to study reception. We have to realize that the classical tradition was not merely preserved by Byzantine readers: they shaped it on a fundamental level, and they did not do so for our benefit, but for theirs. They had their own reasons, which changed over time. In their hands, the body of classical literature was a cultural artifact undergoing continuous reinvention, as elements were added and removed or allowed to lapse when no longer useful. Throughout the Byzantine millennium, this corpus was repackaged and redefined, sometimes in experimental and revolutionary ways, and the very core of its *meaning* was being tested and changed in important ways. For many Byzantine readers and writers, as for us (their heirs), classical antiquity was an iteration of acts of reception, each of which formed normative collections ("canons") and standards of meaning. We stand at the end of that sequence: we can look back to, but not always past Byzantine choices (Kaldellis 2015).

Therefore, we need to better understand the selection of texts that survive; their repackaging and presentation, including the switch to the codex form in Late Antiquity, the introduction of the minuscule in the eighth/ninth century, the addition of scholia to the margins, and the purposeful combination of texts in manuscripts; as well as the interpretation of texts, for example the meaning that pagan texts about the gods could have in a Christian society. To be sure, the Byzantines were themselves the heirs of previous choices. The classical Greeks had appointed Homer their common point of reference; Alexandrian scholarship had valorized the Athenian corpus over other local literatures; and the Romans had effectively blacklisted Hellenistic prose, promoting Atticism over "Asiatic" rhetoric and the classical city-states over the Hellenistic kingdoms (Spawforth 2012). These decisions had already limited the range of options available later. But crucial contributions to the ongoing adaptation were made during the Byzantine period. Only a few may be discussed here; I focus on literature about the gods.

It was not obvious that ancient mythology would find a place in the literature of a Christian society (for the medieval West, see Ziolkowski 2013). The gods of Homer, Hesiod, and tragedy were a problem for Christian readers in a way that no Alexandrine scholar or Roman senator could ever have imagined. Vocal elements within the early

Christian community called for the repudiation of this literature. Ancient texts were constitutive of pagan religion, no less than cult statues. The *Apostolic Constitutions*, regarded by some as canonical, advised its readers to "stay away from gentile books. . . . What is lacking in the law of God that you turn to those pagan myths? If you want to read about history, you have the books of Kings; if you want wise and poetic, you have the Prophets, Job, and Proverbs" (1.6). After Constantine, many images of the gods were destroyed in fits of symbolic religious vandalism (Kristensen 2013). Christians seem not, however, to have targeted literature in this way. Authorities did burn works by heretics and opponents of Christianity (e.g., Porphyry), but not epic and tragedy (Sarefield 2006). Yet the problem of extricating literature from its pagan matrix abided, and was exacerbated by the challenge posed to Christian readers by the last pagan emperor, Julian (361–363), who argued that classical literature—including Homer, Hesiod, Demosthenes, Herodotus, Thucydides, Isocrates, and Lysias—was inspired by the gods and made sense only within a Hellenic religious framework. Julian's provocation cut deep because it was intuitively plausible and resonated with hard-line Christian thinking (Kaldellis 2007: 143–166). Pagans in Late Antiquity viewed many of these authors as religious guides, so how were Christians to approach and appropriate them? And why should they do so at all?

For one thing, late Roman elites were not about to give up classical literature just because they were now Christian. Among other functions, classical literature reinforced exclusive class identities, and the gods could be seen as harmless fictions and delusions rather than as Satanic demons. What certain Christian readers effected in Late Antiquity was a paradigm shift in the reading of ancient texts *as literature* and the viewing of religious artifacts *as art*. This created a new context for its continuing preservation. Rather than being destroyed as the abode of demons, religious statuary could now be displayed in the streets and galleries of Constantinople (Bassett 2004). In their secular guise, even statues of the gods were treasured for artistic value rather than their religious significance, as an imperial law explained outright (*Theodosian Code* 16.10.8). Something analogous happened to texts. The shift from polemical theological hermeneutics toward literary and aesthetic ones was grounded in ancient philosophical precedents, which now became dominant, although this development overall remains relatively underexplored. Specifically, drained of religious significance, "myth" became pure fiction, as the stories about the gods pointed to nothing in the metaphysical world. Mythic literature was henceforth appreciated primarily for aesthetic and rhetorical qualities, and was thereby secularized and domesticated. Canonical texts continued to be studied in the classroom as rhetorical exemplars. They could even be invoked for the moral lessons that they imparted, though this worked better for the heroes than the gods, whose immorality was always condemned in Byzantium and remained the target of scorn. We might, then, say that this was when classical texts first emerged as "literature" to begin with. It is no accident that this happened when the late Roman world ceased to identify with the religious culture that produced those texts, and ceased to identify it as ethnically Greek. It remained Greek, however, in *language*, and Christian elites valued classical literature precisely for its rhetorical and aesthetic qualities.

In this development, Christian *rhetors*, or teachers of rhetoric, played a decisive role. It was no accident that Julian had targeted Christian teachers for "hypocritically" teaching ancient texts without believing in their gods (*Letter* 61). It was also no accident that Christians who formulated a response to his challenge were students and teachers in the schools of rhetoric. Two of them merit separate mention. Gregory the Theologian opposed Christian hard-liners who wanted the church to repudiate all secular literature—he himself claimed to be in love with it (*De vita sua* 112–113)—but at the same time, in his orations against Julian (especially *Or.* 4), he argued that literature (*logos*) could not be owned by any one religious tradition but was the property of linguistic communities. To drive the point home, in his polemic against Julian he demonstrated his mastery of the rhetorical tradition and deep knowledge of Hellenic myth, all the while disparaging its specifically religious content in multiple scornful references. As Gregory's works became canonical in the Christian community—he was, after all, one of the leading formulators of its doctrine—this had the paradoxical effect of exposing future readers of the Theologian to countless mythological references (Kaldellis 2007: 161–163; Elm 2012). In the sixth century, a separate commentary was written (later occasionally attributed to a certain Nonnos) to explain them all, and it became one of the primary sources from which Byzantine students learned their ancient mythology (see Nimmo-Smith's introduction to Pseudo-Nonnos, and Niketas of Herakleia's *Commentaries*) (CPG 3011; see Figure 6.1 in Chapter 6). This was one function of Christian classical scholarship. The other figure was Basil the Great, a leader in the emerging monastic movement and a model bishop for Byzantine posterity. He wrote a treatise (or sermon) *Address to the Young Men, On How They Might Profit from Greek [or Pagan] Literature*, which circulated widely. Basil was aware of the temptations and repugnant features of pagan literature, but he occluded them in his analysis, which sought to soften them by inculcating a deceptively simplistic hermeneutic: Christian readers were to pick out the best and leave the rest (Fortin 1996). Even pagan myths such as Odysseus and the Sirens and the Choice of Herakles (from Xenophon) could be reframed as valuable moral lessons for Christians.

Prior Christian readings of the myths were apologetic and stressed their immorality and absurdity, or brought them down to earth through Euhemerism (Graf 2011). This strain, which remained strong in Byzantium, tended to treat mythology as the theological complement of pagan ritual. But as the latter was driven out of existence, mythology was paradoxically liberated for Christian use in literature as symbolism, ornament, and linguistic play. The gods, after all, had always been embedded in the Greek language. By c. 500 we find the Christian teachers of the schools of Gaza (late fifth to early sixth century) using overtly pagan language and mythological references. This was a purely literary practice, by this point unconnected to religious expression (Bitton-Ashkelony and Kofsky 2004). By the end of antiquity, classical literature had been sufficiently tamed, at least in practice, that it could be used, consumed, and reproduced by a Christian society. But the underlying tensions were more covered over and ameliorated than resolved. A perpetual policing was required of the boundaries between "inner" and "outer," Christian and Greek, or culture and religion. Julian was denounced and refuted again

and again down to the end of Byzantium. We will keep this tension in mind as we explore the creative reception of the classical corpus.

The Technologies of *Paideia* and the Gods

It was possible in Byzantium to acquire literacy purely on the basis of religious texts, especially the Psalms and Gospels, and this option was pursued by some monastic communities and those who feared pagan contamination. (In fact it was possible to become "educated" without learning to read, simply by listening in a largely oral culture and memorizing; cf. Messis and Papaioannou, "Orality and Textuality," Chapter 9 in this volume). The emperor Alexios I (1081–1118) is said to have wanted to keep his daughter Anna illiterate out of fear that she would be corrupted by the immoral stories about the gods (Georgios Tornikes, *Funeral Oration for the Lady Kaisarissa Anna, Born in Purple*, pp. 243–254). Homer and tragedy were parts of elite literary education, whose basic methods in Byzantium had not changed much since antiquity. Homer was memorized by clever children—at a young age sometimes, if we believe Psellos's boasts—and as adults they were capable of recognizing allusions to ancient texts and figures, though the degree to which they peppered their writings with such allusions fluctuated by period and genre. Anna happened to live in an age that loved mythological comparisons and name-dropping (Basilikopoulou-Ioannidou 1971–1972). When she wrote her father's biography, the *Alexiad*, she modeled it on the *Iliad* and frequently compared him and others to various gods and heroes to illustrate their virtues, qualities, and circumstances. Her contemporary, the bishop Niketas of Herakleia, who wrote commentaries on the Bible and Gregory the Theologian, also produced mnemonic-didactic poems on grammar for use by students mastering Attic prose. One of them, his *Verses on the Epithets of the Twelve Gods*, is set to the "tune" of Orthodox hymns to facilitate memorization.

To a certain extent, ancient texts were preserved for formal reasons (i.e., linguistic, stylistic, and rhetorical). The Byzantines were less interested in the history of the Peloponnesian war than in Thucydides himself as an elevated standard of (elite) Attic prose and a template for writing speeches and narrative scenes (Kennedy and Kaldellis forthcoming; see below for "imitation"). The *Life of Thucydides* by Markellinos (fifth century?), which prefaces some later Byzantine manuscripts of the *History*, is less a biography and more an introduction to the rhetorical aspects of Thucydides designed for the schools (Burns 2010). It was those aspects of his work that were most debated among Byzantine scholars. They called him "the historian," but there is little evidence of a close engagement with his political and historical thought, with a few exceptions such as in Metochites (e.g., *Sententious Remarks* 113). Likewise, the tragedies were used more as classroom textbooks and sources of vocabulary, Attic phrases, and learned allusions,

and less to explore the elusive quality that modern scholars call the "tragic spirit." Psellos wrote an essay comparing Euripides to Georgios Pisides (seventh century): applying the usual rhetorical categories, he finds in favor of Pisides (one of "ours"), though this might have been a playful demonstration of Psellos's own debating prowess, backing the underdog (Bourbouhakis 2017). The greatest breakthrough in the Byzantine reading of tragedy was the rediscovery of ancient meter in the early fourteenth century (in general, see Wilson 1983).

In short, the needs of the Byzantine classroom exerted a strong influence on the survival of the corpus, for besides the texts themselves there was an extensive apparatus of scholarly aids (Dickey 2007). The origin of these scholarly traditions lies in antiquity, but in most cases we can access it only through the repackaged *lexika*, *etymologika*, *epimerismi*, scholia, the *Suda*, and commentaries that were designed for use by the Byzantine scholar. He had to understand the meaning and usage of archaic and rare words, a host of obscure mythological persons and events, and the arcana of pagan ritual. It is from this material that early modern dictionaries descend, and scholars of ancient religion often have only these scraps to use. Modern classicists have accordingly tried to extricate the nuggets of ancient material and bypass the Byzantine middleman, but this approach is bound to appear increasingly problematic as the purposive mechanisms of reception are recognized. The voluminous productions of Hellenistic and Roman mythography lapsed in part because the Byzantines were not interested in the myths themselves, whose endless variants were often of purely local importance. They were, however, interested in myth and ritual to the degree necessary for understanding references in canonical texts. Thus our own knowledge of antiquity in general is filtered by the Byzantines' literary interests. This bias explains why it is so hard for historians of ancient religion to see past ancient literature. For example, the only ancient mythological handbook to make it through this filter was Apollodoros's *Library* (another imperial-era compendium), a text that summarizes mythology as known specifically through literature, which is probably why it survived.

The gods, however, remained a perennial problem, to which Byzantine writers responded in ways derived from ancient thought. Euhemerism—treating the gods as deified ancient kings—was one option. The most extensive rewriting of ancient mythology as history occurs in the chronicle of Ioannes Malalas (sixth century), which survives only in a later abridgment. This is a strange work. It is commonly treated as a "Christian chronicle" that expresses the mentality of the average believer of the age of Justinian, but this reading fails to explain Malalas's account of the gods and heroes as a comic opera. The stories are fleshed out with invented material and fictitious sources, like in a Hollywood film, and behaviors are exaggerated and all too human. It is hard to imagine the tone of the original, as we have only a summary, but there was probably less moral censure and more good fun in its accounts of the gods' travels and their adulterous and murderous exploits. Detailed descriptions are given of protagonists' faces and bodies, so that we may picture them clearly. Malalas may yet turn out to be the Byzantine equivalent of the *Historia Augusta* (a series of half-historical and half-fictitious biographies of the Roman emperors in Latin, which pokes fun at the methods

of historiography). Nevertheless, he was among the first Christian authors to attempt a global rationalization of myth—and hence a mythography—that drew upon that vast lost edifice of Hellenistic and Roman scholarship (Cameron 2004).

The sixth century witnessed intense engagement with classical literature in Constantinople, including the production of magisterial works of political and military history, antiquarian research, political thought, Latin epic, and the epigram (including the erotic epigram), as well as massive compilations of ancient learning, including geography and Roman law. This era made great strides toward normalizing and sanitizing the place of mythology in secular Christian literature. The seventh century, by contrast, witnessed a precipitous decline in the production of literature, especially secular texts. This was a consequence of the Arab conquests, and one of the few times when the political and literary fortunes of Byzantium aligned. Whereas liturgical and ecclesiastical genres survived during the ensuing "Dark Age," the revival of secular literature was slow and, in the meantime, mythography survived in constrained forms.

The *Chronicle* of Georgios the Monk (c. 875), for instance, follows in the general direction of Malalas by treating the gods as ancient kings whose reigns Georgios intercalates among Old Testament figures and Near Eastern kings. In this guise, they appear as hoary biblical rulers, founding cities, begetting heirs, and making "first discoveries." But Georgios's propensity to include extracts from the Church Fathers leads him to quote lengthy polemics against the gods lifted from Christian apologetics. Likewise, about one out of ten homilies of the ninth and tenth centuries feature mythological comparisons which are also polemical (Antonopoulou 2013). The ancient hero is found wanting compared to the saint, and the deeds of the gods are castigated as immoral. The most striking example is an Easter Day homily by the emperor Leo VI himself (886–912), which targets various lurid examples of their sexual immorality. These homilists followed the example set by Gregory the Theologian (see earlier discussion), but they operated in a different context of reception. For one thing, belief in the gods was dead, so it is not as if they were targeting a rival religion outside the church. Rather than see this as zombie rhetorical trope—still walking past its expiration point—we may see in these denunciations a reflex to what these men were increasingly reading in their own studies: the gods may have been dead, but the classics were coming back alive, and their heterodoxy and sheer moral otherness had to be contained. At the same time, these men were flaunting their learning before an audience possibly ignorant of the stories being mentioned.

In the eleventh century, more sophisticated hermeneutical tools were developed for coping with the gods in literature, precisely when interest in ancient texts was growing, along with a desire to recover and replicate its modes, tropes, and genres. Allegory was one option broached by Psellos (among others), typically through Neoplatonic sources. Psellos tried, where possible, to postulate equivalences between mythical entities and Platonic and Christian metaphysical concepts. This approach yielded strikingly different results from the polemical juxtapositions in homilies (Cesaretti 1991). A commentator on Hesiod named Ioannes Galenos (late eleventh century), a deacon, viewed the gods as prefigurations of Christian theology: Zeus as God,

the Titans as evil, Herakles as Jesus. His aim, as he put it, was to "transubstantiate" myth "into a more divine form," to beautify "the ugliness of Greek myths" by making it look more like "our Truth" (*Allegories*, 295–296, 336; Roilos 2014 and Cullhed 2016: 40* with Papaioannou 2019: 669).

The twelfth century, an era of intense exploration of pagan antiquity and its literature in Byzantium as in the West (Ziolkowski 2013: 100–102), witnessed more systematic efforts to tackle this problem. Tzetzes, a teacher of the classics who idolized Homer, deployed the full range of ancient allegoresis to extricate the poems from their (surface) pagan entanglements. He was asked to produce a summary of the *Iliad* for the benefit of the German wife of Manuel I (1143–1180) who needed to understand the literary traditions of her new home, and possibly to grasp the mythological allusions that were being directed at her at the court, as the culture of the time turned increasingly to mythological modes of expression. Tzetzes wrote an extensive, book-by-book verse summary of the plot of the *Iliad* (and subsequently of the *Odyssey*), which allegorizes the gods as natural or psychological forces, as rhetorical ways of expressing natural or human phenomena, or euhemeristically. He clears Homer of pagan taints: this was all just "figured" speech. His contemporary was Eustathios, a teacher of rhetoric who became bishop of Thessalonike and the greatest Homeric scholar before the eighteenth century. He wrote two large line-by-line commentaries on the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* which draw on the commentary tradition since antiquity, focusing on grammatical and rhetorical topics, narrative interpretation, and the allegorization of the gods. It is not clear whether these massive tomes count as "literature" for us—Tzetzes's *Allegories* are easier to read as stand-alone texts—but they were activist-scholarship, as one of their goals was to ameliorate the ambiguous position in which Orthodoxy had placed mythological literature. In his preface, Eustathios offers a vigorous and global defense of the utility and benefits of reading Homer, thereby acknowledging that his poems were still viewed with suspicion (Kaldellis 2007: 307–316).

Summing up, the suppression of ancient paganism as a religious force in Late Antiquity enabled Christian writers to safely reconstitute a literary classicism and even mythography of their own, a process that culminated in the literature of the sixth century. This achievement had to be reclaimed after the "Dark Age": by the eleventh and especially twelfth century, a comfortable dual-track symbiosis of pagan and Christian elements in literature had been restored. This in turn expanded the scope for more creative engagement with classical texts, a feature of Byzantine literature that has been studied under the problematic rubric of "imitation."

The (De)Limitation of Imitation

Not too long ago, Byzantine literature was regarded with skepticism and prejudice as unpleasant, rhetorical (in the bad sense), and unoriginal. Critics applied modern standards without hesitation and found it wanting. Especially damning was the concept

of *mimesis*, "imitation," which was explicitly upheld in Byzantine rhetorical theory: learned writers were expected to "imitate" canonical authors, whether classical or patristic. As expected, many authors could then be demonstrated to have "slavishly" deployed rhetorical templates in their own compositions, or to have lifted arguments, phrases, or whole passages from their models and sources (for a perhaps banal survey, see Hunger 1969–1970; but now see Papaioannou 2013: 103–127 and 2021: chap. 3). We know, however, that "originality" is a recent literary category (Nilsson 2014), and modern literature is not as original as it claims to be, if we evaluate each work within its own genre and context. Moreover, Byzantine *mimesis* was not a straitjacket. It allowed room for variation, invention, and deviation from tradition, all within a familiar framework that actually served to direct readers to what was different or distinctive. Therefore, instead of condemning unoriginality, the field is now discovering the virtues of "creative imitation." But this does not go far enough. Any mention of "imitation" is bound to doom Byzantine literature because the criterion of "originality" is too deeply embedded in our normative framework. We need a different framework, though that is a long-term project for the field.

There is nothing inherently problematic about *mimesis* (cf. Efthymiadis, "Rewriting," Chapter 14 in this volume). It never advocated "slavish imitation," nor did it preclude originality. Despite their multifaceted engagement with tradition, there are no exact generic precedents for, say, Prokopios's *Anekdota* (*Secret History*) or his *Buildings*, the *Timarion* (a Lucianic descent to Hades), or Metochites's *Sententious Remarks*, to pick works from different periods. What *mimesis* did was establish a common framework that kept much of Byzantine literary culture coherent over a long period—an achievement with few parallels in world literature that has not been sufficiently recognized.

Such *mimesis* does not predetermine the quality of the works in question, their intelligence, or their originality. Finding those qualities is largely a function of whether we actually *enjoy reading* them and find them stimulating. If I may be excused a personal remark, I do enjoy Byzantine literature, whereas I find modern fiction's obsessions with the psychopathologies of bourgeois life tiresome. I appreciate the subtlety and sophistication with which many Byzantines used an ancient language, and the rhythms of their prose. I love the fact that, using that same language, I can roam through and sample the thoughts and texts of 2,500 years. Moreover, Byzantine texts are often surprising and inventive, regularly going "off script." And many are playful, too, mischievous and double-dealing. I enjoy the games that authors play with their readers, especially in how they exploit their classical learning. This is worth pursuing further.

One of the main limitations of modern imitation-theory is that it assumes a fixed sum of literary value (stored in the original) which the imitation can only partially recover—and why bother, since we have the original? This approach fails to consider that value might be generated by the interaction between the two texts, that the whole (created by the Byzantine author) might be more than the sum of its parts, as it resides in the dialogue established between the two texts. Let us consider different types of intertextuality (or allusion), focusing again on mythological references and templates.

One of the most adventurous, complex, and contradictory characters of Byzantine history was Andronikos I Komnenos (1183–1185); historians have still not reached a settled verdict about him. Through careful allusions, comparisons, and rhetorically constructed scenes, our main historical sources, Eustathios and Niketas Choniates, dress and undress Andronikos with the likenesses of various characters from antiquity, both pagan and Christian, but especially the slippery and protean figure of Odysseus—wanderer, survivor, killer of men, seducer, and liar. The reader must know Homer to follow not only the story of Andronikos, but also his implied failings and contradictions, for models such as the *Odyssey* postulate implied connections in addition to explicit associations. The narratives require us to think about the *Odyssey* as well as the emperor, and to revisit it in the light of his career (Gaul 2003; Sarris 1995–1997).

Classical narrative templates may also be unsignaled, like so-called Easter eggs in movies. The historian Agathias (c. 580) recounts odd episodes involving Germanic warlords that turn out to be mythological stories in disguise, lifted, say, from Ovid (Kaldellis 2003; Alexakis 2008). Hagiography was also implicated in these re-enactments. The author of the *Life of St. Philaretos* (ninth century) seems to have patterned an imperial bridal competition on the Judgment of Paris, a statue of which, incidentally, stood in the forum of Constantine (Herrin 2001: 132–133). The *Synaxarion of the Great Church of Constantinople* (Sept. 27) reports that Saint Kallistratos, a martyr under Diocletian, was thrown into the sea but rescued by two dolphins that brought him to land, alluding to the tale of Arion. Another text, the *Life of Galaktion and Episteme*, poses as a sequel of two ancient romance novels (those of Achilleus Tatios and Heliodoros). The protagonist Galaktion is the son of Klitophon and Leukippe, who, at the end of their adventures, entered upon an unhappy marriage, as they were unable to conceive a child until they converted. Their son and his wife eventually joined monasteries (Robiano 2009). The sequel thus overwrote a Christian message on the ancient novel, while suggesting that paganism was "sterile" and replacing conventional erotic values with those of ascetics and martyrs. The fictional pagan background is treated as a "prequel" that is transcended, not rejected (Messis 2014).

There are, next, what we may call subversive allusions, that is, overt nods to an ancient text that, upon closer examination of their original context, suggest revised or alternative readings of what the Byzantine author seems to be saying. In the *Buildings*, Prokopios compares the column-statue of Justinian to the Star of Autumn in Homer (1.2.9–10), but if we look it up in the *Iliad* we find out that "it is wrought as a sign of evil and brings on the great fever for unfortunate mortals" (22.26–31) (Gantar 1962). Prokopios nods to Homer when he says that Justinian was "gentle as a father" (1.1.15), but in the *Odyssey* the very next words are: "and there is now this greater evil still: my home and all I have are being ruined" (2.47–49). These things are fun to catch. And they are not trivial, for they affect how we interpret fundamental texts relating to imperial ideology. But what shall we collectively call these forms of classicism? "Imitation" does not cut it any longer.

The Value(s) of Classical Literature

Byzantine society was not monolithic in its valorization of classical learning: you could boast of having it (within limits) or of avoiding it entirely. The question was not settled. The two approaches sometimes clashed, as they represented different strategies of social distinction. We see this most clearly in the twelfth century, when Hellenist scholars such as Tzetzes and Eustathios mocked ignorant monks who were attracting the favor of the Komnenian elite by performing cheap miracles or gross acts of asceticism (Magdalino 1981). The two types were, after all, in competition for finite patronage. But no one tried to impose a definitive solution to this tension, and each option posed its own risks. It was possible to have *too much* pagan learning, which made one suspect as a pagan sympathizer, a "Hellene." Holy men, by contrast, ran the constant risk of being exposed as frauds or heretics.

The structural dynamics of Greek learning in Christian society were analogous to those that it held in ancient Roman society. In ancient Rome as well, Hellenism was often presented as something "outside" the national culture, even though it had actually been "inside" all along (Gruen 1992). Then, too, we encounter hard-liners who rejected the whole of it, most famously Cato the Elder, and also enthusiasts who took it so far that they were accused of being *Graeculi* rather than "true" Romans. Granted, these types may have been ideal rather than real, but they existed in the collective imagination and so shaped personal strategies. As in Byzantium, in ancient Rome, too, Hellenism was often something to be embraced and, simultaneously, held at arm's length (or appear to be so). Further research may investigate whether the similarities between these two Roman societies is only a heuristic homology or an actual genealogical relationship. Unease with nude statues and excessive classical learning was first exhibited by the ancient Romans. Christian reaction and modalities replayed ancient Roman ones in other ways as well, for example in the sphere of marriage and sexuality.

It is often claimed that classical literature was the preserve of the social elite, but unlike ancient Greece and Rome, in Byzantium it was not the highest social class that produced "elite" literature. With some exceptions, it was not usually the imperial family, senators, generals, or top officials who produced it—though they did consume it—but rather their secretaries, orators, deacons, and also some bishops. Hellenism was a strategy of advancement for this subordinate clerical class, which explains part of its function in Byzantine society. The true elite were distinguished by wealth and power, not mythological flourishes. But we must also avoid social determinism. Many studies of Greek *paideia* treat it as a commodity serving an exclusively social function, whether to accentuate status, reinforce social networks, or perform manhood on the stage of culture. We must not forget, however, that Greek literature raised certain serious moral and intellectual issues in ways that Christian literature did not or sought to avoid, and human beings *are* intellectually motivated and curious. We must ask again, why were the classics kept at all? A society governed by Christian principles and no others—as many assume

Byzantium was—would have had little use for it. The reasons that learned Byzantines gave for keeping it—that ancient literature was read by Saint Paul, which made it acceptable, or that it was necessary in order to hone theological reasoning or to refute paganism and heresy—cannot account for more than a fraction of what survives, even if these were not obviously specious rationalizations. An alternative explanation would be that classical texts offered ideas that were desired precisely *because* they were alternative to the Christian mainstream, and yet those Byzantines who engaged with it could not easily represent this desirability to themselves within their dominant ideological paradigm. It was the same with the Parthenon church: they could not quite explain why it was so important a church, which they believed it was, without entering the thorny terrain of its ancient history and use. Thus desire and consumption were often surrounded by a swirl of defensive violent language.

There was, then, an "alternative Hellenism" that existed as an option, side by side with a "domesticated Hellenism." Its consumers were not necessarily crypto-pagans, but Christians living in a world that posed difficult questions to which the Bible and patristic literature either did not give satisfactory answers or did not address at all. These included politics, war, heroism, eroticism, technical philosophical issues, and ways of looking at the world that the classics dealt with in diverse ways and that have captured the world's attention ever since. In the ninth century, it has been claimed, Byzantine society was not ready for the literary exploration of erotic themes (Lauxtermann 1999). But the moral scope of literature expanded as the engagement with classical literature intensified and diversified. Imperial heroism brought forth an *Alexiad*. Interest in the erotic elicited rhetorical exercises on ancient myths, hosting explorations of sexual themes and new authorial personae (Papaioannou 2007). Meanwhile, a revival of the romance novel allowed authors and readers to re-enter a fictional Greece, replete with maidens and gods. And the suspicion intensified that some were studying Greek philosophy not just to know it, but to believe it. Scholars have so far assumed that in Byzantium only that part of the classical tradition was kept that reinforced Byzantine beliefs and views of the world. But maybe part of the classical canon survived for the opposite reason, as a counter-hegemonic corpus. If this suggestion has merit, it has potential implications for current debates about the role of the Greek classics—the *Byzantine* Greek classics, we should always remember—in our own world. Why do we study the classics? To confirm or to question?

Suggestions for Further Reading

The best guides to Byzantine scholarship on ancient literature are Dickey (2007) as well as Matthaios (2020) and Pontani (2020); see also Dickey (2015). For an integrated reading of scholarly practices in the twelfth century, see Kaldellis (2009b). For the relation between classical and Byzantine literary Greek, and the different registers of the language in use, see Wahlgren (2010). For the matrix of rhetoric

that shaped so much Byzantine writing, see Papaioannou (2013 and 2021) and related chapters in this volume. For various ways in which some Byzantine authors engaged with ancient texts, genres, and literary tropes, see Roilos (2005). Classical scholars have developed sophisticated models for studying reception; see, for example, Martindale and Thomas (2006). For a survey of what Byzantinists have done so far, see Jeffreys (2014). No comprehensive survey of Byzantine mythography—namely, the reception, knowledge, and interpretation of ancient mythology—exists; for recent relevant work, see several chapters in Petrides and Efthymiadis (2015).

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CHAPTER 8

TRANSLATIONS I

From Other Languages into Greek

SECTION I LATIN

RÉKA FORRAI

Translations from Latin into Greek are significantly fewer in comparison to Greek texts translated into Latin. The roots of this relative disinterest go back a long way. Ancient Greeks had rarely considered translating anyone else's literature, regarding their own language as self-sufficient and their own literary production as superior to that of others (Momigliano 1977). While Greeks took pride in their own culture as a self-contained entity, Latins considered their cultural strength to be the appropriation of a conquered culture's literary values (Habinek 1998). Today, it is this Latin attitude that is taken for granted, and the Greek position that seems to demand an explanation; but, as Denis Feeney recently argued, there is nothing natural about the act of translating, which is a Roman invention (Feeney 2016).

Similarly to ancient Greeks, on the horizon of most learned Byzantines there was no language other than Greek. The high level of its literature, both classical and patristic, gave them ample reason to boast. The testimony of Greek translators is particularly eloquent in this regard. For example, in his preface to the translation of Boethius's (480–524) works, Manuel Holobolos (c. 1245–1310/1314) seemed genuinely embarrassed at having found a Latin work that could prove useful to the Greeks. He looked down on the language of the text he was translating. He referred to the Latin language as a "wild olive" (ἀγριέλαιον), while the Greek language was "cultivated olive" (καλλιέλαιον). Convinced that Greek dialectic did not need Latin works, just as the sun (ὁ μέγας φωσφόρος) does not need the light of a lamp (λυχνιαίου φωτός), he had some difficulties arguing for the usefulness of his own translation (Fisher 2002–2003).

Although the translation output of Greeks and Latins was asymmetric, discussing them as two distinguished translation camps poses some difficulties. Even if the quantity

of texts translated from Latin is different than that of the texts translated from Greek, all else—people, institutions, places involved—are often so deeply interconnected that I propose to see them as two parts of the same diptych (for a discussion of this, see Chapter 22, "Translations II: Greek Texts into Other Languages," Forrai, "Section I. Latin," in this volume).

For this Latin-to-Greek part of the diptych, we can demarcate two major phases of translations: the period before (roughly) the tenth century and the period after 1261, with a phase of near complete silence in between. While translation activity in late Byzantium is relatively richly documented, most of our knowledge for the translation activities of the earlier period derives from indirect references and what we may deduce from the sizable, though untamable hagiographical production, namely translations that are usually difficult to date or assign to a specific sociohistorical context (Rochette 1995); as Daniele Bianconi has put it, to talk about this wave of translations is often nothing more than listening to and interpreting the silence of history (Bianconi 2004). The silence increases (apparently due to cultural/political developments) in the middle Byzantine period, even if contacts with the West continued and gradually intensified with (most importantly) the Crusader movement.[1]

Early (and Middle) Byzantine Period

Which Latin texts could have possibly been read by Greek-speaking Byzantine intellectuals interested in Latin literature (provided they were close to a good library)? Had these readers been living before the eighth century, they, depending on origin and social position, could have probably known some Latin (like John the Lydian, for example). In that case we could assume that there was no need to turn to translations, which could in fact explain the scarcity of translations of learned Latin texts. Latin, the language of the imperial administration in the Eastern part of the empire, was on the rise from the fourth to the sixth century, and education in Latin was offered in many schools (Rapp 2004; Cribbiore 2007); juxtaposed linear Greek translations of Vergil and Cicero, for instance, survive on papyri fragments that point to pedagogical use (Baldwin 1982). But if our hypothetical readers were not taught Latin, they would have been able to read, for example, the *Fourth Eclogue* of Virgil which Eusebios of Caesarea (c. 263–339) had included in an anonymous Greek translation into his *Life of Constantine* (Chapters 19–21). Had our readers been interested in Roman history, they could have picked up Flavius Eutropius's (c. 320–390) *Breviarium* in the fourth-century translation of Paeanios (Droysen 1879). If they had been Christians more interested in

[1] One possible exception is the likely usage by Anna Komnene of a Latin epic poem as a source for her *Alexiad*, namely William of Apulia's *Gesta Roberti Wiscardi* (as argued by Frankopan 2013). Since Anna Komnene had no knowledge of Latin, her familiarity must have been due to a Greek translation that was made at the turn of the eleventh to the twelfth century.

hagiography, they could have read Jerome's (c. 347–420) *Life of Hilarion*, translated by his friend Sophronios (Fisher 1982), or his *Life of Our Holy Father Paul of Thebes, the One in the Desert* (BHG 1466; CPG 3636), translated by an unknown writer in the late fourth century and very popular in Greek (Oldfather 1943 with Papaioannou 2021; cf. Figure 20.4 in Chapter 20 of this volume). Nevertheless, many of the translations to which early Byzantine readers might have had access do not survive. For instance, the Greek versions of major Latin patristic writings are all lost, including several of Tertullian's (155–220) treatises, translated probably by the author himself, and the whole body of works of Cyprian (died 258) that the Greek church fathers seem to have known (Dekkers 1953). Principal texts of late antique Latin hagiography are also missing, such as e.g. the life of Saint Martin by Sulpicius Severus (363–425), about whose existence we only know through indirect evidence.

Latin hagiography in Greek is a special case (Gounelle 2005; see also Franklin 2001). Though the chronology is difficult to establish, we can assume that the largest part of the prolific production of Greek translations of Latin saints' *Vitae* and *Passiones* took place during the early and (perhaps to a lesser degree) middle Byzantine periods (until at least the ninth century). Greeks in Rome and in southern Italy, especially during the transition period of the seventh and eighth centuries, played a major role in this production (Sansterre 1983, esp. pp. 174–205; Lequeux 2011; Efthymiadis 2017: 354–362). The Greek pope Zacharias (679–752; pope: 741–752; PmbZ 8614), with his translation of the *Dialogues* (BHG 273 and 1445y; PL 77: 147–430; Rigotti 2001) of Pope Gregory the Great, or Gregorios *Dialogos*, as he is known in Greek (c. 540–604), is the most important representative of this translation activity (Maltese 1994; Louth 2013; cf. Figure 3.1 in Chapter 3 of this volume). Not incidentally, it was also in these areas that most Greek hagiography was translated into Latin, probably facilitated by the interaction of Greek and Latin monasteries (see Chapter 22, "Translations II: Greek Texts into Other Languages," Forrai, "Section I. Latin," in this volume). Lequeux's typology indicates certain categories of saints that the Byzantines were interested in: apostles, popes, and Roman martyrs being the most popular. Philological study of these texts is extremely difficult: with some exceptions, they are anonymous and impossible to date or establish their linguistic origins, while many texts probably remain undiscovered. Moreover, hagiography traveled not only in textual form, but also on a "subliterary level" that is much harder to detect, as stories concerning holy persons circulated orally throughout the Mediterranean world (Rapp 2004). Lequeux suggested certain criteria to identify such translations; for instance, unless translation from the Greek is confirmed in their introduction, one can assume that texts about Latin saints were probably originally composed in Latin. There are, however, often exceptions to "rules" such as this; the *Life* of Pope Martin I, for example, was first composed in Greek in the seventh century and was translated into Latin in the ninth by Anastasius Bibliothecarius (c. 810–c. 879; PmbZ 341 and 20341). Furthermore, some texts crossed linguistic borders multiple times: a Latin translation of a *Life* of Gregory the Great had a Greek source that was itself translated from Latin (Halkin 1964). The safest principle thus remains to rely on rigorous philological analysis that compares the language and text of the two versions.

Late Byzantine Period

Byzantine translation activities gained momentum from 1261 onward, when the Palaiologan dynasty restored Byzantine rule in Constantinople, ending the Latin domination of the first part of the century. Most Greek-speaking readers in the late Byzantine period would have probably been completely ignorant of Latin. Nevertheless, a growing number of translations appeared, most of them carried out in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The spectrum of topics and genres is impressive: classical Latin poetry, hagiography, logic, some moralistic literature—like the late antique *Disticha Catonis*, the early medieval *De duodecim abusivis saeculi* (see later discussion), or Vincent of Beauvais's (1190–1264) *Speculum Doctrinale* (Aerts 1986; see also later discussion)—as well as major Latin theologians such as Augustine (Demetracopoulos 2011) and Thomas Aquinas (Garzya 2004).

The main figures of the first generation of these translators were Maximos/Manuel Holobolos (c. 1245–1310/1314; PLP 21047) and Manuel/Maximos Planoudes (c. 1255–1305; PLP 23308; RGK I 259 bis and II 357; cf. Anagnostou-Laoutides 2017). Holobolos translated several works (Boethius's *De hypotheticis syllogismos* [Nikitas 1982, 1990] and the *De topicis differentiis* along with Nicolaus of Damascus's [64 BCE–4 CE] *De plantis*). These works Holobolos introduced with prefaces of his own, thus giving us precious information about the circumstances under which they were translated. For instance, in the preface to the translation of Nicolaus of Damascus's *De plantis*, Holobolos tells us that the Latin manuscript that contained this work was brought to him by a kind Italian in Constantinople. In this period the mendicant orders had strongholds in the Byzantine capital. The Dominicans especially could have supplied interested Byzantines with the relevant manuscripts and possibly helped them to read the texts as well. The Dominican presence in Byzantium could also explain the popularity of works such as the previously mentioned *Speculum Doctrinale* of the Dominican Vincent of Beauvais, translated at the turn of the thirteenth century, probably by the Constantinopolitan monk Sophonias (Pérez Martín 1997).

Planoudes was a prolific translator. He translated religious works such as Augustine's *De trinitate* (Papathomopoulos, Tsavari, and Rigotti 1995; Maltese 2004) and the *De duodecim abusivis saeculi*, which he probably thought was written by Augustine or Cyprian. He also translated a substantial amount of classical Latin poetry and prose, including works by Ovid (amatory works: Easterling and Kenney 1965; *Metamorphoses*: Papathomopoulos 1976; *Heroides*: Papathomopoulos and Tsavari 2002); Cicero (*Somnium Scipionis*: Pavano 1992); and Juvenal (Kugéas 1914). He also translated Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiae* (retaining the prosimetric nature of the original work; Megas 1996; Papathomopoulos 1999); Macrobius (Megas 1995); and the *Disticha Catonis* (Ortoleva 1992). Unfortunately, Planoudes did not preface his translations, so the debate as to what motivated him in selecting these particular works still continues (Schmitt 1986; Ciccolella 2008: 240).

The next wave of translations was dominated by the Kydones brothers: Demetrios (c. 1324–1397/1398; PLP 13876) and Prochoros (c. 1330–1368/1369; PLP 13883). Together they were responsible for translating several Latin theologians and for creating a representative corpus of Thomas Aquinas's writings (Ryden 2010; Glycofrydi-Leontsini 2003). Under the name of Augustine, Demetrios also translated other Latin works: the *Sententia ex operibus Sancti Augustini* by Prosper of Aquitaine (fl. 420–450; Kalamakis 1996) and *De fide ad Petrum* by Fulgentius (c. 468–533; Koltsiou-Niketa 1999); to Augustine he attributed also a translation of an anonymous thirteenth-century compilation, the *Soliloquia animae ad deum* (Koltsiou-Niketa 2005). Demetrios managed to hit upon some original Augustine as well: the *Libri contra Iulianum* and the *Tractatus in Iohannis Evangelium*. His brother Prochoros translated some letters of Augustine (Hunger 1984), fragments from the *De vera religione*, *De libero arbitrio* (Hunger 1990), the *De beata vita* as well as the *Sermo de decem verbis legis et de decem plagis* by Cesarius of Arles (470–542), which he attributed to Augustine (Hunger 1990; Rigotti 2000). Demetrios's disciple Manuel Kalekas translated Anselm of Canterbury's (c. 1033–1109) *Cur deus homo* and works of Augustine and Thomas Aquinas. He was also responsible for the translation of several Latin prayers. Arnaldus de Villanova's (1240–1311) minor spiritual works also exist in Greek, in a unique manuscript from the fourteenth century (St Petersburg, National Library of Russia, gr. 113; see Rigo 2011).

Gennadios Scholarios (c. 1405–c. 1472), the first patriarch of Constantinople under Ottoman rule, was also a translator of Latin works. He was a pioneer in the sense that he was more interested in Latin contemporary logicians like Radulphus Brito (1270–1320) or Peter of Spain (c. 1215–1277) instead of classical authors such as Boethius (Ebbesen and Pinborg 1981–1982), but he also translated works of Thomas Aquinas into Greek.

Thirteenth- and fourteenth-century translators were all high-profile scholars, deriving from the upper echelons of the church hierarchy and well connected to the imperial court: Holobolos was member of the court of Michael VIII Palaiologos until repudiated; Planoudes served as an ambassador of Andronicos II in Venice; Demetrios Kydones was an imperial chancellor and his brother was a monk on Mount Athos; Gennadios was the patriarch of Constantinople. This implies, on the one hand, that translation was a prestigious literary activity and, on the other, that it was surely more than *otium* that made these religious leaders, politicians, and intellectuals translate certain Latin works into Greek. There are many theories regarding the revival of Latin studies in Constantinople at that time. The unionist policies of Michael VIII Palaiologos are thought to have had a decisive impact. All persons involved in translation activities were in contact with the imperial court, and some were active participants or opponents of the union (e.g., Holobolos was an anti-unionist, while Planoudes was a supporter of Michael VIII's policies). The same is true for later translators such as Demetrios Kydones or Gennadios Scholarios. Demetrios was a Catholic convert and Gennadios participated in the Council of Florence-Ferrara (1431–1449). It therefore seems that acquaintance with Latin texts was a way of establishing closer contact between the churches and the involved political entities.

With their generation, however, Latin to Greek translations ceased. The last Byzantine intellectuals were faced with a completely different situation: with their empire lost, many of them immigrated to Italy, bringing along their manuscripts and Greek education. Ironically, when the Greeks finally surrendered to the necessity of translation as a cultural and political activity, it was to translate from, and not into, their language. They learned the Latin language in order to render into Latin the Greek heritage they had saved from the ruins of Byzantium. Figures such as Ioannes Argyropoulos (1415–1487), Theodoros of Gaza (1398–1475), Georgios Trapezountios (1395–1486), and other Byzantine emigrants were the crucial actors in the new phase of Greek into Latin translations, the Humanist translation movement (Geanakoplos 1976; Setton 1956).

Suggestions for Further Reading

The best concise introduction to the topic is Bianconi (2004), while the excellent articles by Fisher (1982, 2002–2003, 2006, 2010, 2012a, 2012b, and 2014) cover much of the history of the Latin into Greek translations; see also Nikitas (2001), Koltsiou-Niketa (2009) and Tinnefeld (2018). For a recent related volume, see Garcea, Rosellini, and Silvano (2019). As with Greek into Latin, so also in the case of Latin into Greek translations, the databases of CPG, *Clavis patrum latinorum* (CPL: Dekkers 1995), BHG, and BHL are indispensable. A new *Thomas de Aquino Byzantinus* series is in the works, the result of a project by the University of Patras and the Institute of Historical Studies of the National Hellenic Research Foundation.

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SECTION II SYRIAC

PABLO UBIERNA

Early Byzantine Period

Among early Syriac writers, Ephrem (c. 306–373) was the only one to be widely known in Byzantium. Nevertheless, very little of what is extant of the so-called *Ephraem Graecus* (or for that matter, the *Ephraem Latinus*) is actually by Ephrem or of Syriac origin (Brock 1995b: 40; Grypeou 2013: 166–167; CPG 3905–4175; cf. Figure 9.1 in Chapter 9 of this volume). By contrast, some early Byzantine Syriac hagiographies and the saints they celebrated became very popular when translated into Greek. The following four stand out:

The *Life of Abraham of Qidun and His Niece Mary* (Syriac text extant in London, BL Add 14644 and 12160; BHO 16–17) is an anonymous text dated to c. 400. In later manuscripts (BL Add 12160), it was anachronistically ascribed to Ephrem—who authored some hymns in praise of the hermit and ascetic Abraham (de Stoop 1911). Through a Latin translation of the popular Greek version (BHG 5–7), the *Life* also reached Western medieval literature (Goullet 1993).

The *Life of Febronia* (BHO 302), a Syrian martyr under Diocletian from the region of Nisibis, was written in the sixth century and translated into Greek (BHG 659). Febronia was mentioned in the *Miracles of Saint Artemios* in the seventh century, as well as in a Latin *Life* that goes back to the ninth century (Chiesa 1990; Saint Laurent 2012). She became very popular in the middle Byzantine period; Theodoros Stoudites, for instance, presented her as a model for virtuous women who opposed iconoclasm (Kaplan 2012: 45; Rapp 1996: 326), while a chapel was dedicated to her in the church of Saint John Prodromos of Oxeia in Constantinople (Kaplan 2012). Her feast day in the Greek *Synaxarion* is June 25 (cf. Crisafulli and Nesbitt 1997: 13–14).

The *Life of the Man of God (of Edessa)* (BHO 36–42) concerns a wealthy Roman man—known in the Greek versions as Alexios—who left his family and traveled to Edessa. There he transformed himself into a beggar and lived the wretched life of the poor population of the city; his true identity was only revealed after his death (Krueger 1996: 69–70; Drijvers 1996). The story is extant in several Syriac manuscripts, the oldest of which date to the first half of the sixth century; this version of the story (at least in its first, sixth-century redaction) is quite plain and deprived of most of the miraculous aspects of the Greek version (Esteves Pereira 1900). In most of the several Greek versions, whose relations and dates are still to be determined (BHG 51–56h; cf. Crostini 2005), "the poor

beggar" was given the name Alexios, and was said to have returned to his father's house in Rome, where he remained unrecognized and lived on charity. The text became very popular in Byzantium (Papaioannou forthcoming), and after the end of the tenth century, in the West (Stebbins 1973; Storey 1987; Engels Louk 2002).

The *Acts of the Edessan Martyrs Shmona and Gurya* [who died during the reign of Diocletian] *and Habib* [martyred under Licinius] (BHO 363 and 367) were translated into Greek (BHG 731–735) and became very popular, especially during the reign of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos and later (see Messis and Papaioannou 2013). The Greek tale of a *Miracle concerning Euphemia the Young Maiden* by the three Syrian "martyrs and confessors" of Edessa (BHG 739–739k; see also Papaioannou 2017) may have had a Syriac origin as well (Burkitt 1913).

To these texts, we should also add several Byzantine tales of martyrdom originally composed in Syriac. These pertain to Christians who suffered under Persian persecution from the reign of Shapur II (310–379; see Delehaye 1905) to that of Khusro II (590/591–628). They display various degrees of historicity as well as popularity in their Greek version (Detoraki 2014: 73–76 offers a good overview, which need not be repeated here).[1]

Next to storytelling, Syriac influenced the Greek literary tradition also in terms of literary forms. Here the name of Ephrem the Syrian should be mentioned anew. His numerous *maḏrāšē*, strophic hymns in various metrical forms, combined with melodies (a genre first developed in Syriac by Bardaisan [154–222]; McVey 1999), as well his *mēmrē*, recited verse homilies in heptasyllabic couplets, influenced the development of similar (i.e., strophic, isosyllabic, and non-prosodic) hymnography in Greek during the Early Byzantine period (see further Papaioannou, "Sacred Song," Chapter 18 in this volume).

After the Seventh Century

The Hellenization of Syriac culture reached its peak in the seventh century. Paradoxically, the same period witnessed the beginnings of mutual estrangement. Only two Syriac texts of that "golden age" gained a wide audience and circulation in Greek, and subsequently spread widely also among Slavic- and Latin-speaking audiences as well: the *Ascetical Homilies* of Isaak the Syrian and the *Apocalypse* of Pseudo-Methodios.[2]

Isaak the Syrian (seventh century; PmbZ 3463) was without doubt one of the most influential mystical writers of his time, especially among Byzantine monastic audiences.

[1] Cf. also Detoraki (2010) for a further example of Greek martyrological text (BHG 166) that derives from Syriac.

[2] For a third, later text, translated from (most likely) Syriac into Greek in the late eleventh century, namely *The Book of Syntipas the Philosopher*, see "Translations I: From Other Languages into Greek," Messis and Papaioannou, "Section III. Arabic," in this volume.

His writings did not touch upon theological topics (such as Christology) that could potentially cause conflict and thus transcended confessional divisions. A native of the Gulf area, Isaak was ordained bishop of Nineveh, but resigned after a short tenure to become a monk. The works of Isaak (Bedjan 1909; Brock 1995a; Chialà 2011), himself a member of the Church of the East (in the Sasanian Empire) that had close contacts with Chalcedonian monasteries in Palestine in this period (cf. Brock 2001: 202–203), were studied and copied at the multilingual Chalcedonian monastery of Mar Saba in Palestine (a Syriac manuscript now at Paris, BNF, Par. Syr. 378, containing the *Ascetic Homilies*, was copied in Mar Saba at the end of the eighth century). Isaak's corpus of *Homilies* was transmitted in two parts, but only the first part (eighty-two *Homilies* edited by Paul Bedjan from a manuscript dated to 1235) was translated into Greek by two monks of the Palestinian Lavra of Mar Saba, Patrikios, and Abramios, sometime in the second half of the eighth century (Brock 2001). The two translators removed the most evident traces of the influence of Evagrios Pontikos (Chialà 2009). Since their manuscript contained texts authored by the East Syriac ascetic John Dalyatha, along with a letter by the Syrian Orthodox theologian Philoxenos of Mabbug, all these writings were ascribed to Isaak in the Byzantine tradition (Brock 1999–2000). We now possess an authoritative edition of the Greek version with a detailed introduction and discussion of its relation to the Syriac original, as well as its manuscript transmission in Byzantium (Pirard 2012).

The *Apocalypse* of Pseudo-Methodios (Reinink 1993) is a Syriac text of the end of the seventh century that is attributed to Methodios, bishop of Olympos (or, as the Greek version has it, of Patara; d. 312). The author of the Syriac text lived in the region of Sinjar in northern Mesopotamia and was concerned about the number of Christians converting to Islam, especially after such inauspicious signs, as 'Abd al-Malik's construction of the Dome of the Rock, presaging that Islamic rule would last (van Donzel and Schmidt 2010: 26–32). The author introduced a novelty in the well-known eschatological chain of events. After the conquest of the Byzantine Empire by Gog and Magog (and the subsequent oppression of the people of God, i.e., the author's current situation), it is not the Antichrist who will appear, but a "Last Emperor of the Greeks" who will defeat Gog and Magog and restore Roman power. This Last Emperor will eventually be defeated by the arrival of the Antichrist, but this will happen in the future to come. The intention of the author was essentially to give hope in times of distress (Reinink 1988).

Through the contemporary Greek version (Lolos 1976; Aerts and Kortekaas 1998; Garstad 2012) the text was immediately translated into Latin (early eighth century) and became very popular in western Europe (four different recensions, more than two hundred manuscripts, and several translations into vernacular languages are known; Piron 2008 and Ubierna 2017). However, according to the manuscript evidence, the Greek version reached a wide audience only in the late Byzantine period. This Greek redaction includes—besides novelties such as geographical oddities (Kaegi 2000)—what was to become a major asset for the Byzantine eschatological framework: it equated the capital of the empire with the eschatological seven-hilled city; this was to have a lasting

importance in the Byzantine imagination of the End of Times (Congourdeau 1999; Külzer 2000; Brandes 2007; Berger 2008).

Suggestions for Further Reading

A comprehensive survey of the subject is lacking. The now classic study of Sebastian Brock (1977) provides the best starting point. On Syriac hagiography in general, see Brock (2011), and especially pp. 266–268 regarding translations; see also Peeters (1950). For some further specific examples (beyond the ones mentioned previously), see also: Desreumaux, Palmer, and Beylot (1993; *Doctrine of Addai*); Attridge (1990; *Acts of Thomas*). Finally, for the possible Syriac sources on some parts of Theophanes's *Chronicle* see e.g. Hoyland (2011); Conterno (2014b: 4–38; 2015); Debié (2015b); Hilkens (2015); Jankowiak (2015). See further the references cited in "Translations II: Greek Texts into Other Languages," Ubierna, "Section III. Syriac," in this volume.

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SECTION III ARABIC

CHARIS MESSIS AND STRATIS PAPAIOANNOU

The dazzling expansion of the Arab world over the course of the seventh and eighth centuries, and the corresponding and (with few exceptions) irreversible Byzantine loss of political and economic control over Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and Libya affected profoundly the cultural, religious, and at that discursive landscape of these regions; they were, anyway, already partly alienated from Constantinople through the adoption of monophysite, non-Chalcedonian dogma, by a large part of their Christian populations during the fifth and sixth centuries. In this new landscape, and at least in some contexts, Greek high culture retained its prestige, as is suggested, among other things, by the extensive translation movement of mostly pre-Byzantine Greek texts into Arabic during the ʿAbbāsid period (Gutas 1998; Mavroudi 2015). Moreover, Greek continued to be used and revered within some communities of formerly Byzantine and now Arab-ruled subjects, as a *lingua sacra*, a privileged mode of expression of the Christian faith (Johnson 2015 with the earlier bibliography).[1] Nevertheless, in the new world that emerged after the Arab conquests, Arabic was quickly the dominant language.

For the (by then largely) Greek-speaking citizens of the Byzantine Empire, Arabic—ἀραβιστί, the language "of the Arabs," or σαρακηνιστί, the language "of the Saracens," or, sometimes, συριστί, the (Arabic or Syriac) language "spoken by the Syrians"[2]—belonged to their main (for a few centuries at least) adversary, their "intimate enemy"

[1] On the relevant Greek manuscript culture in Arab-ruled territories, see references in Ronconi and Papaioannou, "Book Culture," Chapter 3 in this volume. A full survey of the many bilingual Greco-Arabic (and the few related trilingual) mss. that have been preserved remains a desideratum.

[2] For the comparable ambiguity of the Latin term *Suriani* (= either Arabic-speaking or, less commonly, Syriac-speaking Christians, using mainly Syriac for the liturgy), see Nasrallah (1974).

(to use Gilbert Dagron's fortuitous phrase [2012b]). This was an enemy with whom the Byzantines competed for economic, political, religious, as well as cultural hegemony in the wider Mediterranean world. As such, Arabic was a language which had to be mastered, at least partly, either for the sake of polemics and diplomacy or for the sake of appropriation. The latter became the case especially since Arabic, within the first two hundred years of its existence as a written language, from the Qur'an onward, became the main idiom for a large discursive repository of all sorts of traditions of knowledge and storytelling, deriving from a wide geographical, cultural, and religious (not merely Islamic) radius, from India and Persia to Greece and Rome.

Simultaneously, Arabic did not simply remain the language of the "other." Quickly, it also became a *Byzantine* language, spoken and written by a significant amount of Byzantinizing (in their ideological affiliation) Christians, i.e., Melkites, who continued to live under Arab/Islamic rule and many of whom, as we shall see, found themselves anew within Byzantine territory for a century or so after 969; after all, linguistic Arabicization grew and spread much faster than religious Islamization in the Middle East (Schick 1995; Rubin 1998; Pahlitzsh 2001 and 2006; Tannous 2018; cf. Figure 1.1 in Chapter 1 of this volume). This transformation of Arabic also into a Byzantine language is investigated elsewhere in this volume ("Translations II: Greek Texts into Other Languages," Treiger, "VI. Arabic") and concerns us here only to the extent that, as far as we can tell, a small number of texts written originally in Christian Arabic found their way also into Greek—we shall return to these texts shortly.

We owe the bulk of Arabic texts translated into Byzantine Greek to the engagement with Arabic texts for the sake of polemics or diplomacy and, mainly, for the needs of appropriation. The lion's share in this respect is undoubtedly occupied by texts that cover several areas, mostly of practical application, in the field of science, as this was conceived in the Middle Ages, and for which the Arabic tradition offered to the Byzantines (who did not leave the fate of their well-being only in the hands of official Christianity) a diversified body of "secular" knowledge.[3] Three main such areas in the field of science are prominent:

(a) the micro-physics of the body: translations of texts that deal with the health of the human body and provide details that were absent from similar works of the Greco-Roman medical tradition (e.g., al-Rāzī [d. 925], *On Smallpox and Measles = Περὶ λοιμικῆς*, or the influential *Provisions for the Traveler and Nourishment for the Sedentary* [known with its Latin title *Viaticum*] = *Ἐφόδια τοῦ ἀποδημοῦντος*, by Ibn al-Jazzār [d. c. 1004]), as well as pharmacological treatises (e.g., al-Samarqandī [d. c. 1222], *Method of Herbal Medicine = Μέθοδος τῶν βοτάνων*);

[3] In this respect, we may keep in mind that the Byzantine attribution of related texts to Arabic, but also to "Persian" or "Indian," did not always rely on actual translation from a precise "oriental" source, but sometimes afforded a safe cover for Byzantine writers to legitimize their own, "non-official" views or ideas.

(b) the macro-physics of human existence: texts on astronomy (e.g., al-Hāsib [d. c. 912], used for a Greek text in 1072–1086, or ʿAbd al-Rahmān [d. c. 1120]) and the influence exerted by the stars and other omens (astrologers such as, e.g., Mashāʿ Allāh/ Μασάλα [d. c. 810], Abū Maʿšar/Ἀπομάσαρ [d. c. 886], or the *Apocalypse of Daniel* translated in c. 1245 [Boudreaux 1912: 171–179; Fisher 2010]); and
(c) the meta-physics of material and social relations, providing access to supernatural means of altering the present or predicting the future (various occults sciences, such as alchemy, geomancy, or dream interpretation; see e.g. a treatise on how to make pearls attributed to a certain Σαλμανᾶς (possibly the ninth-century Salm al-Harrānī/) or the widely circulating work on dream interpretation, known as the *Oneirokritikon of Achmet* [Drexl 1925], a tenth-century text, based on several Arabic sources).

Scientific texts of Arabic origins, translated throughout the middle and late Byzantine period, have attracted much scholarship (though substantial work remains to be done) and will not be surveyed here, since they lie rather at the fringes of literary discourse as defined in this volume.[4]

For the same reason, we shall also leave out of our overview the less extensive body of Greek texts that are translations from the Arabic and which were produced in the context of coming to terms and refuting Islamic theology, especially during the ninth century (Griffith 2012)—core figures to mention here are the *didaskalos* Niketas Byzantios (second half of the ninth century; PmbZ 25713; Rigo 2006), who used an anonymous earlier Greek translation of the Qur'an, perhaps produced in a Muslim context (ed. Förstel 2009 and Ulbricht 2015; cf. Høgel 2010 and 2012a and Simelidis 2011), and, especially, the bilingual Theodore Abū Qurra or, in Greek, Ἀβουκαρᾶς, bishop of Ḥarran near Edessa, some of whose texts preserved in Greek may be translations from the Arabic (c. 740/750–829; PmbZ 7627; CPG 8075 and 8076; with, e.g., Griffith 1979; Datiashvili 1980; Lamoreaux 2001, 2005; Awad 2015; D'Agostino 2019).

To literary discourse proper belong (a) Christian hagiography that was "translated," as already mentioned, from Arabic into Greek, and (b) a body of tales of "oriental" origin that, mediated and expanded in Arabic, eventually reached also Greek-reading audiences through "translations." To these two areas of literature we shall now turn, preceded by the following preliminary remark. As indicated by the quotation marks

[4] See Papaioannou, "What Is Byzantine Literature?," Chapter 1 in this volume. For overviews of the translation of Arabic science into Greek in Byzantium, see Gutas (2012) with Gutas, Kaldellis, and Long (2017); see also Messis (2014) as well as, for further references and bibliography on the works mentioned in our list here, the *Catalogue of Translations into Byzantine Greek*, by A. Kaldellis, published on www.academia.edu. For medical literature, see further Pietrobelli (2010) and, more generally, Touwaide (2016) with Bouras-Vallianatos (2019). For a recent volume on Byzantine science in general (where often texts of Arabic origins are discussed), see Lazaris (2020). For specifically the *Oneirokritikon of Achmet*, which for its use of allegory may be of interest to the literary historian as well, see Mavroudi (2002); *Achmet*, we might add, was translated twice from Greek into Latin, in Constantinople during the reign of Manuel I Komnenos (once excerpted by Pascalis Romanus, another in its entirety by Leo Tuscus).

in the words "translated" and "translations," in all cases that we shall discuss, the Greek versions, though deriving from an Arabic original, should be considered also as independent, new creations, a feature that characterizes perhaps all literary translations universally, but is especially evident in the practice of literary translation in the Middle Ages.

Christian Arabic Texts into Greek

Translations of Greek into Arabic are abundant and predominant in Melkite literature (Nasrallah 1979–2017; cf. also Moiseeva 2015). Nevertheless, from the eighth to the eleventh century, we also have traces of two separate waves of translation activity of Melkite Arabic literature into Greek. The first wave might be located in the multilingual environment of Melkite monasteries in Palestine, especially the community of Mar Saba, during the eighth and ninth centuries (Griffith 1992), and is echoed in a series of texts preserved in a single, tenth-century manuscript of possible Palestinian origins: Paris, BNF, Coislin 303 (Devreesse 1945: 286–288 offers a detailed list of its contents).

At least one of the texts in question, the *Passion of the Sixty New Martyrs Who Were Martyred in the Holy City of Christ Our God* [i.e. in Jerusalem] *during the Tyranny of the Arabs* (BHG 1217), is presented as a translation by a certain monk Ioannes, from a (not preserved) "Syriac" original—the relevant term in the text is "συριστί" which has been usually interpreted to mean "Syriac" (Efthymiadis 2009, where also the earlier literature) but may also, as noted earlier, mean "Arabic."

The language of the lost prototype is not the only problem raised by this *Passion* that, as other texts in the Coislin collection (such as Leontios of Damascus's *Life of Stephanos Sabaites* [BHG 1670][5], Stephanos Sabaites's *Account, that is Passion, of the Holy Fathers Slaughtered by the Barbarians, Namely the Saracens, in the Great Lavra of Our Holy Father Sabas* [BHG 1200], and the *Passion of the Great Martyr Elias the Younger* [BHG 578–579[6]]), creates the memory of a heroic past of Christian perseverance and resistance in Jerusalem, Mar Saba, and Damascus under Muslim rule.[7] As has been demonstrated (Huxley 1977), the Greek *Passion* of the Sixty Neomartyrs and its lost original (whatever its language) rework an earlier story extant only in a Latin *Passio*, itself a translation from a Greek text that is no longer extant. We can imagine a similar recycling and

[5] For a discussion of this text, extant also in Arabic and Georgian, see Auzépy (1994); see also Lamoreaux (1999) with an edition of the Arabic translation of BHG 1670, dated to 902, by Yannah ibn Iṣṭifān ("John, son of Stephen") al-Fākhūrī at the Palestinian Lavra of Mar Saba. For Stephanos, see also PmbZ 6912.

[6] See further PmbZ 1485 and 4231 and McGrath (2003).

[7] For rich discussions and further references regarding the wider textual and cultural network of this memory creation, see Griffith (1998), Vila (1999), Flusin (2011a: 215–218), Detoraki (2014: 81–84), Sahner 2018, and Binggeli, Efthymiadis, and Métivier (2020).

an interlingual traffic (Greek-Syriac-Arabic, but also Latin, Georgian, and Coptic) affecting a larger number of texts and their underlying Christian stories (circulating also orally) in this period. The Coislin 303—a manuscript that still awaits a comprehensive study—could thus be the tip of an iceberg.[8]

We may mention, for instance, that a no longer extant Arabic original, dated to the eighth or ninth century and most likely written in Mar Saba, has been convincingly postulated (Peeters 1930; Blanchard 1994: 159–163; Griffith 1994) for the Georgian *Passion of Michael of Mar Saba*, a martyrdom account which was then incorporated into the much longer narrative of the Greek *Life* of Theodoros of Edessa (BHG 1744), a new composition in its Greek version and an understudied text. Michael is purported to be a Sabaite monk and a neo-martyr, whose death, ordered by the Arab Caliph *Adramelech* (echoing the name of ʿAbd al-Malik [r. 685–705]), is set in Jerusalem. In the Greek version, Michael is said to be the nephew and disciple of a legendary figure named Theodoros, who is essentially a literary "double" for Theodore Abū Qurra, mentioned earlier. This fictional Theodoros, whose life is placed by the Greek story in the first half of the ninth century, begins his career at the Lavra of Mar Saba, becomes bishop of Edessa in Syria, travels to Bagdad, and manages to befriend and convert the Arab Caliph *Mauias* (echoing the name of al-Maʾmūn [r. 813 – 833]?)—who later becomes a Christian martyr himself at the hands of his angered subjects. The *Life* is attributed to and narrated by an equally legendary narrator/author: Basileios, also a nephew of Theodoros, a monk of Mar Saba and then bishop of Emesa.[9] The *Life* was composed in Greek (as we would like to affirm) by Euthymios, called "the Iberian" in Greek and "the Hagiorites" in Georgian (Mtʿacʾmindeli) (c. 955/960–May 13, 1028; PmbZ 21960), in c. 1000 on Mount Athos, and was itself translated into Arabic by an unknown translator during the eleventh century, as well as into Georgian by Ephrem Mcʿire (i.e., *the Lesser*) in the late eleventh century, and, at least twice, in Slavic (again anonymously, preserved in mss. that date to the fourteenth–fifteenth centuries).[10]

The second wave of translations brings us to Antioch and its environs (especially the monastic communities of the Black Mountain—where, by the way, Ephrem Mcʿire was active; cf. Otkhmezuri 2020; also Tchkoidze and Glynias 2020) during the period of the Byzantine reconquest of northern Syria from 969 to 1084, when the Byzantine political

[8] For recent overviews of Christian Arabic literature in the eighth–tenth centuries in its interlingual contexts, see Binggeli (2015) and Pataridze (2019).

[9] Notably, all these characters are given entries in the PmbZ: 7683 (Theodoros), 5003 (Michael), and 891 and 950 (Basileios).

[10] We accept here the well-argued position of Datiashvili (1973), reinforced by Volk (2009: 81–86), that Euthymios is the author of the *Life* of Theodoros, and shall return to the issue in the near future as part of a joint project directed by Christian Høgel, Ingela Nilsson, and Stratis Papaioannou. For the history of the problem and further bibliography on the relationship between the *Life* and the *Passion*, see "Translations I: From Other Languages into Greek," Aleksidze, "Section IV. Georgian," in this volume; for alternative discussions, see Swanson (2003); Roggema (2009); Binggeli (2010); and Todt and Swanson (2010) (all with further bibliographies). For the Slavic versions, see Belobrova (1987) with Tvorogov (2008: 117–118).

rule ended, and also partly into the Crusader period during the twelfth century.[11] The sizable literary production of the region in this period has left its mark mostly on the history of Arabic and Georgian Christian literatures; yet Byzantine Greek (usually the source language of a very large number of translations) did not remain unaffected.

The text that stands out in this setting is the *Life of Ioannes Damaskenos* (PG 94: 429–489; BHG 884), a Greek biography based on an earlier "simple" Arabic version, as is claimed in the *Life* itself (section 39 = PG 94: 489: ἄλλου πεποιηκότος ὡς εἶχεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἀφελῶς ... διαλέκτῳ Ἀράβων καὶ γράμμασι κείμενον . . . μετέβαλον). The Greek version has been recently (Kontouma 2010) re-dated to c. 1000 and convincingly attributed to Ioannes Polites (996–1021; PmbZ 23167), deacon and *chartophylax* of Hagia Sophia, and then (Oct. 996–July 1021) Byzantine patriarch of Antioch. Based on its wide and diversified manuscript diffusion (c. 40 Byzantine and several more post-Byzantine mss.; *Mênologia*, some of them Metaphrastic, author-mss. with the works of Damaskenos, etc.), the *Life of Ioannes Damaskenos* is by far the most widely circulating Greek text of direct Arabic origins in Byzantium.

The original, "simple" (probably ninth-century) Arabic text has not been preserved—though a later Arabic reworking by Michael al-Simʿānī, dated to shortly after 1085, is preserved, itself translated into Georgian by Michael's contemporary Ephrem Mcʿire, who also used an additional, also lost, Greek version by a certain Samuel of Adana (see Treiger 2013 with Flusin 1989a). The Greek text, written in the spirit of Symeon Metaphrastes's contemporary hagiography, materializes the conscious attempt by the Constantinopolitan ruling (and learned) elite of the newly re-annexed Antioch to both appease the local Arab-speaking Melkites and advertise the, as it were, deeply Byzantine riches of Melkite Christians to the Constantinopolitan center (we follow here the interpretation of Kontouma 2010; cf. also Kontouma 2015; a new, critical edition of the *Life* remains a desideratum).

Another Melkite story, the *Life* of the Syrian stylite Timothy of Kakhushta, which was written originally in Arabic in the ninth or tenth century, was reused around the middle of the eleventh century, most probably at Antioch. The original Arabic *Life* was translated into Greek (a text that, however, has not been preserved) and from the Greek into Georgian, and also reworked in a new Arabic version (Lamoreaux and Cairala 2000).[12]

[11] For an overview of the history of the region in this period, see Todt and Vest (2014: 189–282); Ciggaar and Metcalf (2006); and Ciggaar and van Aalst (2013, 2018), with MacEvitt (2008) (for the Crusader period); for a seminal study on the refracted consequences of the Byzantine "reconquest" of northern Syria, see Dagron (2012a); for Antioch specifically, see also Kennedy (1992). For Nikon "ὁ Μαυροείτης," the major eleventh-century *Greek* writer of the Black Mountain, whose work was translated into Arabic as well as became popular in Slavonic, see Giagkos (1991) with "Translations II: Greek Texts into Other Languages," Treiger, "Section VI. Arabic," and Ivanov and Turilov, "Section VII. Slavic," in this volume.

[12] The fact that not only the *Life of Ioannes Damaskenos* and the *Life of Timothy the Stylite*, but also other, similar Christian Arabic texts, existed in two versions in Arabic, the later of which usually dates to the eleventh or twelfth century and revises the ninth- or tenth-century earlier version, hints to the likely influence of the contemporary Constantinopolitan Greek *metaphrastic* movement on Christian Arabic literature.

Somewhere between the two waves of translation, first in Melkite monasteries in Palestine and then in and around Byzantine Antioch, we may also place stories about a relatively small number of neo-martyrs, who suffered under the Arab Muslims during the eighth and tenth centuries and are known only through entries in the Greek *Synaxarion of the Great Church of Constantinople* (cf. Figure 21.1 in Chapter 21 of this volume) in its various versions from the mid-tenth to the twelfth century; for instance, Saint Dounale-Stephanos, whose life unfolds in the mid-tenth century (BHG 2110) (for a full list and discussion, see Flusin 2011b). Some of these stories, we would like to propose, may originate in Arabic Christian storytelling, which at some point was transferred also into Greek.

"Arabic" Storytelling in Greek

An avid appetite for a discursive and literary culture of their own characterized the Arabic-speaking urban elite, which arose from the Arab conquests. This appetite initiated a significant translation movement into Arabic, often driven by Persian, Syrian, and Greek newcomers to both Arabic and Islam (Bosworth 1983; Goodman 1983; also Bray 2010). "Oriental" (in particular Indian and Persian) storytelling occupied a significant part in this process of appropriation; and much of such narrative material was then introduced into various Mediterranean and European literatures by a variety of means and avenues of transference—not always retraceable or recognizable today. The Byzantine Greek literary tradition, too, was enriched by this new, "Arabic" or, better, *Arabicized* stock of old tales—just as other aspects of Byzantine culture (see, e.g., Walker 2012) were influenced by the new neighbors.

The Byzantine Greek works in question are four: *Barlaam and Ioasaph (B&I)*, *Stephanites and Ichnelates (S&I)*, *Syntipas*, and, in a more refracted fashion, *Digenes Akrites (DI)*. Since their history and related scholarship have been excellently reviewed recently (*B&I*: Volk 2016; *S&I*: Krönung 2016b; *Syntipas*: Krönung 2016a, Toth 2016, and Beneker and Gibson 2021; *DI*: Jouanno 2016 and Ott 2016), we shall limit ourselves to highlighting key facts (based on the current scholarly consensus) and drawing attention to issues that these works raise regarding translation and the Byzantine literary tradition.

Barlaam and Ioasaph

Chronologically, the first intrusion of "oriental" narratives into Greek, mediated through Arabic (*and* Georgian, in this case), pertained to stories related to the life of Buddha. Undressed of their Buddhist doctrines (such as that of the reincarnation) and having Buddha, their main character, bifurcated into two separate persons—a young prince (*Būdāsf*) turned into an ascetic, and his instructor and spiritual father (*Bilawhar*)—these

stories entered Arabic literature (from Middle Persian) in the late eighth century/early ninth century. The most significant Arabic recounting took the form of a work titled *Book of Bilawhar and Būdāsf* (*Kitāb Bilawhar wa Būḏāsf*; Gimaret 1971, 1972), which had a notable afterlife in Arabic as well as in Hebrew and, what interests us here, in Georgian and then Greek.

The Georgian version, titled *Life and Acts of the Blessed Iodasap῾, son of Abenes, King of the Indians, Whom the Blessed Father Balahvar the Teacher Converted* (Abuladze 1957; Lang 1966; Mahé and Mahé 1993),[13] is dated to the ninth century and is preserved in a single, eleventh-century manuscript (Volk 2016: 414). This version was the first to Christianize the story, turning the prince *Iodasap῾* and his master *Balahvar* into saints, who manage to convert (back) to Christianity the entire kingdom of India. It is this text that was then translated and at the same time extensively revised and greatly expanded into Greek by Euthymios the Iberian (whom we have already encountered), again in c. 1000 on Mount Athos (Volk 2006, 2009; see further Høgel 2019 and Aleksidze, "Section IV. Georgian," the next section in this chapter, for the history of the scholarship on the relation between the Georgian and the Greek version).[14]

Euthymios' text is usually referred to in scholarship Greek as *Barlaam and Ioasaph* (BHG 224 and 224a; CPG 8120). In Byzantine references, the work is sometimes called simply *Barlaam*, while the title transmitted by the majority of the manuscripts reads as follows (with small variations): *Beneficial Tale Brought from the Inner Land of the Ethiopians, the One Called Land of the Indians, to the Holy City by Ioannes, a Monk in the Monastery of St. Sabas* (*Ἱστορία ψυχωφελὴς ἐκ τῆς ἐνδοτέρας τῶν Αἰθιόπων χώρας, τῆς Ἰνδῶν λεγομένης, πρὸς τὴν Ἁγίαν Πόλιν μετενεχθεῖσα διὰ Ἰωάννου μοναχοῦ μονῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Σάβα*)(cf. Figure 9.2 in Chapter 9 of this volume). This common title masked Euthymios' authorship, rendered the text essentially anonymous, and created a fictitious mediator, Ioannes a monk of Mar Saba[15] (cf. Papaioannou, "Authors," Chapter 20 in this volume). Whatever the complications and refractions of the Greek text's authorship, the story itself, in its new, Byzantine guise, materialized, as we would like to argue, a Byzantine fantasy: the possibility that an entire, non-believing, and foreign (and, at that, "oriental") nation, from its king to its very last subject, could become Christian and thus, in a sense, *Byzantine*. This was a fantasy that must have carried significant appeal among some Byzantine audiences, coming to terms with the Arabs and subsequent non-Christian conquerors.

[13] The text is usually referred to by its modern title *Balavariani*; cf. Volk (2016: 413).

[14] We should not discard the possibility that Euthymios, a Georgian raised as a Greek speaker in Constantinople, and a most experienced translator from (mainly Greek into Georgian), had a collaborator or collaborators in creating the Greek version of *Barlaam and Ioasaph* (cf. Volk 2016: 421). Nevertheless, Euthymios's unparalleled familiarity with the Byzantine literary tradition and its canonical authors (*because* of his translations) do not necessitate the existence of collaboration in writing either *Barlaam and Ioasaph* or, for that matter, the *Life of Theodoros of Edessa*, mentioned earlier.

[15] His name may remind one of the "monk Ioannes," the purported author of the *Passion* of the Sixty Neomartyrs in Jerusalem (BHG 1217), discussed previously.

Moreover, *Barlaam and Ioasaph* introduced into Greek, for the first time as far as we can tell, not only the main scenario of Buddha's (i.e., Ioasaph's) process of enlightenment, but also a series of shorter fables/tales of (mainly) Indian origin in their Arabic retellings (Lienhard 2003a and 2003b). An eloquent example of these is the story of a man who, persecuted by a unicorn, falls into a pit, a tale that had its own afterlife also in Byzantine visual arts (Toumpouri 2012).[16]

The Greek *Barlaam and Ioasaph*, we should note, became a true bestseller and thus the most important link in the long chain of the westward transmission of Buddha's life and related storytelling material. *Barlaam and Ioasaph* survives:

- in five redactions (Volk's edition follows closely redaction *a*, a revised redaction, prepared while Euthymios was still alive, of the more widely circulating redaction *c*);
- in 221 manuscripts, with the whole or part of the text (Volk 2009: 240–495 with Volk 2016: 414–415); some of these mss. are illustrated (Toumpouri 2017; one of them, Athos, Iveron 463, produced in Constantinople c. 1075, and copied by a monk called Konstantinos [RGK III 371], belongs probably to the environment of the imperial court).[17]

Versions of the Greek text were also translated into (Volk 2009: 495–515):

(1) Latin (BHL 979b), in Constantinople in 1048, a version that later exerted much influence in western Europe;
(2) Christian Arabic (BHO 143), also during the eleventh century;
(3) Armenian (BHO 141), in the eleventh/twelfth century;
(4) Old Russian, during the first half of the twelfth century;
(5) again Latin (BHL 879), in the last third of the twelfth century;
(6) Old French, in the thirteenth century (see also Cupane, "Section V. Neo-Latin Languages," in this chapter); and
(7) Old Serbian, in the thirteenth/fourteenth century (see also "Translations II: Greek Texts into Other Languages," Ivanov and Turilov, "Section VII. Slavic," in this volume).

Stephanites and Ichnelates

A similar trajectory, from Sanskrit to Middle Persian to Arabic, and from Arabic into other medieval languages, including Greek, is witnessed in the dissemination of a no longer preserved version of the Indian *Pañcatantra*, a collection of mostly animal

[16] For this story, see also Krönung (2016b: 437) with de Blois (1990: 34–37).
[17] See also Papaioannou (2021) for the *Synaxarion* entries of Saints Barlaam and Ioasaph.

fables whose theme is the relation between a ruler and his subjects and which, through its Arabic version, became extremely popular internationally. The Arabic version, the *Kalīla wa Dimna*,[18] created by ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Muqaffaʿ (720–759), a Persian at the ʿAbbāsid court of ʿal-Manṣūr (caliph: 754–775), formed the basis for several later reworkings in Arabic itself (preserved Arabic mss. date to the thirteenth-century onward) and also translations in virtually every "oriental" and "European" language—with a rich history of illustrated manuscripts that offer (together with illustrated copies of the *Physiologos* and the later Latin *Bestiaries*) a veritable cartography of the medieval imagination of the animal world.[19]

Unlike *Bilawhar and Būdāsf*, mediated into Greek through Georgian, the *Kalīla wa Dimna* was translated or, better said, rewritten into Greek directly from some Arabic version, on four different occasions, all involving a new engagement with the Arabic prototype, and it attained some popularity (the various Greek versions are preserved in a total of 44 manuscripts, half of them Byzantine in date). Here is a list of the main recensions (following Krönung 2016b; cf. Sjöberg 1962: 7–149 and Niehoff-Panagiotidis 2003: *passim*):

(1) The earliest version, without title, contains only three fragmentary (but illustrated) chapters of *Kalīla wa Dimna* (Husselman 1939); its authorship and context of creation remain unknown. It is preserved in a manuscript of the late tenth/early eleventh century, written by four anonymous scribes, all in the writing tradition of the so-called School of Neilos (namely Saint Neilos of Rossano [c. 910–1004; PmbZ 25503], the notorious Calabrian monk, calligrapher, author, and founder of the monastery of Grottaferrata in 1004): New York,

Pierpont Morgan Library & Museum, MS M.397 (originally from Grottaferrata = Crypt.A.33; for a description of the ms., see Kavrus-Hoffmann 2008: 101–112; and Avery 1941 and Aletta 2000 for the illustrations; cf. also Lucà 2019).

(2) The second (a new) version, titled *The Story of Stephanites and Ichnelates* (*Τὰ κατὰ Στεφανίτην καὶ Ἰχνηλάτην*, ed. Sjöberg 1962) was produced by the *magistros* and *philosophos* Symeon Seth, a scholar born in Antioch (or, perhaps, Alexandria), active at the courts of Michael VII Doukas (1071–1078; cf. Figure 16.4 in Chapter 16 of this volume) and Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118), as professional astrologer and doctor, and mostly known for his medical treatises that partly translate related Arabic texts—the time of his birth is unknown, while he must have died soon after 1112 (for his biography, see Bouras-Vallianatos 2015; also Magdalino 2006: 99–104).

This version offers a shortened (eight chaps. or "books," as they are called in Greek; the eighth appears in a truncated form), partly Christianized and

[18] No critical edition of the full work exists; for specific redactions, see Cheikho (1923) and Azzām (1941).

[19] For an overview of the medieval history of *Kalīla wa Dimna*, see Kinoshita (2008). For the illustrations of the *Physiologos*, see Lazaris (2017: 82–84); for the medieval tradition of *Bestiaries*, see Morrison (2019).

thoroughly Byzantinized—as far as style is concerned—rendition of the original Arabic work (cf. Condylis-Bassoukos 1997).

(3) A third version (Sjöberg's Bδ) was made by "probably a scholar from Constantinople during the first half of the 12th century" (Krönung 2016b: 455). It was based on Seth's redaction, adding two additional "books" (and completing the truncated one), and was itself translated into Old Church Slavonic around 1200 (Likhacheva and Lourie 1969).

(4) Finally, around 1200, a new version was prepared by or for the "Ἀμηρᾶς" Eugenios of Palermo (c. 1130–c. 1203), a translator from Greek (his native tongue) and Arabic into Latin (Haskins 1924: 155–193), and a man with an illustrious career at the Norman and, then, Hohenstaufen court of Sicily—he was "admiral," an honorific title, since 1190 (for Eugenios, see Cupane 2013). This version (Sjöberg's Bε; the text is available in Puntoni 1889; see also Lauxtermann 2018) also stemmed from Seth's redaction, which it complemented with three prefaces as well as additional "books," based on the original Arabic work. A Latin translation (Hilka 1928), made in Sicily, perhaps as early as the first half of the thirteenth century, originated from Eugenios's version.

The fate of *Kalīla wa Dimna* in Greek adds, next to Syro-Palestine and Constantinople, a significant third location to the geography of *arabo-graeca*: southern Italy (including Sicily). The Grottaferrata manuscript of c. 1000 and then the Eugenian recension some two hundred years later points to the continued osmosis of Greek and Arabic (and, of course, Latin) in a region with a long and complex history of co-presence of these three linguistic traditions.[20] This co-presence was the result not only of the Arabic rule of Sicily over the course of the ninth through the eleventh centuries, but also of the arrival in Italy of Christian refugees from Syro-Palestine from the seventh century onward, and the continued existence of a triangle of mutual interaction (also on a cultural level) between Syro-Palestine, Italy, and Constantinople (and its monastic "protectorate," Mount Athos) with ever-shifting ideological centers and strongholds, whose comprehensive history from the perspective of the Byzantine literary tradition has not yet been written.

At that, the Morgan ms. dated to c. 1000 with the truncated Greek *Kalīla wa Dimna* raises a series of issues. Are we, for instance, dealing with a translation made in southern Italy, or one imported from Constantinople or Syro-Palestine? The full contents of the manuscript are also intriguing: *Fables* from the *Kalīla wa Dimna*, *Physiologos* (Offermanns 1966), *Life of Aesop* (Vita G; illustrated), *Aesop's Fables* (with blank spaces for illustrations that were never executed), *Babrius' Fables*, and the *Philogelos*, ascribed to Hierokles and Philagrios. Not only does the manuscript contain unique and important recensions of almost all the specific texts, it also suggests a thematic unity between them that we need to take seriously into consideration. Are we dealing with a collection that addresses the needs of education and/or the demands of a "lay" Greek-speaking

[20] For a discussion of the post-1000 history of multilingualism in Sicily, see Grévin (2013).

audience in a multilingual and competitive environment? Or can we discern also Constantinopolitan tastes, which are unpronounced in manuscripts linked directly with the Byzantine capital?

Syntipas

The *Syntipas*, a story of titillating deception and moralizing wisdom, shared by a capacious and androcentric company—the king Cyrus, one of his seven wives (a "wicked and shameless" woman), his son (whom Cyrus's wife tries to seduce), Cyrus's advisors, namely seven wise men or *philosophoi* at the court, and the *philosophos* or *didaskalos* Syntipas, the prince's tutor—returns us to northern Syria in the late eleventh century. There again, a story popular in Arabic contexts was translated into Greek. It is a narrative that, like *Barlaam and Ioasaph*, thematizes the relation of a son with his father (along with his "double," the *teacher/philosopher*) and adds, among other things, a great deal of misogynistic lore (some of which was shared with the better known Arabic *Thousand and One Nights*) to an already robust tradition of similar storytelling in Greek. It furthermore shares with *Barlaam and Ioasaph*, as well as with *Stephanites and Ichnelates*, the narrative technique of short narratives encased by a single, framing story (again best exemplified in the related *Thousand and One Nights*).

The cross-linguistic trajectory of the *The Book of Sindbad* or *The Seven Viziers*, as it is known in Arabic, is similar to the ones already encountered. The following list follows Krönung (2016a) and Toth (2016) (cf. also Perry 1959 and Belcher 1987), and focuses on the prehistory and history of the Greek version only—an asterisk precedes a version no longer preserved as such:

* A Middle Persian "original" (sixth–seventh century), which recycled earlier material, of both Indian and Hellenistic origins, including the Greek *Life of the Philosopher Secundus* (on which, cf. Ronconi 2010) and storytelling related to the Near Eastern *Tale of Ahiqar* (on which, cf. Conybeare, Harris, and Lewis 1913 and Konstantakos 2013).

> * Amplified Arabic versions (eighth/ninth century), some of them related to the *Thousand and One Nights* and the less known *Hundred and One Nights,* as evident by later manuscripts (Ott 2012 and Krönung 2016a: 372–377)—one of the ninth-century versions was possibly by the Persian scholar Mūsā b. ʿĪsā al-Kisrawī (d. 874/875), who is thought to lie behind the name "Μοῦσος ὁ Πέρσης" of the Greek *Syntipas*.

> * A Syriac version (ninth–eleventh century), indirectly preserved in a later, sixteenth-century fragmented version (cf. Nöldeke 1879).

> A Greek translation of the lost Syriac(?) version, made by the *grammatikos* Michael Andreopoulos, commissioned by Gabriel, the Armenian *doux* of Melitene.[21]

[21] On the history of Melitene (modern-day Malatya) in Eastern Anatolia, see Vest (2007); on Gabriel, see, e.g., MacEvitt (2008: 42 and 76–77). Though Syriac was spoken in Melitene as well as, more widely, in Syro-Palestine in this period, Greek and, primarily, Arabic were certainly more common, especially

His text, dated to the 1090s, carries the title *The Book of Syntipas the Philosopher* (Jernstedt and Nikitin 1912; also Maltese 1993, Conca 2004, and now Beneker and Gibson 2021), and is accompanied by a collection of sixty-two fables (also translated by Andreopoulos; ed. Perry 1952). It is preserved in five manuscripts, the earliest of which date to c. 1250–1400 and derive from the empire of Trebizond—there are thus no traces of the text reaching a Constantinopolitan audience contemporaneously with the time of its creation.

> A second, anonymous, and more widely diffused (Kechagioglou 1982) Greek version, based on that of Andreopoulos (ed. also in Jernstedt and Nikitin 1912; a new edition remains a desideratum). This version, produced at least a century later than that of Andreopoulos, is a rewriting in somewhat simpler diction, and with minor revisions.

> Several post-Byzantine and widely circulating (also in print form) Greek redactions and their translations into Romanian, Bulgarian, and Serbian.

The three earliest manuscripts of Andreopoulos's *Syntipas* deserve here a minor excursus, since they bring to the foreground another, a late Byzantine location (this time east of Constantinople), that is important for the history of Byzantine "inter-culturality" as well as the transmission history of not only *Syntipas* but also *Stephanites and Ichnelates* and those texts—especially in the tradition of biographic, fable, and *gnomic* literature—together with which "oriental" storytelling was read by some Greek-speaking audiences. This location is the court of the Grand Komnenoi of the empire of Trebizond in the thirteenth and, especially, fourteenth centuries (Karpov 2011). It is there that we encounter Gregorios Chioniades (d. c. 1320; PLP 30814), a notable scholar and an important figure in the late Byzantine history of translations from Persian-Arabic scientific texts into Greek (Pingree 1964 and Westerink 1980; for the context, Mavroudi 2006 and also Pérez Martín 2020). From Trebizond, its Komnenos court, and its environs, also a significant series of manuscripts has been preserved (Stefec 2014); among them, we find the three *Syntipas* manuscripts—two of which contain *Stephanites and Ichnelates* as well, and one of them is an autograph of Andreas Libadenos (d. after 1361; PLP 14864), another seminal Constantinopolitan scholar with a career at the court of Trebizond—and we also encounter: (a) a luxurious, illustrated (partly by Georgian-speaking artists) copy of a version of the *Alexander Romance,* a narrative with a very rich cross-linguistic medieval history of its own (including several Arabic versions; Doufikar-Aerts 2016: 200–206; cf. Jouanno 2002; Zuwiyya 2011; Stoneman, Erickson, and Netton 2012); and (b) another

among Melkites, i.e., Chalcedonian, Christians (cf. MacEvitt 2008: 8–10 and 102–104 with Pahlitzsh 2001 and 2006 on Palestine). At that, the possibility is not entirely to be discarded (we might note), that an Arabic version, to which also the lost prototype of the later preserved Syriac version could have been related, was the master copy for the Greek rendition—if again (cf. previous discussion of the *Passion* of the Sixty Neomartyrs) we interpret the adjective "συρικός" in the phrases "συρικοῖς τοῖς λόγοις" and "τῆς συρικῆς βίβλου," in (respectively) the prefatory epigram and the title of Andreopoulos's version, to mean "Arabic" and not "Syriac." A new, language-based study of the extant Greek, Syriac, and Arabic versions might solve the problem.

unique and lavishly illustrated booklet, an amulet roll with Christian ritual texts in Greek as well as in Arabic (for these 5 mss., their main contents, and further bibliography, see the Appendix that follows).

Digenes Akrites

One last tale should be briefly mentioned here, though it does not have a definite place in the context of Arabo-Greek translations, if the latter are narrowly defined. We are referring to a story known as *Digenes Akrites or* simply *Digenes*, that tells of the exploits, some more fantastic than others, of a Byzantine frontier-man, who is the son of an Arab emir and a Byzantine κόρη. The *Digenes* may originally have had also a diffusion by means of oral storytelling, and its first written composition is usually assumed to date to the twelfth century. In any case, in its preserved textual form, the *Digenes* survives in three redactions (the third of which in four versions), transmitted in six manuscripts, the earliest of which dates to c. 1300 (all the relevant bibliography and editions in Jouanno 2016; see also the important discussion in Agapitos 2012: 267–271).

The reasons for the inclusion here of *Digenes Akrites* are two. First, its fictional refashioning of Byzantium's southeastern borderland allows us to broach at least one example from the long line of Byzantine Greek texts (literary and non-literary) that treat or touch upon the encounter of the Byzantines with their Arab neighbors: from miracle-tales about Saint George the Great Martyr (cf. Figure 16.5 in Chapter 16 of this volume), that most popular Byzantine saint of the middle and late period (Papaconstantinou 2011), to Euthymios the Iberian's *Life of Theodoros of Edessa* (BHG 1744), to Byzantine polemics against Islam (Khoury 1972, 1982). Second, as has been suggested (Ott 2000, 2016[22]), the preserved textual versions of *Digenes* contain a number of Arabisms and storylines that may have been inspired directly from Arabic epics, circulating in northern Syria over the course of the tenth through the twelfth centuries.

Whatever the real connection to Arabic literature, *Digenes Akrites*, in its mixture of strict, "common-sense" morality (often expressed in a *gnomic* fashion; cf. Odorico 1989) with the occasional representation of raw sexuality, sits well within the kind of literary world, with its narrative strictures and freedoms, that the Byzantine audiences projected upon "Arabic" storytelling.

Suggestions for Further Reading

Apart from the bibliography mentioned previously, we might direct the reader to a series of recent volumes where Christian-Muslim relations and various topics, authors,

[22] From the earlier bibliography, we may single out Canard (1973) (various articles) and Huxley (1974).

and texts also of Christian *arabo-graeca* are treated: Thomas (2007); Thomas and Roggema (2009); Thomas and Mallett (2010); Thomas and Roggema (2011); Thomas and Mallett (2012, 2013); Noble and Treiger (2014); Gutas, Schmidtke, and Treiger (2015); and Thomas (2018); useful bibliographies are available also here: http://syri.ac/christianarabic.

Regarding the transference of Arabic storytelling into Greek, the reader may still benefit by the (partly outdated) relevant chapters in Beck (1971 = 1988).

Finally, for a general introduction (in English) to the history of medieval Arabic literature, see the following volumes: Beeston et al. (1983); Ashtiany et al. (1990); Young, Latham, and Serjeant (1990); Menocal, Scheindlin, and Sells (2000); and Allen and Richards (2006). More daring readers may turn to the seventeen volumes of Sezgin (1967–2015).

APPENDIX

A concise, but uncommented list of the main contents of the five Trebizond manuscripts mentioned earlier:

1) Moscow, GIM, Sinod. gr. 298 (Vlad. 436), thirteenth century, second half (Fonkič 1991), two units (for the contents, see also Roueché 2009: 134–137 and Hinterberger 2005):
   (A) Recension β of the *Alexander Romance* (Papamichael 1981a); *Sayings of Various Philosophers and Alexander the Great* (Papamichael 1981b); *Stratêgikon* of Kekaumenos (the Moscow ms. is the only testimony of this important eleventh-century work[23]); the *Fables* of Syntipas; *Gnômai of Secundus* (the ms. was not used in the edition of Perry); *Syntipas*; Bartholomaios of Edessa (twelfth century), *Refutation of an Agarene* (Todt 1988 with Flusin 1989b); several texts against the Armenians; *Discourse on the Franks and the Rest of the Latins*, often attributed to Photios;
   (B) Symeon Seth's *Stephanites and Ichnelates*; *Life of Aesop*; *Aesop's Fables* and *Sayings* (the latter preserved only in this and in the following ms.); the *Fables* of Syntipas once more; and the *Physiologos* (second recension).
2) Munich, BSB, gr. 525, personal collection and autograph of Andreas Libadenos (d. after 1361; PLP 14864), a Constantinopolitan with a career at the court of Trebizond (for the contents, see Lampsides 1975: 11–38 and discussion in Hinterberger 2005): *Life of Aesop*; *Aesop's Fables* and *Sayings*; the *Fables* of Syntipas; Symeon Seth's *Stephanites and Ichnelates*; *Syntipas*; Libadenos's autobiography and other texts (primarily hymns and poems); Moschus's *Europa*; a collection of proverbs; excerpts from medical works.
3) Vatican, BAV, Vat. gr. 335, fourteenth century (Devreesse 1937: 6–7): Old Testament books (*Esther*, *Tobit*, *Judith*, and parts of the *Book of Daniel*); *Syntipas*; Dorotheos of Gaza; Ps.-Chrysostom, *On the Holy Spirit*; Maximos Planoudes, *On Christ's Sepulcher and the Lament of the Theotokos*.
4) Venice, Αρχείο του Ελληνικού Ινστιτούτου Βενετίας, 5, a lavishly illustrated copy of recension γ of the *Alexander Romance* (250 illustrations; most recent discussion and bibliography

[23] Cf. Pérez Martín, "Modes of Manuscript Transmission," Chapter 23 in this volume.

in Trahoulia 2017), probably for the emperor of Trebizond Alexios III Komnenos (1349–1390; PLP 12083). Notably, among the illustrators were Georgian-speaking artists, as the Georgian inscription of certain captions suggests.

5) Chicago, University of Chicago Library, MS 125 and New York, Pierpont Morgan Library & Museum, MS M.499 (Kavrus-Hoffmann 2008: 125–140 with Peers 2018), an illustrated amulet roll (a little more than 5 meters in length), also probably for Alexios III Komnenos; contents:

(A, Obverse side) passages from the Gospels, the Nicene Creed, Psalms, the Epistle of the Abgar legend, and verses for eleven saints from the metrical calendars of Christophoros Mytilenaios;

(B, Reverse side) designs and prayers in Arabic.

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SECTION IV GEORGIAN

NIKOLOZ ALEKSIDZE

The practice of translating from Georgian into Greek or rather of utilizing Georgian as an intermediary language between Greek and other languages was a rare, albeit not unexpected, development. The considerable presence of Georgian monks in Byzantine and Near Eastern (often multilingual) monastic environments throughout Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages contributed to the usage of Georgian as a source for texts otherwise absent in the Greek tradition. In this context, Georgians, who were often bilingual or even trilingual and possessed considerable fluency in Arabic and Greek, acted as mediators, particularly in monasteries such as the Lavra of Mar Saba in Palestine or, from the late tenth century onward, on Mount Athos, and a century later in the monasteries in the environs of Antioch.

Although perhaps in the future, with the accumulation of textual data, more Byzantine texts may appear as having passed through a Georgian intermediary, we are currently aware of only two instances where the Greek recensions, as we currently know them, derived from a Georgian text. The translation of both of these is attributed to the abbot of the Iveron Monastery on Mount Athos, Euthymios "the Iberian" or "the Hagiorites" (c. 955/960–May 13, 1028; PmbZ 21960), possibly the most prolific translator of Byzantine literature into Georgian. Translations from Georgian into Greek by the same author are not surprising, considering that Greek was Euthymios's first "learned" language, as he had left Georgia at an early age and had learned literary Georgian only as an adult.

Georgios III Hagiorites's (c. 1009–1065; PmbZ 22259) *Life of John and Euthymios the Hagiorites* provides invaluable information on Euthymios's literary activity, including his writings in Greek. For example, Georgios claims that Euthymios composed a set of rules on solitary monastic life in Greek for Greek-speaking monks. Elsewhere, while praising Euthymios's literary works, and in particular his elaborate and extensive translations from Greek into Georgian, Georgios remarks: "the sweetness of his translations reaches the land not only of Georgia but also of Greece, because he translated *Balahvari* and *Abukura* and several other books from Georgian into Greek" (Grdzelidze 2009: 55). This passage was largely ignored as lacking any particular historic value (Tarchnišvili with Assfalg 1955 = Kekelidze 1955: 129–130), an unjustified view since by the *Balahvari* Georgios referred to *Barlaam and Ioasaph*, whereas *Abukura* is not a title for the works by Theodore Abū Qurra (c. 740/750–829; PmbZ 7627), as suggested earlier (Lang 1955), but rather a reference to the *Passion of Michael of Mar Saba* (Garitte 1958).

The *Balavariani*

Barlaam and Ioasaph is known in two versions in Georgian, conventionally referred to as the longer and shorter redactions (Tarkhnishvili 1958). The longer redaction, known by its modern title as *Balavariani*,[1] is dated to the ninth century and is preserved in Jerusalem, Patriarchal Library, Iber. 140, a late eleventh-century manuscript from Jerusalem (Chelidze 2007). Nikolaj Marr and later Paul Peeters (1931) established that this redaction was directly translated from the Arabic *Book of Bilawhar and Būdāsf* sometime in the ninth century. As for the place of translation, the likely candidate is one of the monasteries in Palestine with considerable Georgian presence, perhaps even Mar Saba (Volk 2009: 99). Nowadays the *Balavariani*, or the Jerusalem redaction, is considered as the first surviving Christian version of the *Tale* and as the source for all other versions, whether in Georgian or in Greek (Lang 1957a: 42–43). The second and shorter version is normally referred to as the *Wisdom of Balahvar* and is dated to the early eleventh century (Abuladze 1957: 10–19). The shorter version proved more popular: it survived in eight relatively late manuscripts dated from the thirteenth to the nineteenth century (Volk 2009: 55) and was versified as attested in a single nineteenth-century manuscript, Gori 66 (Gabidzashvili 2004: 151).

Understandably, the study of the Greek version of the *Edifying Tale* has had a longer history than that of its Georgian prototype. The so-called Georgian theory did not gain currency until the mid-twentieth century. Traditionally, the creation of *Barlaam and Ioasaph* was dated well before the tenth century and was attributed to Ioannes Damaskenos, mainly because of the interpolations of passages from his various works and of the attributions to his person in some later titles. Although Damaskenos's authorship was not entirely dismissed (Dölger 1953; Kazhdan 1988; Aerts 1993), the theory of his authorship was challenged sufficiently early, as the early manuscripts of the *Tale* and its close textual analysis did not suggest him as the author; after the publications by Peeters and Lang, the Georgian theory gained more currency (Peeters 1931; Lang 1955, 1957b, 1966, 1971; Khintibidze 1977). As a result, instead of the problem of authorship, the new question that has emerged centers on the history of the transmission of this Buddhist tale through the Muslim world to western European literatures (on this, see Lopez and McCracken 2014; cf. also Basso 2019).

It was Peeters's Latin translation and publication of the Greek version that initiated a new stage in the study of the text. Here, for the first time, it was pointed out that the Greek *Barlaam and Ioasaph* (BHG 224 and 224a; CPG 8120) must have been translated from the Georgian *Balavariani* by the late tenth or early eleventh centuries (Peeters 1931). Both external and internal evidence supports this theory. Four testimonies have been pointed out that attribute the Greek version to Euthymios, the abbot of Iveron: apart from Georgios

[1] The medieval title reads *Life and acts of the blessed Iodasap', son of Abenes, king of the Indians, whom the blessed father Balahvar the teacher converted*.

Hagiorites's remark mentioned earlier, there exists a Latin translation, dated to 1048 (BHL 979b), which lists Euthymios as the author of the Greek text (Volk 2009: 32–33); a twelfth/thirteenth-century Greek manuscript (Venice, BN, Marc. gr. VII, 26) equally claims that the text derived from the pen of Euthymios, the Iberian monk (Volk 2009: 26, 51–53, 91–92, and 476–482); and finally, a Greek manuscript dated to the second half of the fourteenth century (Paris, BNF, gr. 1771), with an independent history, has a similar lemma naming Euthymios as the author (Volk 1993–1994: 459–460; Volk 2009: 91–92 and 421–424). In addition, Peeters pointed out that up until the eleventh century there had been no evidence in the Greek corpus of knowledge of such a text, whereas the Georgian *Balavariani*, together with the cult of Saint Iodasapʿ, existed in Georgia well before the Greek text appeared (Peeters 1931: 338). Besides, as Peeters rightly argues, the Greek version reveals interpolations from sources that are sufficiently late themselves.

As for the internal evidence, a comparative study of the Georgian and Greek versions indicates Georgian as the intermediary between the Arabic and the Greek. Almost all textual variances between the Georgian and Arabic are also attested in the Greek version. That is to say, in every instance, where the Arabic and the Georgian versions diverge, the Greek version follows the Georgian. Thus, the ending of the Greek version follows the Georgian model, which is substantially different from the Arabic prototype. Apart from other philological arguments, several mistakes in the Greek version can be understood only as misunderstandings of Georgian glosses. Finally, the names of the characters in the Greek version also follow the Georgian pattern (Khintibidze 1996: 246; Rayfield 2010: 72). Ilia Abuladze pointed out that the most striking stylistic difference between the Georgian and the Greek versions of the *Balavariani* is that the Greek version distracts the attention of the reader from the actual fables by inserting a plethora of Scriptural quotations, as well as quotations from Ioannes Damaskenos, the *Apology of Aristides*, and many other texts, while several parables that are present in the *Balavariani* are absent from the *Barlaam and Ioasaph* (Abuladze and Lang 1966). Robert Volk pointed out a large number of further stylistic and rhetorical differences between the *Balavariani* and the Greek translation, which he rightly attributed to Euthymios's conscious literary strategy (Volk 2009: 101–115). Following a close textual analysis, Volk concluded that the Greek *Barlaam and Ioasaph* is not a direct translation of the *Balavariani* but rather a separate redaction created by Euthymios. The Greek version also differs from the *Balavariani* in several other important instances, e.g., the Greek text is expanded by quotations from other texts, especially from the *Lives* in the recently composed *Mênologion* of Symeon Metaphrastes (for the complex relationship between Euthymios's *Barlaam and Ioasaph* and the Metaphrastes, see Grossman 2009 and Høgel 2019).

As noted earlier, a further argument in support of the Georgian theory is that the cult of Iodasapʿ/Ioasaph is attested in Georgia considerably earlier than in Byzantium. The *Synaxarion* (1042–1044) of Georgios Hagiorites mentions Saint Iodasapʿ on May 19, whereas in the Byzantine calendar Saints Barlaam and Ioasaph appear considerably later, in *Synaxarion* of the twelfth century and onward (Papaioannou 2021). The earliest Georgian hymn to Iodasapʿ was created by the end of the tenth

century according to the longer version of the *Balavariani*, which became the source for the Iodasapʿ hymn later composed by Georgios Hagiorites and incorporated in his *Mênaion*. Georgios listed this hymn as "Georgian," as opposed to Greek hymns dedicated to the "Greek" saints (Jghamaia 1961: 33).

The "Abukura": *Passion of Michael of Mar Saba*

The "Abukura" was long considered as a reference to Theodore Abū Qurra's theological treatises, a corpus that was widely circulated and transmitted in medieval Georgia. Another rather short-lived hypothesis suggested that the word was a corrupted form of "Apocrypha" (Tarchnišvili with Assfalg 1955 = Kekelidze 1955: 129). As has been shown, however, Georgios was actually referring to the *Passion of Michael of Mar Saba*, a text which, incidentally, is the only source that lists Theodore Abū Qurra as a Sabaitic monk (Volk 2009: 81–82). The reason *Abukura* appeared as the title of the work can be explained by the introduction of the *Passion*. There it is said that on their way back from a procession for the feast of the Annunciation, the alleged narrator, Basileios of Emesa, and the entire delegation passed by the hermitage of the theologian Theodore Abū Qurra and asked him to recount to them an edifying story; this is essentially where the story of Michael takes off.

The Georgian *Passion of Michael of Mar Saba* (edition: Kekelidze 1918, on one of the preserving ms.; English translation: Blanchard 1994) has survived in two manuscripts: in a tenth-century manuscript kept in the Iveron Monastery (Ivir. geo-8) and preserved in the so-called *Athos Mravaltaʿvi* collection, and in an eleventh-century collection in the Bodleian Library (Ms. georg. b. 1). Syntactic constructions, mannerisms, the spelling of proper names, and other details indicate that the Georgian version derived from a now lost Arabic prototype and was probably translated near the end of the ninth century (Peeters 1930; Blanchard 1994: 159–163).

While the provenance of the Georgian version is more securely established, the question of whether the Georgian version was the source of the Greek translation is still open. The *Passion of Michael* does not exist as a separate work in Greek. It was incorporated, rather awkwardly, into the *Life of Theodoros of Edessa* (BHG 1744) (Vasiliev 1942–1943). Are Euthymios's Greek "Abukura," mentioned in the *Life of John and Euthymios*, and the *Passion of Michael*, which was incorporated into the *Life of Theodoros*, indeed one and the same text? Peeters and others suggested that the Georgian *Passion* is the prototype of the Greek text that was subsequently incorporated into the *Life of Theodoros*. One of the often-advanced arguments regarding Georgian as the source of the Greek text is that the oldest manuscript of the *Life of Theodoros* (completed on June 19, 1023, by the scribe Theophanes: Moscow, GIM, Sinod. gr. 15 [Vlad. 381]) also stems from the Iveron Monastery, where an unknown translator inserted the "Abukura" into the *Life*

of Theodoros (Datiashvili 1973: 157–158; Volk 2009: 82). Lela Datiashvili argued further that in most cases the textual amendments in the Greek version serve as attempts to create a more or less coherent narrative within the *Life of Theodoros*, both in terms of style and composition. Certain blatant anachronisms in the *Life of Theodoros* can also be explained by attempts to fuse the two texts. Furthermore, the Greek version of the *Passion* lacks the introduction that existed in the Georgian version. The Greek version is also often amplified with rhetorical passages that are absent in the original. Besides, it has been observed that the style of translation was very typical to Euthymios's "free" approach to his source material, particularly when dealing with moral issues. Similarly to his Georgian translations, here too he amplified the text (Datiashvili 1973).[2] The expansion of the *Life of Theodoros* with the "Abukura" proved to be popular, as the Slavonic translation later separated and removed the "Abukura" section.

The view that the Georgian version served as a prototype to the Greek narrative is not universally shared. The differences between the Georgian and the Greek versions are significant and problematic. As a result, Kekelidze, for example, saw entirely different redactions in the two (Kekelidze 1960a: 30), whereas other scholars consider the question still unresolved (Griffith 1994; Lamoreaux 2002: 28–29).

Finally, the *Life of Theodoros*, together with the *Passion of Michael of Mar Saba*, were translated back into Georgian in the eleventh century by Ephrem Mcʿire (Kekelidze 1960a).

Suggestions for Further Reading

For overviews of the Georgian literature of the period, Donald Rayfield's general (2010: 75–85) and Korneli Kekelidze's more fundamental introductions (Tarchnišvili with Assfalg 1955 = Kekelidze 1955) are highly recommended. Robert Volk's studies (most recently 2016) and impressive introduction to his critical edition of *Barlaam and Ioasaph* (2009) are perhaps the most scrupulous and up-to-date exposition of the *status quaestioni*s regarding the *Edifying Tale* and partially the *Passion of Michael* and their Georgian connections. A detailed comparative study of the Georgian and Greek versions of *Barlaam and Ioasaph* by Ilia Abuladze can be found together with a translation by David M. Lang (1966; for Lang's translation of the *Wisdom of Balahvar*, see also 1957a). Lang's studies are particularly worth mentioning (1955, 1957a, 1971); see also

[2] Datiashvili brings to our attention also the fact that the same Athonite manuscript, dating to 1023, which contains the Greek *Life of Theodoros*, includes another text, the *Life* of Pankratios of Taormina (BHG 1410; on which see now Stallman-Pacitti 2018), which was among the Greek texts translated by Euthymios into Georgian. Like the *Life of Theodoros of Edessa*, the *Life* of Pankratios text incorporated an independent story on "*Tauros and Menia*" (Kekelidze 1945; the story appears in sections 280–302 in the edition by Stallman-Pacitti), a fact that may suggest a likely model for editing the *Life of Theodoros* (Datiashvili 1973).

Mahé and Mahé (1993), as well as Khintibidze (1994) and Tarkhnishvili (1958), and, further, Messis and Papaioannou, "Section III. Arabic," in this chapter.

For the *Passion of Michael of St. Saba*, apart from the studies cited previously, see Griffith (2001), Swanson (2003), Roggema (2009), Binggeli (2010), and Pataridze (2013: 60–62). A new, international project, led by Christian Høgel, Ingela Nilsson, and Stratis Papaioannou, aims to prepare a new edition of the Greek *Life of Theodoros of Edessa*, as well as all other medieval versions of Theodoros's story.

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SECTION V NEO-LATIN LANGUAGES

CAROLINA CUPANE

The Middle Ages have been defined as a "great translation enterprise" (Zink 2011), and rightly so, for all the vernacular literatures of western Europe took shape by appropriating Latinate texts and adapting them to the needs of different audiences. In fact, translation is so ubiquitous a part of the main vernacular literatures of medieval England, France, Germany, and Italy that one might argue that the vast majority of texts in these languages refashioned already existing foreign models (Watson 2007: 71). Certainly, translation in medieval times was rarely limited to the translation proper. With the exception of the Bible, which was thought to be the divine Word and therefore unchangeable, the concept of literary translation in the Middle Ages covered a broad spectrum of possibilities, which allowed for the abbreviation, expansion, or commentary upon texts. Even allegorical readings of a text fell within this category (Kelly 1978: 291). It would therefore be more appropriate to speak of adaptation, rather than translation in the modern, philological sense, without, however, forgetting that such a distinction would not have been made by medieval scholars (cf. Bassnett 2002: 59–60: Rikhardsdottir 2012: 5). This is not to say that the Middle Ages were not aware of the differences between translations of classical *auctores*, which had special prestige (= translation proper or vertical translation),

and those from other vernaculars (= vernacularization or horizontal translation) (Folena 1974: 10–14; Copeland 1992). This awareness led to different approaches to the source-texts: whereas in the first case the literary, word-for-word technique prevailed (without being compulsory), in the second there was room for imitation and borrowing, while the focus was more on the transmission of the subject matter rather than the formal properties of the text (Bassnett 2002: 59–60). Nevertheless, both could equally lay claim to producing reliable renditions of the source texts, as witnessed by the prologues to such translations. So, for example, Benoît de Sainte-Maure, who expanded Dares's brief account of the Trojan War to a huge narrative of over 30,000 verses, could at the same time pretend to strictly follow his Latin source and feel entitled to add "some fine words" in order to embellish it (Mölk 2011: 94). Thus if translation, as André Lefevere (1992: 2–10) put it, is the act of rewriting, this holds all the more true for medieval translations.

Vernacular Translations in Byzantium

With such insights in mind, we now turn to Byzantium. Byzantines in learned contexts had inherited from the ancient Greeks the disdain for all languages other than Greek, which they considered barbarous, and had little interest in appropriating foreign literature through translation. With few exceptions, translations (which were plenty) addressed primarily "practical" (in the wide sense of the word) needs. We encounter translations of scientific, technical, and medical treatises, as well as dream books and moralizing tales from the Arabic, the latter often mediated through Syriac or Georgian (see Messis and Papaioannou, "Section III. Arabic," in this chapter) and hagiographical, philosophical, theological, and polemical works or council documents from the Latin (Forrai, "Section I. Latin," in this chapter). Purely "literary" translations, like the Ovidian renditions by Maximos Planoudes (at the beginning of the fourteenth century) were rare, and their raison d'être is not entirely clear (Fisher 2002–2003, 2011).

The language of the aforementioned translations was, of course, not the vernacular, but rather the "middle" linguistic register (*koine*), while Planoudes even wrote in an exclusive highbrow language. Translations into the vernacular Greek was a late development in Byzantine literature, and this is certainly related to the low status of and the little consideration given to this register of Greek. Nevertheless, writing in the vernacular had begun in the twelfth century in the court-oriented cultural milieu of the Constantinople (Beck 1975: 51, 66; Cupane 2003). It rapidly increased on the eve of the fourteenth century to embrace a broad variety of topics, among which narrations provided the major focus. The first vernacular narratives still remained close to their learned models, ancient as well as Byzantine, in terms of content and style. Nevertheless, they opened themselves up to foreign literary influences. Indeed, the anonymous authors seemed unafraid of contact with foreign material, which was most probably available by way of oral transmission. Hence, they incorporated motifs from wherever they sensed something entertaining or captivating, from the East but especially from the West. Such was,

for instance, the idea of the judgment at the court of Love, which was borrowed from medieval French love allegory and featured prominently in the vernacular romances of the early Palaiologan period (Cupane 2016). These works were certainly written to meet the taste of a court audience in Constantinople.

As time went on, the Byzantine Empire began to crumble. With Anatolia in Turkish hands, Crete under the Venetians, and Cyprus, Attica, and parts of the Peloponnese under Frankish rule, Byzantine sovereignty was reduced to the capital and its Thracian hinterland, the city of Thessalonike, a few Aegean islands, and the Despotate of Morea. Yet this fragmentation, for all its tragic consequences for Byzantine territorial integrity, offered new opportunities. The increased presence of Westerners, mainly French and Italians, in former Byzantine lands and even in Constantinople itself, intensified cultural contacts. Alongside the increased circulation of material goods on the pathways of commerce, ideas and stories were exchanged in significantly greater amounts than ever before. Cultural transfer took place primarily (though not exclusively) in the aforementioned areas, which can safely be seen as "contact zones," meaning places, "where different cultures met, clashed and grappled with each other" (Pratt 1991). While in Constantinople itself new possibilities of knowing and appreciating each other's achievements were created and partly exploited (Mitsiou 2015; Hinterberger and Schabel 2011), in the peripheral contact zones a kind of hybrid culture (Borgolte and Schneidmüller 2010: 7–8; Burke 2009) arose from the end of the thirteenth century onward as mixed identities and double allegiances developed.

Translation—rightly defined as "a mechanism of and a metaphor for cultures in contact, confrontation and competition" (Kabir and Williams 2010: 10)—was a major vehicle for the transfer of values and ideas in the Middle Ages (Kinoshita 2014: 316–323). This holds all the more true for vernacular translation which, being close to the spoken language, had a potentially wider scope. As already hinted at, a kind of reservoir of motifs circulated freely during the Middle Ages in oral form, but the geopolitical situation in the later Middle Ages allowed for the circulation of books and texts from the conquerors' lands to the conquered territories across the connecting space of the Mediterranean.

While the real number of the stories that circulated in written form between the thirteenth and the fifteenth century may have been more substantial, only few Byzantine adaptations from French and Italian models have survived. Of course we should take into account the vagaries of textual transmission at that time, particularly in the case of vernacular texts. Translations from the Greek were even less frequent. To the best of my knowledge, the only story translated from Greek into a Romance vernacular language was the edificial tale of *Barlaam and Ioasaph*. The Old-French translation was added in the form of marginalia to the abridged Greek version of the tale contained in the richly illuminated manuscript Athos, Iveron 463, produced in Constantinople c. 1075 (D'Aiuto 1997: 25–34; Toumpouri 2017). The translation, of which only a few fragments have been edited (Meyer 1866) was made in Constantinople as well, probably at the very beginning of the thirteenth century or even earlier (see Egedi-Kovács 2014 and 2020, who is also preparing a new and complete edition of the text).

Coming back to the translations/adaptations into Greek from Romance languages, their contextualization has proven difficult since their very late manuscript tradition does not offer any clues as to time and place of composition. Furthermore, the texts themselves reveal nothing about their own origin and background, and all (but one) fail to mention that they constitute translations. Last but not least, the existence of sometimes substantial divergent versions of the same story makes a comprehensive literary appraisal of the original difficult, if not impossible. Under such circumstances, it is hardly possible to pinpoint the translations' "Sitz im Leben" within the context of the overall Byzantine literary production, and the impact they had, if at all, on their generic peers. Since a detailed and comprehensive discussion of the topic along with a thorough analysis of all the translated texts (and their different versions) cannot be achieved within the framework of the present study, I will focus on those translations which can be contextualized in time and place with a certain degree of approximation.

All the translated texts but one (*The Chronicle of Morea*; Schmitt 1967) are fictional narratives based on widely read "bestsellers" of medieval literature. The *War of Troy* (Papathomopoulos and Jeffreys 1996) and the romance of *Apollonios King of Tyros* (Kechagioglou 2004) drew on classical-mythological themes—through medieval rewritings—whereas the romances *Florios and Platziaflora*, *Imperios and Margarona* (the first in Cupane 1995a, the second in Kriaras 1955) and the *Teseida* (Book I: Follieri 1959; Book VI: Olsen 1990) deal with medieval, chivalric subject matters. Finally, the poem called *Old Knight* (Rizzo Nervo 2000) is evidence that the Arthurian cycle spread also through the Greek-speaking world. As for the formal aspects, the Greek renditions did not retain the verse forms of the originals, nor did they use prose, even when the model did. Rather, the traditional verse of vernacular poetry, the fifteen-syllable "political verse," was employed throughout.

Translation Literature in Frankish Greece: A Case Study

Leaving aside the artful adaptations of Italian poetic and dramatic models made in Renaissance Crete and in Cyprus (which are outside our chronological frame), the only translations whose historical and spatial localization can be established (or at least assumed) with a certain degree of probability are related to the Peloponnese or the Greek mainland.

The *War of Troy*, with its 14,401 lines, is by far the longest of the early vernacular texts in the fifteen-syllable verse. It has been handed down in several manuscripts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It is a fairly literal translation of Benoît de St-Maure's *Roman de Troie* (Constans 1904–1912), itself a lengthy narrative of over 30,000 octosyllabic rhymed couplets, which was written with high probability in the late sixties of the twelfth century at the Angevin court of Henry II Plantagenet. The Greek adaptation is sometimes very close to the original, although a tendency to abridge long descriptions

(mainly of battles) and love monologues is noticeable. Benoît's prologue, which also contained the authors' name, was completely removed. Yet to speak of a Grecisization of the text would be certainly far-fetched. To be sure, the pro-Trojan bias of the original was toned down, and some signs of identification with the Greek side are to be found as well. The translator had no acquaintance with the Homeric world, but showed some awareness of the Homeric section in Konstantinos Manasses's *Synopsis Chronikê* (Lampsides 1996), without feeling compelled to re-establish the correct form of Greek proper names. Recently (Jeffreys 2013a, 2013b) it has been argued that the translation was done in Frankish Morea sometime between 1267 (when the principality was put under Angevin control) and 1281 (the year of the death of Leonardo of Veroli). Leonardo of Veroli, the highly educated and book-loving chancellor of the principality, is thought to have brought the book and prompted the translation, perhaps on behalf of his master, Charles d'Anjou. At that time, the old-fashioned, almost century-old, poem had just been "re-edited" and given illustrations which stressed the political overtones in the text. Thus it has been argued that the translation should be understood as "a solid act of cultural imperialism," and that the translator "was commissioned to use a particular genre and register of Greek to ensure the communication of a propaganda message from the Frankish Angevin overlords of Morea" (Jeffreys 2013a: 231, 233).

This interpretation sounds clever, but upon closer examination, holds true only in a very broad sense. First of all, despite prose renditions made during the thirteenth century—most of them in Italy—the "old-fashioned" original version of the *Roman* continued to enjoy lasting popularity. It was re-edited time and again all through the fourteenth century, and was lavishly illustrated. As in the previous century, the illustrations were intended to support the political interests of the Angevins, as well as the territorial claims of Charles's successors, Charles II and Robert, in Frankish Greece (Cipollaro and Schwartz 2017; Desmond 2017).

As things stand currently, the traditional dating of the *War of Troy* in the first half of the fourteenth century can by no means be ruled out. It is, after all, misleading to speak of a Frankish imperialistic agenda in Greece in general and of Charles d'Anjou's cultural imperialism in particular. It is a well-known fact that, for the conquest to be achieved, the Franks had to rely on the collaboration of Moreot nobility, whose members (*archontes*) were soon integrated into the feudal structures of the principality: they therefore would not have thought of themselves as defeated and under foreign occupation (Jacoby 1975a; 1979; Page 2008: 117–242). Leonardo of Veroli may well have owned an illustrated copy of the *Roman de Troie* and brought it to the Morea—and in fact his testament sheds some light on the contents of his private library, which included also vernacular romances (whose titles, unfortunately, were not mentioned) (Filangieri 1972: 176–179). Accordingly, he could have been the material agent of the cultural transfer, without necessarily being the translation's sponsor. Therefore, his death (1281) by no means offers a *terminus ante quem* for the composition. Rather, it seems that the milieu of the well-integrated Greek *archontes*, who began to identify more and more with the feudal ethos and the knightly values of the former conquerors during the fourteenth century, provided a more suitable breeding ground for the adaptation into

Greek vernacular of one of the founding texts of chivalric self-understanding. In other words, instead of seeing Benoît's translation into Greek as an act of cultural imperialism on behalf of the new Angevin lords of the Morea, I understand it as conscious gesture of appropriation of a foreign cultural object, prompted by well-integrated natives; this was the successful result of transculturation (Ortiz 1995: 97–103; orig. version 1940) slowly taking place during the French rule of the mainly Greek-speaking Peloponnese. Having said this, it must be conceded that other locations for the translation should also be considered. Constantinople, for instance, where a manuscript of Benoît circulated immediately after the conquest of 1204 (Folena 1974: 272–273), would provide a convenient background for such an adaptation (Yiavis 2016: 133–134).

In the Moreotic framework belongs the so-called *Chronicle of Morea*, a lengthy account of the Frankish conquest of the Peloponnese with strong epic undertones, existing in several Romance languages—French, Italian, and Aragonese—and two Greek versions. All share a strong pro-Frankish bias, but the extent of the anti-Byzantine stance varies considerably in the two Greek versions. The Greek and French versions depend on a common ancestor, whose language remains a controversial topic. The proposals swing between French (Jacoby 1975b) and Greek (Jeffreys 1975; Shawcross 2009). Even if a definitive answer is not possible, it seems far more probable that the French knights would indeed be the first to idealize the conquest and to praise Geoffrey I Villehardouin as a just prince and a heroic warrior. Thus the Greek transposition was done at a later stage, once the integration process of the Greek element was achieved (Jacoby 2011). This French original, probably written in the early years of the fourteenth century, is lost. However, an abridged copy (the extant one) was made in the 1320s and successively (in the 1340s) transcribed and supplemented with new material. It was this copy that served as a basis for the Greek translation which was done in the second half of the century, probably from a member of the entourage of one of the last exponents of the old French feudal nobility, Erard III Le Maure, lord of Arcadia (Jacoby 1975b: 139–157; Shawcross 2009: 47–49, with emphasis on a French or Greek original, respectively). The composition (or the copy) of the abridged and revised French original is to be located in the same place.

The *War of Troy* and the *Chronicle of Morea* are major works of the mixed literary culture which arose in a remote province of the Byzantine Empire after the fall of Constantinople in 1204. Whereas their literary and ideological background was firmly embedded in the framework of French narrative tradition, their language and style were entirely Greek. This means, first and foremost, that the original rhyming octosyllabic couplets of the *Roman de Troie* and the prose of the *Chronicle* were given a homogenous shape through the fifteen-syllable verse, which relied on the native oral narrative tradition (Jeffreys and Jeffreys 1986; Shawcross 2009: 115–184).

Both the *War of Troy* and the *Chronicle* were major translation enterprises which needed to be sponsored and funded. The patrons are probably to be searched among the westernized Greek nobility of the Morea who, in adopting narrative traditions "from abroad," reshaped them according to their own (up to that point only oral) narrative conventions. Their intended audience must have shared the same tastes and interests (Lock 2013: 267–309). It was likely to be a mixed audience, familiar with both Greek and

French, but with a majority of Greek natives who would have preferred to hear (or read) their native language.

The audience for other adaptations of western romances must have been similar and can also be linked with Frankish Greece. These adaptations testify to the increasing Italian influence on Greek soil (Setton 1975: 225–280). The gentle love story of *Floire and Blancheflor* unfolds in a broad Mediterranean setting, from Muslim Spain to Egyptian Cairo. It originated in France by the mid-twelfth century (Leclanche 1983) and was rewritten by the end of the same century (Pelan 1975). Subsequently it spread widely throughout Europe (Grieve 1997; Kinoshita 2006: 77–104). The vernacular Greek adaptation in political verse, which has come down to us in two versions (ed. Cupane 1995a: 445–580: Version L), was based on the anonymous Italian *Cantare di Fiorio e Biancifiore* of the mid-fourteenth century (Benucci, Manetti, and Zabagli 2002: 2–52) in rhyming eleven-syllable octaves. It has been suggested that a copy was brought to the Morea by Boccaccio's friend, Nicola Acciaiuoli, who visited the Frankish-held Peloponnese in 1336–1341 (Spadaro 1966: 14–15; Bon 1969: 209–213 and 216–219). However, it may also have been one of Nicola's successors who introduced the *Cantare* to Greece after having established the family's suzerainty in Athens and Thebes (1388).

The Greek version rewrote the original's barren style according to the ideological framework and the narrative conventions (flowery descriptions of persons and objects) of Greek vernacular romances. Particularly noticeable in this regard is the moralizing-didactic stance of the adaptor, who drew on elder didactic literature, such as the poem of *Spaneas*, which in a sense comes close to an attempt to naturalize the foreign model (Constantinou 2013: 236–237). However, such a didactic stance goes hand in hand with a conspicuous lack of interest in religion. Although the story is based on the polarization between "good Christians" and "bad Muslims," religion plays no vital part in *Florios*. It is no coincidence that in the Greek version the love story, with its trials and hindrances, is not predicated on religious difference, but rather on the social disparity between the lovers (Yiavis 2016: 146–148).

Among the books owned by the same Nicola Acciaiuoli was, according to his testament of 1359, one about King Apollonios (*Gesta piissimi Apollonie Tirii regis*) (Sabbadini 1907: 37; Gargan 2012: 41). It has been claimed that this book could have been a copy of the *Storia di Apollonio di Tiro*, one of the many versions of the story in Italian vernacular prose (Del Prete 1861), which is plausibly thought to be the source of the Greek unrhymed version (Kechagioglou 2004: II/1 1351–1363)—the rhymed one was made in Crete at the end of the fifteenth century. The *Storia* would therefore have been brought to the Morea, just as the aforementioned *Cantare di Fiorio*, by one of Nicola Acciaiuoli's relatives toward the end of the fourteenth century (Cupane 1995b: 378–379). This would indeed be a very attractive possibility, but, unfortunately, it cannot be substantiated due to a lack of evidence, while the modern editor vehemently champions a Cypriot origin of adaptation (Kechagioglou 2004: I 333–382; text edition in pp. 428–469). Be that as it may, the Greek *Apollonios* deserves special consideration, not least because it is the only adaptation that references the fact that it is a translation (μεταγλώττισμα) from a foreign

(in this case Romance: λατινικόν) language into Greek (εἰς ρωμαϊκόν). Since the text is a very compressed summary of its Italian source (all versions of which are far more extensive), the self-definition of the translator's task shows the wide span of translation concepts at the time.

A further adaptation, which probably came into being on Greek lands, is the *Teseida*. This is quite a literal translation—perhaps the only one that we would nowadays regard as such—of the lengthy epic poem of the same title by Giovanni Boccaccio (written in Naples between 1338 and 1340). The text of the Greek adaptation is still to be edited as a whole: only two books out of twelve are available in print (Book I: Follieri 1959; Book VI: Olsen 1990). The rendition retained not only the content and, most often, the wording, but also the strophic structure (*ottava*) of the source. It did not retain the eleven-syllable meter—which was replaced by the Greek fifteen-syllable—or the alternate rhyme structure—only the last couplet of the octave was rhymed. It has recently been suggested that the Italian poem reached Frankish Greece through the same channel as the Italian *Cantari* in the second half of the fourteenth century and that the translation was made at the Acciaiuoli court in Athens in the very early years of the fifteenth century (Kaklamanis 1997: 151–152; 1998: 117–118).

This overview of the fictional literature in the Greek vernacular adapted from foreign sources would not be complete without making mention of what has to be considered (alongside the *Alexander Romance*) one of the most long-lasting success stories in Greek vernacular literature: *Imperios and Margarona*. This was a free adaptation of the mid-fifteenth-century French romance *Pierre de Provence et la Belle Maguelonne* (Babbi 2003), and was the only Greek vernacular romance that found its way to a Venetian printing house. In a new, rhymed form (Yiavis 2019a)—that seems to have some Cretan connections—and with a more bourgeois flavor, *Imperios and Margarona* was first printed in 1543 and was reprinted time and again until 1806 (Yiavis 2006), thus acquiring a widespread impact and long-lasting popularity among both uneducated and learned readers. *Pierre's*/*Imperios*'s enormous popularity was certainly due to its captivating plot—a young and valiant prince clashes with his father, leaves home, earns repute abroad, and wins the heart of a beautiful princess; they separate only to meet again after manifold adventures and reunite to become king and queen in the prince's homeland. The story would have been familiar to both Western and Eastern audiences. However, in adapting the foreign template, the anonymous author employed several motifs that were typical of vernacular Greek romance writing, but which are not found in any of the Western versions of the story. To mention but the most conspicuous, *Imperios* features a prologue starting with a rhetorical question and followed by a brief outline of the story (as in *Velthandros and Chrysantza*, with similar wording); it displays a biographical arrangement of the plot starting with the hero's birth after a long-lasting childlessness followed by the childhood, education, and first military exploits of young Imperios (as in *Digenes Akrites* Z, *Florios and Platziaflora*, *Achilleid*) (Jeffreys and Jeffreys 1971: 138–139; Agapitos 2013: 318–320).

The place of composition of the first, unrhymed Greek adaptation is uncertain. Some elements point to the Frankish Peloponnese (Cupane 1995b: 382–385), but the evidence

is not compelling: the Greek mainland would also make a good candidate. What is certain is that the story became immensely popular in the Greek lands during the period of Ottoman rule (Tourkokratia), becoming part of the folk tradition between the sixteenth and the eighteenth century (Yiavis 2016: 150).

Suggestions for Further Reading

A comprehensive historical and literary study of the late Byzantine vernacular adaptations is lacking; research on the topic remains a desideratum. For basic information on and discussion of the relevant texts, see Beck (1971 = 1988) and Beaton (1996). A modern approach is offered in Yiavis (2016); see also Yiavis (2019b).

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PART II

FORMS

CHAPTER 9

ORALITY AND TEXTUALITY (WITH AN APPENDIX ON THE BYZANTINE CONCEPTIONS)

CHARIS MESSIS AND STRATIS PAPAIOANNOU

The study of orality in relation to writing in Byzantium is fraught with challenges.[1] Apart from the self-evident fact that it is impossible to recover any literature which was disseminated only orally before the discovery of voice-recording devices, what hinders us are certain tacit premises that often accompany the notion of orality in relation to premodern literatures. The instinctive association of oral with "popular" or "vernacular" literature is one such premise, as the study of orality has habitually—and "romantically" one might add—focused on historical periods of nascent literacy, such as, for instance, archaic Greece or the age of emergence of the vernaculars as written languages in the history of various European "national" literatures. Another premise is the drive to separate orality from literacy/textuality in a strict fashion and sometimes elevate these categories to ontologically separate entities that define anything from different formal characteristics to distinctly different mindsets, worldviews, or even entire cultures (Reichl 2012b: 11–17; also Coleman 1996: 1–33).

Byzantine discursive culture does not fit such Procrustean models. The beginnings of the Byzantine literary tradition sprang *in medias res*, with both its book and performance cultures already well established. It also displayed complex relationships between its different linguistic registers of expression (see Hinterberger, "Language," Chapter 2 in this volume; see also Agapitos 2014); these do not permit us to categorize all "popular" or "vernacular" texts as "oral," and vice versa, even if the only sustained search for orality in Byzantium has occurred in relation to its vernacular production (see later discussion in this chapter). To all this, we may add the fact that the distinction between oral

[1] We would like to thank Marketa Kulhankova and Alexander Riehle for reading through the chapter and offering valuable suggestions.

and written discourse is a fundamentally modern one, as Byzantine discursive theory, though aware of the couplet, did not pursue its implications in any systematic fashion (see the Appendix at the end of this chapter).

These limitations notwithstanding, the categories of orality and textuality, understood in their most basic sense as all those features that discourses acquire when they are produced and circulate orally or when they are written down, are fundamental for understanding Byzantine literature. This has to do with certain realities. The most obvious one is that whatever survives from Byzantine literature does so in a *textual* form. It is mediated, that is, through writing and the various conditions that accompany discourses *as* texts: the need for a discourse to be somehow "authorized" so as to be deemed worthy to be written down; the choices that are inherent in the decision of copying a text in a book that is meant to be read in the future, or an inscription that is meant to be in public view and preserved in eternity; the unavoidable impact of literacy and thus education upon the very act of writing—especially in a society like that of Byzantium, where literacy was often associated with high class and social power; the related classification of discourses within a system of genres and their rules; the less likely transmission in textual form of ephemeral types of discourse, and so on and so forth. In that sense, whatever we can read today of Byzantine literature is also "textualized" to one degree or another.

Simultaneously, Byzantium was a society where illiteracy predominated, despite the fact that literacy levels were considerably higher in comparison to several neighboring and contemporary societies; while access to and levels of literacy are rather difficult to estimate with any precision, we can assume with sufficient certainty that those who could read and write were a minority throughout Byzantine history (Jeffreys 2008 with bibliography). This had a great impact on how literature was formed and operated in Byzantine society. First of all, a large number of stories, whether in prose or verse/song form, whether secular or religious in content, were produced and circulated primarily and, many of them, *only* through oral channels of communication. Second, even the literature, whether learned or less learned, which was produced and circulated primarily in written form was oriented almost always *also* toward orality in the sense that it anticipated or was expected to be read (also) aloud and to be heard by an audience (Cavallo 2006: 47–55 and passim; cf. also Eideneier 2014; see also Papaioannou, "Readers and Their Pleasures," Chapter 21 in this volume). As has been rightly remarked, Byzantium was "a residually oral society" (Mullett 1989: 168 and 185) and "a fundamentally performative society" (Mullett 2003: 151); and, to cite another succinct observation, "there were always a great many more listeners in Byzantium than readers" (Bourbouhakis 2010: 175).

With these realities in mind, it is clear that we cannot approach Byzantine literature—preserved in either medieval and early modern manuscript books or in the form of inscriptions—without an appreciation of either its textual modes of production and circulation or its possible origins in oral creation or its orientation toward oral performance and auditory reception. Orality and textuality are the two faces of the same coin as far Byzantine literature is concerned. In what follows, we attempt to examine different aspects of this innate juxtaposition by sketching out a map of Byzantine literature from its perspective.

Oral Texts

A distinction introduced by Walter J. Ong (2013; first edition 1982) may perhaps prove useful in approaching our topic—with the caution that this is not the place to adopt all of the dimensions of Ong's couplet or to debate its conceptual clarity. We are referring to the differentiation between (a) "primary" and (b) "secondary" orality, which we understand (modified from Ong's scheme) as, respectively:

(a) literature produced and circulating primarily (if not singularly) without the mediation of writing;
(b) literature based on writing and textualization, involving some form of orality either at the moment of its production or, more frequently, at the intended type of its reception, which was first and foremost auditory.[2]

Using these two categories as our basis, we would like to propose a threefold classification of Byzantine literary texts as they relate to orality:

(1) texts that reflect conditions of primary orality;
(2) texts that entail secondary orality;
(3) a middle type of texts that highlight the continuities between the former and the latter group.

Let us tackle each class of texts separately, with the clarification that "orality" and "text(uality)" interest us here as literary forms.

Texts Echoing Conditions of Primary Orality

One may discern three types of texts that reflect (by their nature or intentionally) conditions of primary orality, most evident in their often low-register language with paratactic, formulaic, and repetitive syntax as well as "vernacular" vocabulary, close to contemporary spoken language:

(a) songs;
(b) sayings and everyday speech reproduced in text;
(c) stories/narratives or, in Byzantine Greek, *διηγήσεις*.

[2] On this understanding of "secondary" orality, see also Zumthor (1987).

Ἄισματα/Songs

We possess multiple testimonies regarding the existence of a rich tradition of song throughout the eleven hundred years of the empire's life, though a comprehensive study of Byzantine song culture remains a desideratum. Most of these testimonies have been noted and discussed;[3] thus here we shall restrict ourselves to a few general observations, while citing some pertinent evidence.

Byzantine statements on songs and singing were often enveloped in sentiments of disdain, expressed as they were from the perspective of agents of Christian orthodoxy or high literacy (or sometimes both). Preachers in the early period (such as John Chrysostom; Petropoulos 1989), as well as later learned authors, associated secular songs with the morally other and the socially inferior: women (for a remarkable example, see Niketas Choniates, *History* 574.6–10), riotous lower classes in the city, uncultivated countrymen, provincials (Messis 2015), and foreigners. For the intellectual elite, songs belonged to the world of spectacle, carnival, magic, heresy, and bodily pleasure: "the hippodrome, the theater, . . . the belly, and what is under the belly" as we read in Gregory the Theologian (*Against the Eunomians* = *Or.* 27.3).

Yet songs accompanied almost every social activity. They amplified decisive as well as daily moments in a person's life: from lullabies to marriage-songs, to moments of suffering, in the toils of work, the exposure to emigration, or the experience of death and love.[4] Songs also punctuated the life of a community, during relatively sober events such as religious feasts, imperial ceremonies, a community's encounter with the cycles of time or the forces of nature, student life, group work and military expeditions,[5] or during lighter affairs—such as entertainment in the theater, the hippodrome, or the court (e.g., Cosentino 2012).

Many of these songs were most probably improvised on the spot, and references to songs created by the "people" exist (e.g., Psellos, *Chronographia* V 38). However, a considerable number of them were performed within a ritual setting that, though it did not preclude improvisation, dictated the time, place, manner, and content of singing. The creators of such ritualized songs were more probably professional versifiers/musicians, who nevertheless remain almost consistently anonymous in our sources. In the

[3] See Koukoules (1948–1955, vol. I.2: 5–41); Beck (1971 = 1988); Beaton (1980: 74–89); Anagnostakis (1985, 1994); Jeffreys and Jeffreys (1986, esp. 508–509); Kaldellis (2012); Roilos (2012); Graf (2015).

[4] See Georgios Pachymeres, *History* II.23 (lullabies); *The Oneirokritikon of Achmet* 129 (marriage-songs); Niketas Choniates, *History* 348.11–349.2 (moments of suffering; another remarkable description), *Scholia* in Lucian 50.7–10 (the toils of work); a song cited by Neophytos Enkleistos in Tsiknopoulos (1952: 49; emigration); Alexiou (2002; experience of death); Jeffreys and Jeffreys (1986: 507; love).

[5] See, e.g., Ioannes Tzetzes, *Historiai* 13.475, lines 239–246 (on religious feasts); Maas 1973 (imperial ceremonies); Christophoros Mytilenaios, *Various Verses* 136.96 (student life); and a passage pertaining to group work and military expeditions in Ioannes Geometres discussed in Kazhdan (2006: 257). See also Theodoros Balsamon's scholion on Canon 65 of the Council in Trullo (Rhalles and Potles: 458–459 with Magdalino 2006: 159; cf. Messis 2020: 364–371) regarding a summer solstice rite called κληδών which involved some music, dance, and, possibly, singing.

fourteenth century, the *philosophos* Nikephoros Gregoras (d. 1358/1361; PLP 4443) wrote in passing about one such performer, "τις . . . ᾀσμάτων δημιουργός = some . . . song-writer," before citing his song (*Roman History* II 705.23–706.7).[6] In the tenth century, Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos's *Book of Ceremonies* mentions professional composers at court (738.15, 799.5–7, 804.3–4), while a century later, Michael Psellos recommended a musician to a friend though he underscored the artist's lack of education (*Letter* 437). Finally, in his spectacular description of the wedding between the thirteen-year-old Byzantine princess Theodora Kantakouzene (died after 1381; PLP 10940) and the much older Ottoman sultan Orhan Gâzi (1281–1362; PLP 21133) that took place in the summer of 1346, Ioannes Kantakouzenos (the father of the bride) mentions encomiastic wedding songs "sung by musicians [μελῳδοί]" and "composed by some learned men [λογίων]" (*Histories* 2 588.12–13).

Whatever these songs might have been and whoever their creators were, the fact remains that almost this entire tradition is irretrievably lost to us. Musical notation, which in general lagged behind in developing a sufficient system, lent support almost exclusively to the recording of ecclesiastical tunes during the Byzantine period, and almost never for any other musical production (cf. Martani, "Recitation and Chant," Chapter 19 in this volume).[7] We should also note the absence of a manuscript Greek folk or vernacular song collection (as is the case with some comparable Western medieval European traditions); with the exception of one single and idiosyncratic collection of eight Judeo-Greek wedding poems dated to 1419 (Hollender and Niehoff-Panagiotidis 2016), we have to wait until the post-Byzantine period for such collections.[8]

A few traces of lyrics do remain, however, usually cited as part of a narrative.[9] Praise and blame are especially represented in these Byzantine songs that are attested in texts: acclamations, eulogies, and monodies for emperors, satirical poems, and songs for the sake of defamation.[10] In all these occasions, the song was public speech and required some regulation; we may assume that professionals would have mediated such control.

[6] For the late Byzantine period, we do encounter eponymous singers, such as persons listed in the PLP as "τραγωδιστής = singer" (e.g., entries 29211 and 94059); for the very interesting case of such a "singer" from post-Byzantine Cyprus, yet in the Byzantine tradition, see Agapitos (2000). We may also note that western European troubadours are attested in Frankish Greece (Jeffreys and Jeffreys 1986: 507–508).

[7] For one exception preserved in a manuscripts of the fifteenth or sixteenth century, see Conomos (1979). See further Touliatos, "Byzantine Secular Music" n.d.

[8] For a 17th-ce. example from Mt Athos, see Bouvier 1960; see also the anonymous love songs in Vienna, ÖNB, Theol. gr. 244, ff. 324v–331v, dated to the first quarter of the sixteenth century. The semi-secular/semi-religious songs/poems by known poets in various types of verse preserved in the early tenth-century *Anthologia Barberina* is a rare Byzantine case of what we may regard as a "song collection" (see Lauxtermann 2003: 123–128), but this collection of advanced literacy would fit our definition of "primary orality" with difficulty. For Vatican, BAV, Vat. gr. 1851, an illustrated ms., that transmits a single "marriage song" in the vernacular idiom dated to 1356, see Agapitos (2020: 53–54) with Hennessy (2006).

[9] Koukoules (1954: 5–41) provides us with a list of these lyrics.

[10] See Maas (1973); Lauxtermann (1999: 61–65 and 87–96; imperial eulogies and acclamations); also Lauxtermann (2003: 312–314; on some songs preserved in the famous *Madrid Skylitzes* [Madrid, Vitr. 26-2]); Morgan (1954) with Lauxtermann (1999: 65–68; on satirical songs); and Anna Komnene, *Alexiad*, 12.6.5 (songs for the sake of defamation).

Yet songs could also function as weapons, becoming the voice of the "common man." Hence perhaps the anonymity of songs: protected behind it, the "people" could freely institute inclusions and exclusions for an imagined community.

Ἀποφθέγματα/Sayings and Speech Reproduced in Texts

When we enter more firmly the world of texts, we come across another type of written discourse that carries the traces of primarily oral modes of production and circulation, namely collections of sayings. The most important were collections of maxims as well as anecdotes of the Desert Fathers: the so-called *ἀποφθέγματα* [*apophthegmata*].[11] This early Byzantine genre, whose first appearance is usually dated to the fifth century, found a consistent and wide readership in many languages, especially among monastic audiences for centuries to come. The anonymity of the compiler, their relatively simple language, their rather "open" textual transmission (Guy 1984; also Pérez Martín, "Modes of Manuscript Transmission," Chapter 23 in this volume), their wide diffusion among different languages and possible interaction with other religious traditions (Siegal 2013 on the *Apophthegmata* and the Talmud), as well as, we might add, the occasional explicit contempt against literacy in the sayings themselves, partly reflect their original modes of oral creation and circulation.

That said, in their manuscript form, the *Apophthegmata* constitute also a *textual* tradition, a Christian equivalent of the many anthologies of maxims by and anecdotes about pagan Greek thinkers—one of the many strands of that latter tradition are collections of proverbs, often of popular/oral origins, in the late Byzantine period (see the *Corpus paroemiographorum Graecorum* with Agapitos 2015: 32–39 on the pioneering work of Karl Krumbacher in this field). With the textual form of the *Apophthegmata* and the intervention of textuality, we thus face the crucial problem of what has been termed "fictive/simulated" orality (cf. Goetsch 1985), namely the replication of primary orality in texts, often by learned writers. Cognate to the textual form of the *Sayings*, for instance, are speeches, teachings, or dialogical exchanges that are very frequently embedded within narrative genres. These may occasionally reflect primary orality and indeed "vernacular" layers of Greek (Hinterberger 2006). Yet most commonly they are products of an author's pen, mimicking oral communication, and thus creating the *effect* of orality.[12] This is an issue to which we will return later.

[11] For editions, see our Chapter 6, "Memory," in this volume; for further bibliography, see Rönnegård (2010) and Wortley (2013, 2014); for new, groundbreaking research in this area, see the project "*Monastica* – a dynamic library and research tool" at https://edu.monastica.ht.lu.se.

[12] Various types of dialogical texts (such as Ἐρωταποκρίσεις or Διάλογοι) usually belong in this context of simulated orality; for various dialogical genres see, e.g., Cameron (2014) and Cameron and Gaul (2017).

Διηγήσεις/Stories

Conditions of primary orality are also reflected in certain genres of Byzantine storytelling, most of them with Christian content:

- several *apophthegmata* that often constitute a short story;
- the so-called *beneficial tales*, *ψυχωφελεῖς διηγήσεις*, or *narrationes* in the terminology of the BHG (Wortley 2010a; Binggeli 2014; Kulhánková 2015; see also the important "Repertoire" by John Wortley: 2010b);
- much early Byzantine hagiography (Rapp 1998), especially *Passions* of Martyrs (Detoraki 2014);
- accounts of *Miracles* (Efthymiadis 2014);
- short stories embedded in larger (usually biographical) narratives, such as stories about life at court that figure in Byzantine historiography and chronicles (for one such story see, e.g., Papaioannou 2010: 86–88);
- the poorly charted territory of Byzantine fairy and folk tales (Koukoules 1948–1955, vol. VI: 326–333; Reinsch 1986; Meraklis 1992: 27–44; cf. also Megas 1967 and Greenfield 1989);
- oracular and apocalyptic texts (for the most important example of the former, the *Oracles* attributed to the emperor Leo VI, see Mango 1960 with Brokkaar 2002; for apocalyptic texts, see Alexander 1985; DiTommaso 2005; Baun 2007; and Magdalino 2014);
- and, finally, non-Christian storytelling, which either predated Christian Byzantium, but continued to be popular among Byzantine audiences (most notably the so-called *Alexander Romance* (Jouanno 2002; Zuwiyya 2011); for other examples, see Karla 2009 with Kim 2013: 304–305), or entered Byzantine literature from neighboring cultures through translation and re-elaboration (for some examples, see "Translations I: From Other Languages into Greek," Messis and Papaioannou, "Section III. Arabic," in this volume).

These narrative texts are commonly anonymous, often originating in legends handed down from generation to generation. Moreover, even after such stories entered Byzantine written culture, oral mediation intervened in various ways and degrees. This mediation is evident in the remarkable mobility and variation of this type of storytelling in its textual manifestation. These stories often traveled greatly, crossing linguistic borders, cultures, and sometimes religions; their relatively simple style, the memorizable nature of their narrative structure, and their unfailing popular appeal made them sought-after for translation. These translations, in turn, enabled adaptation, modification, and re-creation to such a degree that we are often unable to tell which version (Greek, Latin, Syriac, etc.) was the original, or if a version served as the basis for the possible oral mediation of a story, even after it was fixed as text in one language or another. Similarly, in their manuscript transmission, such stories were wide open to variation at

every level, from style to content, and each manuscript that transmitted these texts often offered a distinct version. To what extent this variation was due to oral modes of production and circulation or to the intervention of scribes and/or the persons dictating the text to the copyists, who assumed (usually anonymously) the role of the author/storyteller, is hard to tell. Some combination of both processes—oral mediation and scribal/dictated authorship—seems the most plausible scenario.

However this might be, when such stories assumed a textual form, they also usually retained modes of narration, language, and style that were of a relatively low or intermediate register. Moreover, in order to claim truth to their account, the writers of such tales insistently presented their writing as a mere recording of stories told. This attempt to suppress the textuality of stories was accomplished through various tactics or habits: the use, for instance, of the so-called historical present tense (Fludernik 1991 and Leung 2008); or the presentation of the tale in the first-person singular as an eyewitness account (for one among many examples, see the story of Pelagia [BHG 1478]). In this way, the assumed oral provenance of a story became a kind of pact between writer and reader/listener—a pact that guaranteed authenticity.

In this context, the opposite could also take place, since we also find cases of what we might term "fictive textuality." We encounter, that is, stories of oral provenance which deploy a series of strategies so as to appear as typical *texts* that were indistinguishable from other products of the written culture. In this case, the concern lay not with the establishment of the authenticity of the story, but with the appropriation of the authority relegated by literacy. Here are a few such strategies: the story may be ascribed pseudonymously to an "author" (several so-called apocryphal gospels belong here); the style may imitate (clumsily) the learned idiom through the inclusion of seemingly high-register words, locutions, or constructions; or, finally, such stories may include an invented written record (sometimes called an ὑπόμνημα) which is presented as a precise account/report on which the telling of the story is based.

Texts of Secondary Orality

Texts that entailed or anticipated some form of orality in their production and, especially, in their reception may also be divided into different types. We would like to introduce two such types: (a) rhetorical literature and (b) liturgical literature.

Rhetorical Literature

Rhetorical literature in Byzantium (by which we mean literature fashioned under the premises of classicizing education and the learned tradition) was perhaps the most textual of all kinds of literary writing. Not only was it conditioned on advanced literacy, but it also involved sophisticated modes of textuality, at the level of both its production

and its reception, since authors and their public were required to be acquainted with a large textual tradition in order to excel. Nevertheless, this literature usually involved some form of orality, either at the moment of production—through dictation or extemporaneous improvisation—or, more frequently, at the intended mode of reception. For rhetorical texts were only secondarily meant to be read silently and/or in private; their primary aim was to be heard, either performed or delivered by the creator himself, or recited by subsequent readers in front of an audience.

There were many occasions for a rhetor to deploy his talents: in the church, at court or the battlefield, in the aristocratic household, or the school (see further Riehle, "Rhetorical Practice," Chapter 11 in this volume). The rhetorical forms that performative texts took were varied: poetry (Bernard 2014: 101–110), eulogies, funeral orations, playful pieces, some historiography (Croke 2010), ecclesiastical sermons, and occasionally hymnography. The public that these performances addressed, which was clearly composed of different levels of literacy, paid as much attention to their content as to their art of composition and musicality. In this regard, the question of who understood such (sometimes overly) sophisticated texts is not always pertinent. For the intended effects of these performances were occasionally not so much of a communicative, but rather of an aesthetic order. The more, that is, a text of secondary orality displayed the trappings of textuality, the more it was the form itself that became its main message—and here "form" includes anything from diction and style to the modulations of the performer's/reader's voice and gestures (that remain irrecoverable for us).

Apart from the cultivation of aural effects and the pleasure-oriented aesthetics of performance and recitation, orality played some role in the other stages of the production of these texts. One such stage was the very moment of writing. It is clear that many (if not the majority of) Byzantine texts were not actually penned by their author, but dictated by him/her to a professional scribe, often a servant (for an early testimony of this practice, see Detoraki 2004). Traces of the process of dictation may be discerned in, for instance, the episodic structure or frequent interjections in the case of narrative texts written by rhetoricians (see Reinsch 2016 for Psellos's *Chronographia*). Dictation may also explain some of the mistakes that we find in the manuscripts that transmit rhetorical texts or, alternatively, the corrections on the finished copy made by the person dictating (see, e.g., Otkhmezuri 2017 on Euthymios the Iberian and his interventions on a copy of his Georgian translations of Gregory the Theologian and Maximos the Confessor). Significantly, dictation lies behind the approach to punctuation that Byzantine scribes employed. It has been suggested, and rightly so, that Byzantine punctuation often reflected the intended mode of performance—the pauses, that is, the reader of a text should make during the recital (Reinsch 2008). While this is certainly the case for texts used in liturgical contexts (cf. Papaioannou 2017: xxi–xxii; and 2019: clvi–clix), the punctuation of rhetorical texts may have also been the *result* (and not only the intended effect) of another "performance": dictation.

Alternatively (and this pertains especially to sermons), a homily would be improvised by the orator with the help of his memory, while simultaneously copyists/stenographers would write his speech down in shorthand. Their text was then revised and edited, most

probably by the orator himself, before being copied into a book.[13] The ability to perform extemporaneously was a key aspect of rhetorical culture, to the point that rhetors were even encouraged to simulate improvisation in their texts/speeches (see, e.g., Gregorios Pardos, bishop of Corinth [twelfth century], *Commentary on Hermogenes' On the Method of Force,* 1268.6f.). During the revision process, however, after the speech was written down, the literate/learned aspects of the speech were most probably enhanced further, perhaps at the expense of the oral/performative dimensions of the delivered homily.

Here we might introduce the notion of "publication" as it should be understood in reference to rhetorical texts (cf. Valette-Cagnac 1997: 145–146 with remarks on the similar ancient Roman tradition). As might be apparent from the preceding comments, there were various stages of "publication," and at every stage, elements of both orality and textuality were interwoven: delivery in front of an audience with or without the support of some earlier written version/script; dictation for the sake of preservation or circulation (called ἔκδοσις in Greek); initial circulation among friends/colleagues who may correct the text or read it aloud in front of a small audience, among like-minded friends, colleagues, students, or patrons; and, finally, the copying of the text in a manuscript book during an author's lifetime and perhaps under his supervision, and then after his death. During this last stage, if a text did not enter rhetorical education or (more importantly) liturgical practice, its performative dimension was lost.[14]

Two further remarks may be added here. Even genres of the rhetorical variety, which at first glance may appear to have been produced exclusively so as to be written down and read silently, anticipated some kind of oral performance. We are referring to private rhetorical letters exchanged between two friends, and also verse inscriptions on surfaces of all kinds, especially those in public spaces. These texts could indeed function without the mediation of oratorical delivery and did not require books, since their inclusion in a manuscript copy was neither always part of the original intention nor usually the actual mode of transmission. Yet letters too were often read aloud among a small circle of friends (Gaul 2020) and verse inscriptions could often be deciphered only if read aloud by their viewers (Papalexandrou 2001; Agosti 2011–2012; cf. Debiais 2009 and Drpić, "Inscriptions," Chapter 16 in this volume).

Second, rhetorical literature included a series of techniques that partially replicated the modes of primary orality, whether intentionally or unintentionally. Students of the Hermogenian corpus, for instance, were encouraged to use ἀφέλεια in appropriate contexts, namely simple, everyday, "vernacular" (we might say) speech, the words and style of "infants . . . women . . . rustic farmers," etc. (Hermogenes, *On Simplicity* = *On*

[13] See the remarks by Gregory the Theologian in his *Farewell Speech* (*Or.* 42.26), where he alludes to both appointed copyists and regular people keeping records of his speeches; see further Antonopoulou (1997: 100–102).

[14] Of course, not all Byzantine rhetorical texts traversed each and every one of the stages described here.

the Forms of Discourse 2.2).[15] Moreover, seminal among the rhetorical techniques was the training in learning and reproducing short stories (in Greek: ἱστορίαι), from Greco-Roman and Byzantine history as well as from Greek mythology (cf. Figure 6.1 in Chapter 6 of this volume). Ioannes Tzetzes's *Historiai,* to give just one example, is a collection of precisely such stories, including anecdotes from everyday life. Students of rhetoric were expected to identify stories in texts, memorize them from anthologies, commentaries (such as that of Tzetzes), and dictionaries, and then apply in their own rhetorical production a seemingly unlimited stock of narratives. Such rhetorical ἱστορίαι were the equivalent of the διηγήσεις of the non-rhetorical tradition, sharing some similarities in structure or content with that orally originating type of text discussed earlier. In this sense, rhetorical ἱστορίαι partly represent the survival of an ossified, fully textualized version of an earlier, pre-Byzantine layer of primarily oral storytelling. They also occasionally constitute another case of "simulated orality" which we have already encountered earlier.

Liturgical Literature

The other most common type of Byzantine written literature geared toward oral performance and aural reception was the literature created for the needs of the liturgical life of Byzantine Christians. In fact, of all types of Byzantine texts (with the exception perhaps of songs), liturgical literature had the *sole* purpose of performance through delivery, recitation, or chanting. The texts in question were sermons, hagiographical storytelling, prayers, and hymns. We have already mentioned sermons, hagiography, and some hymnography, since it is often difficult to draw a line between those liturgical texts that depended in a defining manner on learned rhetoric—such as the very popular collection of Gregory the Theologian's orations (cf. Figure 6.1)—and those that did not. The degrees of literacy required for the writing and the comprehension of liturgical texts varied, and many of the *textual-cum-oral* features of rhetorical literature, as outlined previously, were shared by liturgical texts.

However, we may still identify a few distinctive differences. First, this literature is more widely represented in the manuscripts. We find it in collections of sermons, for instance the so-called πανηγυρικά that gather readings for the most prominent feasts, the *panêgyreis*; among the earliest examples is the parchment ms. Sinait. gr. 492 with patristic homilies on feast days before and after the Easter Sunday (Figure 9.1[16]). We also encounter it in collections of hagiographical narrative texts, in what we usually

[15] We may also add here that occasionally learned writers included also legends deriving from the oral tradition in their texts; for an example in Michael Choniates, see Anagnostakis (2011); see also Karpozilos (2016: 161–162) on Nikephoros Gregoras.

[16] F. 54v: fragment from a homily on Christ's *Passion* by Ephrem the Syrian (CPG 4025; BHG 0450k). On this important ninth-century ms., cf. Ehrhardt (1937: 134–137), Gstrein (1967), Datema (1971), and van Esbroeck (1978).

FIGURE 9.1 Sinai, Μονὴ τῆς Ἁγίας Αἰκατερίνης, gr. 492; parchment; ninth century; *Panêgyrikon*; f. 54v: fragment from a homily on Christ's *Passion* by Ephrem the Syrian.

© Sinai, Μονὴ τῆς Ἁγίας Αἰκατερίνης.

call *mênologia* (cf. Noret 1968), as well as in various types of prayer books (*euchologia*, etc.) and hymnals (cf. Papaioannou, "Sacred Song," Chapter 18 in this volume). Such manuscripts are overwhelmingly more numerous when compared to (strictly defined) rhetorical manuscripts. Second, and more pertinent to our topic here, the oral performance of liturgical texts was more ritualized than the rites of rhetorical display, as the latter varied widely in accordance to individual talent, preferences, and choices. Due to the ritual frame of worship, such features as repetition, formulaic expression, typified morality, simpler language, and continued reference to the text of the Bible (and rarely to other texts) characterize liturgical literature and bring it closer to texts of primary orality. Accordingly, even if liturgical texts depended on some level of literacy, they were also often indifferent to it. Their authors (most commonly bishops, priests, or deacons) commonly projected an aversion toward rhetoric and learnedness, perhaps sealing their audiences from the very skill of literacy they possessed and, simultaneously, tapping into the cultural/spiritual capital of "true," unadulterated discourse.

Between Primary and Secondary Orality

As is apparent, the boundaries between the oral and the written were particularly blurry in Byzantine discursive culture. This (one might say) "indecision" is further accentuated in our final two types of texts.

Texts of Fictive Orality

As we have already seen, the intentional or unintentional mimicking of *oral* modes of discursive production in *written* literature may lurk behind a wide range of texts in Byzantium. There is a certain textual type, however, where this phenomenon is especially present: the late Byzantine vernacular production, a series, that is, of satires and histories/stories told in fifteen-syllable verse.[17] If there has ever been one field of Byzantine literature where the issue of orality has been central, it is precisely in respect to these vernacular texts.[18] Despite some early views on the matter, the growing consensus is that features of primary orality, when present in these texts, are usually (as exceptions

[17] See Ševčenko (1981: 76–79) for a concise list; to which we should add the *Digenes Akrites*, whose earliest manuscript version dates to c. 1300, even if the first forms of this text have been usually dated earlier. For these texts, see also Cupane and Krönung (2016) and Goldwyn and Nilsson (2019).

[18] See, e.g., Trypanis (1963); Lord (1977); Jeffreys and Jeffreys (1986) with Jeffreys (2012 and 2014); also Eideneier (1983) and Beaton (1990); Shawcross (2009: 113–184).

do exist) the result of a communicative, *textual* strategy, according to which the texts are presented as products of oral creativity (Cupane 1995 and 2016; Agapitos 2006).

The modes by which this textualized orality came into being were certainly complex.[19] The appearance of orality was nevertheless enhanced by the very style of these texts, which often contained formulas and repetition close to the spoken idiom. Orality was also mirrored in the treatment of these texts by the Byzantine scribal culture. Like several texts of primary orality, the manuscripts with vernacular contents may present us with slightly or significantly different versions. The scribes or those who dictated the text to the copyists often felt, that is, free to intervene and alter it according to the aesthetic standards—pertaining to language, style, and, sometimes, ideology—of their synchrony.

Rhetorical Stories, Liturgical Readings

The final category of texts, whose main features we would like to briefly delineate, happens to be among the most popular in terms of manuscript diffusion, located as these texts were squarely within the field of liturgical literature. We are referring to hagiographical texts, biographies of saints and accounts of martyrdom, to whose recitation—next to sermons, prayers, and hymns—Byzantine Christians were exposed. We have already encountered this relatively massive storytelling tradition in the context of texts reflecting conditions of primary orality. Nevertheless, in a literary culture often driven by the aesthetic preoccupations and ideological predilections of the learned elite, hagiographical literature used in liturgical contexts could not remain impervious to learnedness. Just as the rhetorical corpus of Gregory the Theologian's homilies became the most prominent corpus of sermons for recitation during the middle Byzantine period, so also the so-called μεταφράσεις, culminating with the *Mênologion* of Symeon Logothetes, known as the *Metaphrastes* (PmbZ 27504), and his rhetorical reworkings of earlier hagiographical stories, came to dominate the field of hagiographical recital in Byzantine liturgical life (primarily during *Orthros* services) after the year 1000 (cf. Papaioannou 2021: 83–84 and Figures 20.3 and 20.4 in Chapter 20 of this volume).

The intricacies of how the *metaphrastic* approach came to prevail by the end of the tenth century (Resh 2018 and 2021) are beyond our scope. It nevertheless deserves special mention, as this transition from earlier *Βίοι*, *Μαρτύρια*, *Διηγήσεις*, and other related

[19] In an address to his audience, for instance, the author of the *Chronicle of Morea* defined the condition of composition and reception of his poem in the following way (versions H and T 1349–52; trans. Lurier 1964: 106): "Κι ἂν ἔχῃς ὄρεξιν νὰ ἀκούῃς πρᾶξες καλῶν στρατιώτων, / νὰ μάθῃς καὶ παιδεύεσαι, ἃ λάχῃ νὰ προκόψῃς. / Εἰ μὲν ἐξεύρεις γράμματα, πιάσε ν' ἀναγινώσκῃς· / εἴ τε εἶσαι πάλι ἀγράμματος, κάθου σιμά μου, ἀφκράζου . . . [And, if you have a desire to hear the deeds of good soldiers, / to learn and be instructed, perhaps you will attain your wish. / If you know letters, start reading; / if, on the other hand, you are illiterate, sit down beside me and listen . .]." The poet seems to address primarily readers, while anyone illiterate is urged to attend the process of composition which is presented as oral dictation.

texts to their rhetorically improved version created a hybrid genre, where various aspects of orality and textuality met as well as ruptured.

On the one hand, increasingly, from the eighth century onward, hagiography elevated in style became the main means by which earlier storytelling—much of it originally deriving from circumstances of primary orality—was presented and made known to ecclesiastical and school audiences. On the other hand, the eponymous rhetoricians responsible for the rewriting often removed some of the features that suggested oral modes of creation, such as low-register Greek, everyday speech, formulaic, repetitive, or syncopated expression, first-person narrative, emphasis on short dialogical exchanges, etc. Simultaneously, they expanded, with various degrees of exaggeration, the rhetorical performativity of the text, its ability, that is, to impress at the moment of its recital and auditory reception. Thus short dialogical exchanges were replaced by lengthy speeches full of rhetorical tropes; the first-person narrative was replaced by a third-person presentation, peppered by intrusions of the rhetor addressing his audience, expressing personal opinions, and highlighting his skill through intertextual allusions. More importantly, simple language was elevated through a reserved or sometimes unabashedly classicizing idiom, which sought musical rhythm, rare words, ποικιλία, and intricate phrasing (cf., e.g., Papaioannou 2017: xix–xxi with further bibliography).

Three Examples Instead of a Conclusion

Three exceptional texts will help us illustrate (rather than conclude) this survey of the interplay of orality and textuality in Byzantine writing. All three are linked with Metaphrastes's *Mênologion*, but do not exactly or entirely fit any of the categories we have delineated. They highlight the limits we tried to establish, but also transgress them. Thus the vignettes that follow—since we can hardly offer here any full analysis—demonstrate the problems we face and the challenges that lie ahead.

The first is the *Life of St. Mary of Egypt* (BHG 1042; CPG 7675; cf. Kouli 1996) attributed in the manuscripts (though most probably pseudonymously) to the seventh-century patriarch of Jerusalem Sophronios and certainly dating before the eighth century. According to our text, Saint Mary was a repentant prostitute who hid in the desert and led there a life of extreme asceticism before she was discovered by a devout monk. In our text, written in a rhetorically decent (though not excessively learned) idiom, and thus marked by what we have considered as "textuality"—further highlighted by the presence of a famous author's name in the manuscript titles of the text—the story of Mary unfolds in a series of encased narratives, a typical feature of oral storytelling traditions—the

most well-known example of which are the so-called stories in the Arabic *Thousand and One Nights* (Irwin 1994: 214–236).[20]

The author of Mary's text makes every attempt to highlight the supposed oral origins and thus authenticity of his tale. The story, we are told at the end of the narrative, was "taught (διδάσκοντες) . . . in unwritten fashion (ἀγράφως)" from generation to generation, "for those wishing to listen." Then its author intrudes (chapter 41):

Ἐγὼ δὲ ἅπερ ἀγράφως παρέλαβον, ἐγγράφῳ διηγήσει δεδήλωκα· ἴσως δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τὸν βίον τῆς ὁσίας γεγράφασιν, καὶ πάντως ἐμοῦ μεγαλοπρεπέστερον καὶ ὑψηλότερον, κἂν οὔπω τι τοιοῦτον εἰς ἐμὴν γνῶσιν ἐλήλυθεν. Πλὴν κἀγὼ κατὰ δύναμιν ταύτην γέγραφα τὴν διήγησιν, τῆς ἀληθείας μηδὲν προτιμῆσαι θέλων.

What I received in an unwritten fashion, I presented in a written narrative; perhaps others too wrote about the life of the holy woman, and indeed perhaps in more magnificent and loftier manner than myself, yet no such text has come to my attention. Still, I too wrote this story according to my ability, wishing to prefer nothing but the truth.

How are we to take this statement? Has the author indeed written down an orally circulating story? Or is this yet another writerly posture? Earlier *written* versions of elements of Mary's story have been identified (Kouli 1996: 65–67 with Flusin 2004) and it is not unlikely that we are dealing with a primarily textual chain of composition. We cannot be certain, however, just as we cannot be sure about the original function and modes of reception of this text, which nevertheless quickly became a very popular text, and was eventually inserted in Metaphrastes's collection, thus entering the liturgical tradition of storytelling described earlier.

The second text dates to the tenth century, when Niketas *Magistros* (c. 870–after 946; PmbZ 25740), a distinctly learned writer from the Peloponnese (and notably of Slavic origins), composed the *Life* of Theoktiste of Lesbos (BHG 1723–1724), a text also included in Metaphrastes's *Mênologion*, with some further reworking and without mention of Niketas's authorship (BHG 1725). Using Sophronios's text as a model (by the time of Niketas *Magistros*, Sophronios was thought to be the author of the *Life of Mary of Egypt*), Niketas tells the story of yet another woman who, like Mary, hid in the desert and practiced an excessively austere life, only to be discovered by a man who thereby learned the limits of the claims to virtue of his sex.

In terms of its style, diction, and intertextual allusions, this text belongs to the rhetorical tradition, and its placement within hagiographical collections has somewhat puzzled interpreters (Jazdzewska 2009). However this might be, the interplay between orality and textuality provides a structuring grid of this composition as well. Like

[20] See also "Translations I: From Other Languages into Greek," Messis and Papaioannou, Section III. Arabic," in this volume.

his model, Niketas too presents his tale as a series of oral accounts mediated by various agents (Høgel 2018). Yet in his case, this supposed orality is filtered through such pointed rhetorical features that one wonders if the story was wholly invented by Niketas on the basis of Sophronios's text.

Our third and final example is perhaps the most complex in its layering of different types of oral and written modes of literary creation: *Barlaam and Ioasaph* (BHG 224 and 224a; CPG 8120; see Figure 9.2[21]). This originally Buddhist tale about a prince (Ioasaph) and his elder instructor in virtue (Barlaam) was translated and Christianized from an Arabic version into Georgian in the ninth century; it was then retranslated and extensively revised into Greek by Euthymios the Iberian (c. 955/960–May 13, 1028; PmbZ 21960), toward the end of the tenth century.[22] The complexity of its creation emerges already in its prologue, where the author, whose name is usually absent from the titles of the text in the manuscript (an anonymity that appropriates the authority of oral traditions), declares the following (*Barlaam and Ioasaph*, *Prol.* 27–30):

. . . ἐξήγησιν ψυχωφελῆ . . . οὐδαμῶς σιωπήσομαι, ἥνπερ μοι ἀφηγήσαντό τινες ἄνδρες εὐλαβεῖς τῆς ἐνδοτέρας τῶν Αἰθιόπων χώρας (οὕστινας Ἰνδοὺς οἶδεν ὁ λόγος καλεῖν), ἐξ ὑπομνημάτων ταύτην ἀψευδῶν μεταφράσαντες. Ἔχει δὲ οὕτως . . .

. . . by no means will I remain silent . . . about a beneficial tale which certain pious men from the inner parts of the land of the Ethiopians (whom we usually call Indians) recounted to me after they translated it from written records, containing no lies. This is how it goes . . .

Using verbatim words from the *Life of Mary of Egypt* (ἐξήγησιν ψυχωφελῆ . . . οὐδαμῶς σιωπήσομαι [chap. 1]: for other allusions, see Volk 2009: 115–118),[23] the author hopes to capitalize both on writtenness (ἐξ ὑπομνημάτων) and oral tradition (ἐξήγησιν[24]), and also to exploit the authority that these modes may grant, namely truth (ἀψευδῶν) and moral benefit (ψυχωφελῆ).

The fact that the text is a translation complicates the picture further. When we enter the main narrative—which is of great length and probably never functioned as liturgical reading like the hagiographical texts after which it was modeled—Euthymios's text generates a dizzying medley of rhetoric and folk story. All the top guns of

[21] Patmos, Μονὴ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου 120; parchment; eleventh century; Euthymios the Iberian, *Barlaam and Ioasaph* (Volk 2009: 430–432); f. 1r: title and beginning of the text, here attributed to a monk Ioannes Sabaites.

[22] For *Barlaam and Ioasaph,* cf. "Translations I: From Other Languages into Greek," Messis and Papaioannou, "Section III. Arabic," and Aleksidze, "Section IV. Georgian," in this volume.

[23] Sophronios's phrase "οὐδαμῶς σιωπήσομαι" is used also in the *Life of Basil the Younger* 5.87.15.

[24] ἐξήγησις (which in other contexts means "interpretation, commentary") is a common, almost technical term for a tale orally performed and/or transmitted.

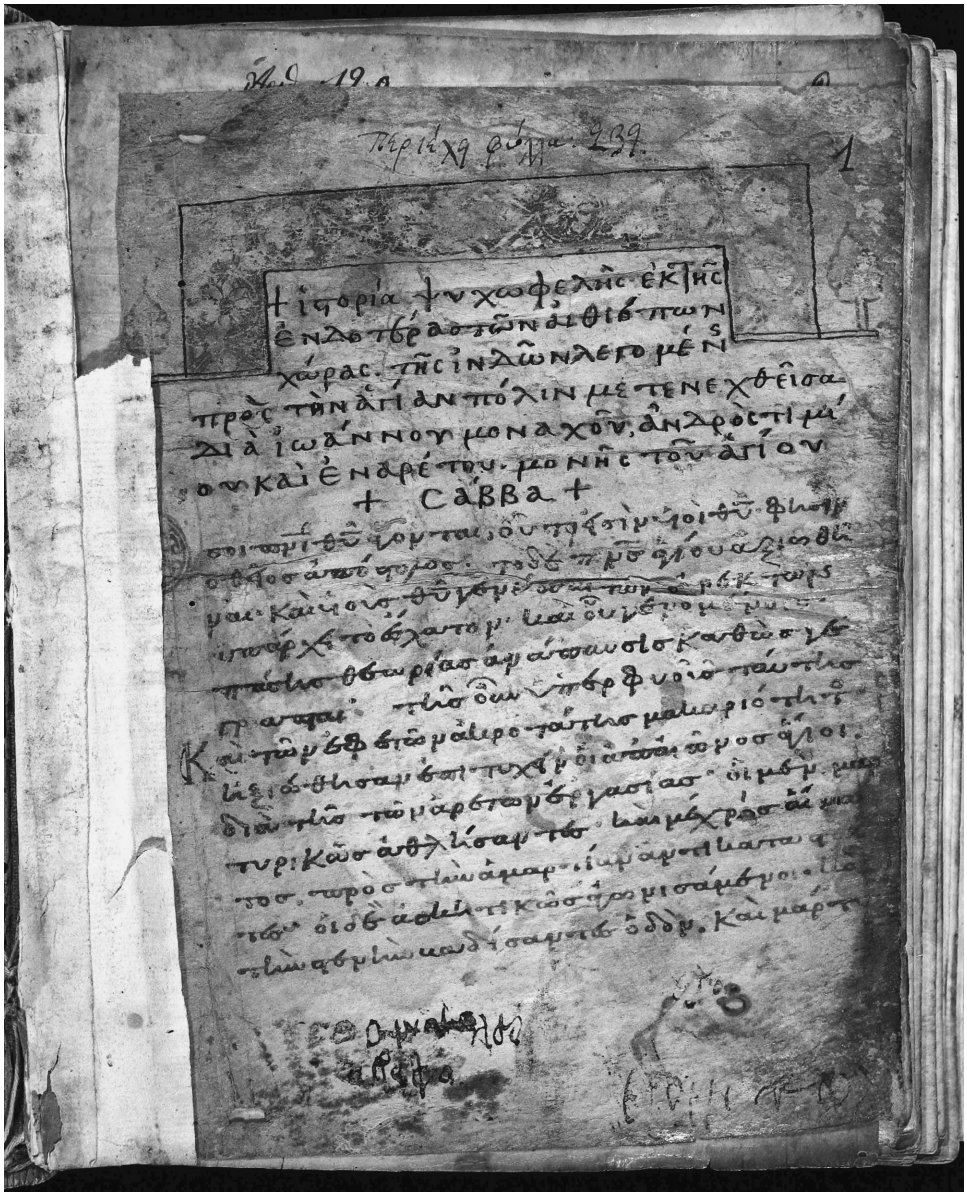

FIGURE 9.2 Patmos, Μονὴ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου 120; parchment; eleventh century; Euthymios the Iberian, Barlaam and Ioasaph; f. 1r: the beginning of the text.

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contemporary Byzantine rhetorical tradition (most notably, the frequently cited Gregory the Theologian and texts from Metaphrastes's *Mênologion*) are joined with tales and short novellas of Eastern origins (Volk 2009: 98–115). Where textuality and orality begin and end is impossible to tell. Indeed, the question of boundaries is ultimately irrelevant; the recognition and esteem that this text enjoyed in Byzantium (and beyond) was the result more of the blending of modes rather than their distinction.

Barlaam and Ioasaph was not, as we have attempted to demonstrate in this brief essay, the exception within the Byzantine literary tradition. Rather, it was yet another expression of a discursive world, where orality and textuality were almost always, as noted earlier, the two sides of the same coin, mutual echoes within the mirror of literature.

Suggestions for Further Reading

There exists no single study that treats comprehensively the interplay between orality and textuality or the processes of textualization and, alternatively, oralization in Byzantium.

From the various individual studies cited earlier, we may highlight Mullett (1989) and also mention some further relevant work: Averinchev (1977: 118–215); Patlagean (1979); Ferrarini (1981); Spadaro (1993); Kazhdan (1999: 142–143) and passim (cf. the general Index under "orality"); also Palágyi (2010) and Riehle forthcoming. The interested reader may also benefit greatly from the growing number of related collective and partly introductory volumes, which approach medieval literary traditions from a comparative, oralist perspective (such that of Reichl 2012a; or Chinca and Young 2005a); chapters devoted to orality and textuality in various companions and collective volumes (e.g., Kilito 2003; Schaefer 2004; Niles 2012; Sargent 2012; Reece 2016), as well as from relevant works (with much of the earlier related bibliography) on Greco-Roman antiquity (e.g., Lardinois, Blok, and van der Poel 2011; Minchin 2012; or Scodel 2014).

The six volumes of Koukoules (1948–1955) contain a wealth of information regarding Byzantine folklore, much of it based on or related to storytelling transmitted only or primarily orally. On the other hand, any comprehensive survey of the Byzantine visual arts as a source for Byzantine oral narrative traditions does not exist (for two examples of such work, see Anagnostakis and Papamastorakis 2011 and Anagnostakis 2017).

Finally, relevant discussions and bibliographies may be found in other chapters of this volume: Ronconi and Papaioannou, "Book Culture," Chapter 3; Messis and Papaioannou "Memory," Chapter 6; Riehle, "Rhetorical Practice," Chapter 11; and Papaioannou, "Readers and Their Pleasures," Chapter 21.

APPENDIX

Byzantine Conceptions of Orality and Textuality

Λόγος: Ἐνδιάθετος, Προφορικός, Ἐγγράμματος

In a letter addressed to Symeon of Bulgaria in 896, Leon Choirosphaktes (PmbZ 4527 and 24343), begins with the following (*Letter* 10): "Humans are binary creatures, o greatest of rulers, I mean that they are composed from body and soul. Similarly binary is discourse (λόγος): it is oral and written (προφορικὸς καὶ ἐγγράμματος) on the one hand; and intellectual and innate (νοερός τε καὶ ἐνδιάθετος) on the other." Leon repeats here a supposition that was commonplace in Byzantine learned writing of all periods and which distinguished between inner and outer discourse, λόγος. Inner discourse itself was often divided (as is the case in Leon's letter) into "intellectual" (i.e., thought, the product of the intellect) and "innate" (i.e., spoken from the heart and expressing emotions). Meanwhile, outer discourse was usually identified as oral speech, without any mention (unlike Leon) of the additional subdivision of "written" discourse.[25]

The origins of this distinction lay in Platonic and Stoic notions that were popular in learned literature of the Roman period, whether Greek or Latin (where the basic couplet was translated as *ratio* vs. *oratio*; Chiesa 1992). In Byzantium, the distinction figured in theological discussions about Christ as the primary Λόγος, according to the famed beginning of the Gospel of John: ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ Λόγος.[26] Inner and outer discourse were also sometimes discussed in rhetorical theory. This discussion was encouraged by one of the primary types of style according to Hermogenes: the Form of "ἐνδιάθετος, ἀληθής, καὶ οἷον ἔμψυχος λόγος = innate, true/sincere, and as if animated discourse," which outlined the demand that the rhetor express his emotions truthfully (Hermogenes, *On Sincere Discourse = On the Forms of Discourse* 1.7).

In the context of rhetorical theory, the additional subdivision of the outer discourse into oral *and* written was introduced, as mentioned earlier, also in Leon (see Ioannes Sikeliotes, *Commentary on the Forms of Hermogenes* 419.17–23). Yet no significant weight was placed upon the differentiation between orality and textuality in any of these discussions. Indeed, it seems that the occasional mention of written discourse was an afterthought, since writing was considered only an auxiliary and subsidiary form of speech. The concern lay elsewhere. Byzantine rhetoricians were at pains to demarcate authoritative discourse whose value resided in its truthfulness and its virtue—a concern which they shared with less learned writers. In this search for authority lay the origin of the prioritization of inner discourse over and against outer speech, whether oral or written. As Leon wrote in the continuation of the passage cited previously: "Precisely when the spoken and written discourse (ὁ προφορικὸς καὶ ἐγγράμματ ος) follows the innate discourse of the soul (τῷ ἐνδιαθέτῳ καὶ ψυχικῷ), we might believe that it conveys truth (ἀληθεύειν)."

[25] See, for instance, Basil the Great, *On the "In the Beginning was the Word" [John 1:1] = Hom.* 16,3 (CPG 2860) = PG 31 476C–480A, or Ioannes Damaskenos, *Precise Exposition of the Orthodox Faith* 13,91–8 (CPG 8043).

[26] See the texts of Basil and Damaskenos cited in the previous note and many more.

This stress on innateness, qua truth and sincerity, paralleled a more general pattern evident in much Byzantine theory of discourse. Following Platonic and early Byzantine Neoplatonic thought, which was maximized through the Christian tradition, rhetoricians as well as exegetes displayed a consistent anxiety toward the material/external aspects of discursive representation and performance.[27] Sophistry, theatricized rhetoric, and even simply writing were seen as introducing mediation and could thus raise suspicion as to their ability to convey the truth.[28]

Λόγος Τεχνικός, Γράμμα, and Γραφή

The need to delineate and instruct students to recognize and produce authoritative discourse obscured the distinction between orality and writing. But authoritative discourse was not only submitted to the moral demands for truth. In many contexts, it also obeyed the aesthetic expectations of creating "artful discourse (λόγος ἔντεχνος or τεχνικός)," that is, discourse according to the rules of the art of rhetoric.[29] These expectations also obscured the distinction between orality and writing, since in this case the important couplet was learned/sophisticated vs. unlearned/lay speech. And, while in much theological and monastic discourse, it was the latter that carried spiritual capital and social power, rhetorical education invested on the ideological potential of *cultivated* speech. Consequently, the Byzantine sciences/arts of discourse generally neglected lower-register literature, whether secular or Christian, which was often produced and circulated primarily orally. As a notable passage from a rhetorical manual relates: cultivated speech, namely "trained speech (κατ᾽ ἄσκησιν)," is juxtaposed to "the speech of the people (δημώδης)" (*Excerpts from Prolegomena on Hermogenes' On Issues* 229.6–7).[30]

Let us linger a bit more at the context of rhetorical theory and practice, since we may observe two further (at first glance diametrically opposed) dimensions of Byzantine thinking that relate to our topic: exaltation of oral discourse and unprecedented appreciation of textuality. In rhetorical theory, the acquired habit was that of treating artful discourse as primarily oral. An anonymous commentator of Hermogenes put this succinctly: τὴν πλείστην δύναμιν τῆς ῥητορικῆς ἐν τῷ προφορικῷ λόγῳ θεωροῦμεν = we observe most of the power of rhetoric in oral discourse (*Collection of Comments by Various Rhetoricians on the Prolegomena to Hermogenes' Rhetoric* 268.5–6). Thus the ancient theory and practice of discourse, which the Byzantines inherited and expanded in their own education system, revolved around the live performance of oratorical delivery in front of an audience, whether at the law court, the assembly, the theater, and, of course (for Byzantine contexts), the school, the imperial court, the banquet, the camp, and the church. It was discourse focused on *speech*-giving rather than the

[27] For a notable example of the Neoplatonic approach regarding the distinction between written and innate discourse with an emphasis on truth, see the relevant comment of the fifth-century writer Hermeias (*Scholia on Plato's Phaedrus* 258–260) on the well-known passage (indeed a landmark text for modern theories of orality) in Plato's *Phaedrus* 275c–d.

[28] See further Papaioannou, "Theory of Literature," Chapter 4 in this volume. See also Alexander (1990).

[29] For the terms, see e.g. Sopatros, *Commentary on Hermogenes' Art* 2.12 and Ioannes Doxapatres, *Rhetorical Homilies on Aphthonios' Progymnasmata* 89.26–90.15 and 123.24–124.6, ed. Rabe.

[30] Few learned authors (among them Psellos) showed some interest in discussing lower-register discourse; cf. the essays (some pseudo-Psellian) listed in Moore 2005: 397–400 (see also Roilos 2014: 234–5); cf. further Koukoules 1950 (on Eustathios).

composition of *texts*. It is no coincidence that rhetorical theory and practice often insisted on the importance of αὐτοσχέδιος λόγος, improvised, extemporaneous speech (Papaioannou 2013: 126; Pizzone 2014: 10–11) as well as on memorization, "the constitution of an inner library" (Flusin 2006: 76). Nor is it an accident that the terms "speaker" (ῥήτωρ) and "discourse" (λόγος) were much more commonly used, as opposed to the terms "writer" (συγγραφεύς) or "written text" (σύγγραμμα, συγγραφή) in order to designate, respectively, the producer of literature and his/her product.[31] After all, as is stated by Symeon Metaphrastes (*Life, Conduct, and Passion of the Holy Martyr of Christ Saint Eugenia and Her Parents* 64):

. . . ὅσον τὸ ἐξαλλάττον ἐστὶ γραφῆς καὶ φωνῆς, . . . οὐχ᾽ ὁμοίως ἄν τις πείσειεν ἢ διδάξει ἐπιστέλλων, ἢ περὶ τηλικούτων διαλεγόμενος, ἐπεὶ καὶ πολὺ τὸ μέσον ἐμψύχων λόγων καὶ ἀψύχου καὶ νεκρᾶς εἰσηγήσεως.

. . . how great is the difference between writing and the voice, . . . one would not be as persuasive nor could teach such elevated topics as well in letters as in a colloquy, since there is a significant disparity between animated speech and inanimate, dead instruction.

At the opposite end of the spectrum, yet within the same field of learned rhetorical discourse, we occasionally encounter also a decided appreciation for "written" discourse. An extreme example comes from Michael Psellos, who in a letter to a high member of imperial administration, probably Leon Paraspondylos, wrote (*Letter* 454.42–50):

Πλὴν ἀλλ᾽ ἐγώ τι τῷ γράμματι πλέον χαρίζομαι· μάλιστα γὰρ τὸν φίλον ἀπεικονίζεται, καὶ τὸν χαρακτῆρα δείκνυσι τῆς ἐκείνου ψυχῆς. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἁπλοῦς λόγος κατὰ τὸ ἐπιτυχὸν ἀπαγγέλλεται, καὶ οὐ μάλα σαφηνίζει τὸν λέγοντα· ὁ δ᾽ ἐπιστολιμαῖος τὴν ἐνδιάθετον μορφὴν ἀποτυποῦται τοῦ γράφοντος. Ποῦ δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἁπλαῖς ὁμιλίαις κάλλος, ἢ συνθήκη φράσεως, ἢ ἁρμονίας ἐμμελοῦς ἔμφασις; Οἱ δὲ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τύποι τὰς τοιαύτας ἀναμάσσονται χάριτας· καὶ μᾶλλον εἰσδύνουσι τὰ γράμματα ταῖς ψυχαῖς, ἢ εἴ τις αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα φέρων ἐνήρμοζεν.

Still, I grant the letter some superiority; for it represents better the friend, and it shows the distinctive character of his soul. Simple speech is uttered haphazardly, and does not offer a clear image of the speaker; epistolary discourse, however, offers an imprint of the innate form of the writer. Where in simple speech might one find beauty, or composition and style, or evidence of musical harmony? By contrast, the forms of the letter give express such charms; and letters enter into the soul even more than if one brought and attached the things themselves to it.

Psellos here expands on an epistolary commonplace, i.e., the idea that the letter is an "icon of the soul," a variation of the rhetorical notion that discourse in general represents the inner self of the author. What Psellos adds to this topos is the notion that *artistic* discourse, with its elaborate style and beauty, allowed for communication of the inner/authentic person of the writer,

[31] In one of his letters (60,33–34), Psellos nicely delineates a threefold distinction between "speeches, letters, and writings," all subsumed, however, under the single "tongue" of the rhetor: . . . ἡ γλῶσσα; ἰδού σοι ταύτην ἐκτείνω ἐν λόγοις, ἐν ἐπιστολαῖς, ἐν συγγράμμασιν.

as opposed to casual, everyday "oral" (we might add) speech, which did not have such potential (Papaioannou 2004). That such rhetorical overconfidence for the value of artistic writing is expressed in the context of playful epistolary exchange is no coincidence since among all Byzantine genres, it was letter-writing that most brought to the foreground the limits of oral and written expression, the interplay of "proximity" and "distance," and their interdependence (cf. Rimell 2007; see also Chinca and Young 2005b: 6; and Reichl 2012: 14).

If writing, however, ever found an unprecedented valuation in Byzantium, beyond the confines of the classical tradition, it is in the notion of the "holy/divine Scripture" (ἁγία/θεία γραφή) or, simply and more commonly, "the Scripture(s)" (ἡ γραφή/αἱ γραφαί). The unquestionable theological authority of the *written* text of the Bible, along with the commensurate ritual authority of Bible *books* as objects, was a sine qua non of Byzantine discursive culture and hardly requires any further discussion or explanation here.[32] What does merit mention, however, is that the *written-ness* of divinely originating biblical discourse evoked yet another aspect in Byzantine imagination: the fundamental parallelism between writing and Christ's incarnation. A short, four-line (τετράστιχον) epigram by Manuel Philes (died c. 1340s; PLP 29817) says it all (*Poem* 1.1):

Εἰς τὸν Εὐαγγελισμόν

Ὁ πύρινος Νοῦς τὸν θεάνθρωπον Λόγον
τῷ Παρθενικῷ μηνύει σοι βιβλίῳ·
τῷ γὰρ νοητῷ καλάμῳ τοῦ Πνεύματος
γράψει Θεός σοι παγγενῆ σωτηρίαν.

On (an icon of?) the Annunciation

The fiery Mind[33] proclaims the Word, the God-Man,
to your Virginal book;
by the immaterial reed of the Spirit,
God will write the salvation of all humankind through you.[34]

[32] For a concise Byzantine statement regarding the authority of the Bible, see the relevant chapter (90) in Ioannes Damaskenos's popular *Precise Exposition of the Orthodox Faith*; cf. further Magdalino and Nelson (2010) with a focus on the Old Testament; for an ambitious account of the relevant Western medieval tradition, see Gellrich (1985). Of course, the *writtenness* of the Bible did not preclude the simultaneous idealization of orality in the form of preaching and teaching; a telling demonstration of this is an illustrated page from the famous *Theodore Psalter* whose completion is dated to February 1066 (British Library, Add MS 19352); on f. 19v we see Peter, Paul, and the four Evangelists depicted as preachers (rather their usual image as scribes).

[33] Namely the archangel Gabriel—hence the capital letter at the beginning of the word.

[34] Philes's double "σοι" affords two interpretations. It may refer (as is assumed in the preceding translation) to the Virgin Mary, who functions as the addressee of the epigram/prayer (it is not uncommon for a holy figure to be the intended recipient of a Byzantine epigram); but "σοι" may refer also to the human viewer, "to whom" the Word is proclaimed and "for whose sake" salvation will be granted.

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CHAPTER 10

NARRATIVE

Theory and Practice

INGELA NILSSON

Stories are usually accounts of what happened to certain persons: how they—or others—experienced what happened, and sometimes why and when particular circumstances occurred. Narrative can accordingly be seen as a human strategy for understanding and organizing the world, coming to terms with time, space, and other human beings. Needless to say, such a definition of narrative makes it relevant to the study of any given culture or literature, including of course Byzantine culture and literature. Within Byzantine studies, recent decades have seen an increasing interest not only in what the Byzantines narrated, but also in why and how they narrated their stories. It has become apparent that not only the central narrative genres, that is, hagiography and historiography, bear witness to the Byzantine interest in narrative technique, but so do several other Byzantine texts, ranging from grammatical exercises and scholia to occasional poems and imperial orations.

This chapter aims to offer the reader some ideas on how to approach narrative both as an object of historical investigation and as a modern methodological tool. It will address the meaning and function of narrative form and technique in Byzantine literature, examining them through specific examples of the Byzantines' own constant and explicit interest in narrative. Recent developments in modern, so-called post-classical narratology are highly useful in this respect, most notably the "diachronization" of narratology proposed by Monika Fludernik and adapted in Irene de Jong's *Studies in Ancient Greek Narrative* (Fludernik 2003; de Jong 2014: 6). Their aim is to look at the development of narrative techniques over time, thus introducing a historical dimension and combining synchronic and diachronic perspectives. Such an approach is crucial to Byzantine studies as well, since readers of Byzantine storytelling deal both with a long period of time and with the negotiation and intersection of multiple narrative traditions (ancient Greek, Roman, Jewish, Christian, but also Arabic, Persian, and so on). A meaningful survey about how the practice of telling stories developed within Byzantine literature remains to be written. This brief study is merely meant to introduce the reader

to a set of methodological tools that can contribute to our understanding of Byzantine literature and, more generally to the meaning of narrative.

Narrative Theory and "Proto-Narratology"

While modern narratology and its current terminology has its roots in the 1960s and in the French circles of literary theorists such as Tzvetan Todorov and Gérard Genette, the significance of narrative structures and techniques can be noted much earlier. To give but one example, the well-known passage in Aristotle's *Poetics* 7, discussing the beginning, middle, and end of tragedy, could be described as a "proto-narratological" notion of plot (de Jong 2014: 4; Nünlist 2014: esp. 156–157; Abbott 2007: 43). Such structural comments made by Aristotle, along with Platonic ideas of representational modes, were central to formalism and structuralism, which dominated narratology at its beginning (Herman 2005a). The analytical categories of narratology are therefore in some cases remarkably close to those of Greek rhetoric (de Jong 2014: 9–10). This affinity can justify the use of modern narratological tools for analyzing Greek texts, but it also calls for critical caution: the analytical and empirical categories may sometimes coincide, but, as a practice embedded in specific sociocultural contexts, the pre-modern writing of rhetorical commentary remains removed from modern narratological analysis.

The scholia—marginal comments transmitted over centuries, continuously copied and revised by Byzantine scholars—offer rich material with regard to such "proto-narratological" observations. While treatises on rhetoric and poetics provide models for how to compose texts, scholia indicate how they were meant to be understood by readers and students (Nünlist 2009a). Recent studies have shown that ancient critics were aware of poetological and rhetorical issues that are compatible with central concerns of modern narratology—issues such as temporal sequence and the relation between the narrator and the character (Nünlist 2009b). The scholia thus often provide us with an important link between ancient and Byzantine literature. Other links are provided by the tradition of rhetorical theory and the προγυμνάσματα, the "preliminary exercises" in various types of rhetorical discourse that taught students how to compose texts.

The notion of plot—that is, the order or sequence of events—may be used as an example, since such concerns were relevant to writers of both scholia and rhetorical textbooks. For instance, it is often noted in the scholia that the break of a purely chronological or "natural" sequence (the Aristotelian beginning-middle-end) had the potential to create various effects, such as suspense, caused by the so-called prolepsis or "flashforward" (Nünlist 2009a: 34–45). Narrative order accordingly affected the recipient, whether s/he received it by reading a text or listening to a performance. A different, but related concern is voiced in the mid-fifth-century *Progymnasmata* attributed to Ailios Theon, who in his extensive chapter on narrative (Διήγημα, 78.15–96.14) underlined the various forms that narration can take and the way in which the order

of events can be rearranged (86–87). At the same time, Theon warned against inserting long digressions (παρεκβάσεις) in a long narrative, since such digressions may distract "the thought of the hearers and results in the need for a reminder of what has been said earlier" (80; trans. Kennedy 2003: 30). Such a break makes the narrative unclear, which is a breach of the three main virtues of narration (clarity, conciseness, and credibility; 79: σαφήνεια, συντομία, πιθανότης).

Handbooks such as Theon's, produced over the first centuries CE, continued to provide a foundation for textual production for centuries to come. Byzantine education was modeled on late antique practices, with studies of grammar and rhetoric being central components (see further Papaioannou, "Theory of Literature," Chapter 4 in this volume). The various text types that were taught via the *progymnasmata*—narration, description, and so on—were thus integrated in the narrative arsenal of Byzantine writers, and the scholia that were studied together with ancient texts provided additional advice on how to create beautiful, suspenseful, and efficient discourse. Needless to say, the continuation in reading and writing practices does not mean that the Byzantines produced the same kind of narratives as the ancient Greeks. But knowing what the Byzantine writers read about narrative strategies in ancient texts can help us understand how they understood earlier narratives, what rhetorical tools they had at their disposal, and the way in which they composed their own stories.

Characterization and Focalization

We shall stay with the progymnasmatic tradition, but consider a narrative component that is central also to modern storytelling, namely characterization. Characters are participants—most often (but not necessarily) human beings—who experience or observe certain events within the storyworld. For many readers, characterization is one of the most important aspects of a narrative, and the way in which a character is represented in a text tends to heavily influence readers' responses to a story. In the progymnasmatic tradition, one particular exercise is of special interest here: the ἠθοποιία, the speech or representation of a character (cf. Figure 4.1 in Chapter 4 of this volume). The aim of the exercise was to be able to adopt the perspective of a specific person by means of direct speech. This was pointed out in the commentary on Aphthonios's *Progymnasmata* by Ioannes of Sardeis (early ninth century):

> Πανταχοῦ δὲ τὸ τῆς ἠθοποιίας χρησιμώτατον· οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰς ἕν τι τῆς ῥητορικῆς εἶδος ἀναφέρεται, ἀλλ' εἰς ἅπαντα· πανταχοῦ γάρ, εἰ τύχοι, καὶ ἤθη πλάττομεν καὶ λόγους τοῖς προσώποις περιτίθεμεν. Διόπερ καὶ τῷ τῆς ἠθοποιίας τύπῳ γυμνάζειν ἡμᾶς ἠξιώκασιν ὡς ἐν παντὶ λόγῳ ταύτης δεησομένους. (*Commentary on Aphthonios' Progymnasmata* 200.3–8)

> Practice in *êthopoiia* is most useful everywhere; for it does not contribute to only one species of rhetoric, but to all, since everywhere, as it happens, we fashion characters and attribute speeches to persons. Wherefore, they have thought it worthwhile to exercise

us in the form of the *êthopoiia* since we shall have need of it in every speech. (trans. Kennedy 2003: 217, slightly modified)

The ethopoetic mode was crucial not only in oratory, but obviously in any kind of narration. Moreover, the audience and situational context of an *êthopoiia* are almost as important as its words, ideas, and style, since the performative settings regulate the effect of the characterization; that is, in order for the recipient to find a character convincing (whether appealing, amusing, or terrifying), the writer has to create a person that is right for the situation.

Let us see how this works in an example written by Nikephoros Basilakes in the twelfth century: "What words would Danaë say, when deflowered by Zeus who had transformed himself into gold" (*Progymnasmata* 46: *Τίνας ἂν εἴποι λόγους ἡ Δανάη, ὑπὸ Διὸς εἰς χρυσὸν μεταβληθέντος διαπαρθενευθεῖσα*). This *êthopoiia* has been preserved in a collection of *progymnasmata*, presumably used by Basilakes in his work as a teacher of rhetoric. Most of the exercises follow the prescriptions of Aphthonios (e.g., in their use of mythological motifs), but some of the *êthopoiiai* also employ Christian characters and settings from hagiography or, primarily, from the Bible (e.g., "What words would Hades say when Lazaros was raised from the dead on the fourth day"; *Progymnasmata* 39) and seem to be "intensified to explore mood, character and scene" (Alexiou 2002: 99). In Danaë's monologue, the young girl who has been kept prisoner by her father opens by stating the failure of her father's scheme. His precautions and the confining bronze chamber did not protect her virginity: "gold takes possession of me, gold robs me of my virginity, gold rapes me" (46.2–3: χρυσός με τυραννεῖ, χρυσός μου τὴν παρθενίαν ἀποσυλᾷ, χρυσός με βιάζεται). She soon understands that Eros is behind this: "I guess that the gold is Zeus and that much desire has enflamed him" (46.18: Δία τὸν χρυσὸν εἶναι μαντεύομαι καὶ πολὺς ὅ Ἔρως ἐξέκαυσε). Danaë's emotions are not static and in this they follow the ethopoetic pattern of now-then-after: she moves from confusion and fear (in the moment) to embarrassment and pride (as she considers past adventures of her "lover"), ending in the experience of pleasure (sexual climax as well as her future as the mother of Perseus). This emotional journey is not only represented in words, but also is achieved through sonoric effects (e.g., the echo of the word *chrysos* throughout the speech) and an increasing narrative tempo that mirrors the physical experience itself (Nilsson 2014: 148–150). In this manner, the *êthopoiia* achieves the representation of a character's changing emotional experience.

The *êthopoiia* was a crucial exercise for learning how to handle characters and perspectives, and for learning how to write in the voice of another. A related narrative concept is focalization, that is, the viewing of events in a story (or what Jahn somewhat more technically calls "the submission of [. . .] narrative information to a perspectival filter"; Jahn 2007: 94). Therefore here we are dealing with both "focus" (*who sees*) and "voice" (*who speaks*), as proposed by Genette (1980: 186). The term "focalization" was reconfigured by Mieke Bal, who objected to Genette's model as being too vague. She argued against the idea that narrative can be unfocalized and "neutral" (Bal 2002: 41–42), and defined focalization as the relation between the subject and the object of perception. The crucial distinction in Bal's model, now widely accepted, is that between the

external focalizer (or narrator-focalizer) and the internal focalizer, a character residing within the story (Bal 1985: 100–114). Such positions control and regulate the flow of information in a narrative; therefore strategic choices in focalization determine both structure and characterization.

The *êthopoiiai* were always told in the first person and can be said to have employed only one kind of focus, that of the narrator-focalizer, and in the exercise discussed earlier, Danaë is the primary narrator-focalizer of the story. We may compare this focus to a *narrative* included in the same collection (*Progymnasmata* 12: *Διήγημα τὸ κατὰ τὴν Δανάην*). This brief story opens with a gnomic statement on the power of Eros: "Nothing is more provident than a father, but nothing more clever in plotting than Eros" (12, 1–2: Οὐδὲν ἄρα πατρὸς προμηθέστερον, ἀλλ' οὐδ' εἰς ἐπιβουλὴν σοφώτερον Ἔρωτος). The story is then told in a manner that may seem unfocalized or neutral, but even the first sentence introduces a viewpoint (the father will be deceived by Eros) before the focalization switches to Danaë's father Akrisios in the second sentence: "Akrisios wanted his child Danaë to remain a virgin and, seeing such a large meadow of beauty, he feared those who would secretly rob her flower of virginity" (12.2–5: ἤθελε Δανάην τὴν παῖδα παρθενεύειν Ἀκρίσιος καί, μέγαν οὕτω λειμῶνα κάλλους ὁρῶν, ἐδεδίει τοὺς λάθρα τὸ τῆς παρθενίας ἄνθος ἀποσυλήσοντας). It is this view of Akrisios that makes him lock up his daughter in a place where he thinks no man will reach her, but the reader already knows—thanks to the narrator's remark in the first sentence—that he will fail. In the *diêgêma*, Danaë is an object; in the *êthopoiia*, she is the subject and the primary narrator-focalizer (even if she remains the object of divine desire).

The contrast between Basilakes's *diêgêma* and the *êthopoiia* brings out the relevance of progymnasmatic exercises for learning how to handle focalization and characterization in educational settings in Byzantium, and from here the step to learned literary practice is small. In the same century, the so-called Komnenian novels offered a "revival" of the ancient Greek novel, a series of texts in which we certainly recognize not only the erotic theme of Basilakes's *êthopoiiai*, but also the intensified elaboration of mood, character, and scene that his *progymnasmata* express. The twelfth-century novels belong to those Byzantine texts that have been analyzed from narratological perspectives (Nilsson 2001 and 2014: 139–152; Roilos 2005). The same applies to the Palaiologan romances (Agapitos 1991). Here we will briefly note the significance of the novels for developing complex ways of handling focalization and characterization. In novelistic narratives, we find not only many different focalizers, enabling multiple perspectives and frequent cases of *analepsis* and *prolepsis* ("flashback" and "flashforward"), but also examples of embedded focalization. An embedded focalizer can appear when the narrator hands over the focalization (but not the narration) to one of the characters, who then offers his or her focus of the event. A case in point appears in Niketas Eugeneianos's *Drosilla and Chariklês*, when the heroine is smiling at a certain Kallidemos who tries to seduce her by telling her love stories in a particularly brutish and unsophisticated manner. Her smiles (at 6.538 and 555), noticed but misinterpreted by Kallidemos, represent Drosilla's perspective of the story and create a certain bond between her character and the amused reader (Nilsson 2016b).

Such devices are not unique to explicitly fictional texts, but are narrative strategies that also influenced historical writing. Byzantine historiography is no exception (Ljubarskij 1998), and in the twelfth century both chronicles and histories show an intensified interest in complex narrative strategies, perhaps partly in response to the revival of the novel (Nilsson 2014: 87–111). Anna Komnene's *Alexiad* offers an interesting case in point. The history of Alexios I Komnenos (1089–1118), written by his daughter Anna in a highly personal style, has received much critique over the years. Some critics aimed at her chronological inconsistencies, i.e., the order in which she told the historical events, and others focused on her "emotional" outbursts of lamentation—sometimes defined as a typically "female" characteristic. This image has changed over the past decades, and the sometimes confusing order of events in the *Alexiad* has been re-evaluated as an important part of Anna's narrative strategy. Such a structural analysis can help us discern narrative patterns of the story, for instance political or subversive messages (Vilimonović 2014). Ideological signals can also be transmitted via the choice of generic models, in Anna's case the epic trans-textual links indicated by the title of her history, the *Alexiad* (Neville 2012), and the links to tragedy and lamentation in her "personal" authorial interventions (Buckley 2014; Neville 2013, 2014, 2016; Vilimonović 2019: 143–162.).

A careful formation of characters and a sophisticated handling of focalization were certainly part of Anna's technique, although there has been no study devoted to these particular aspects of her narrative. Such an analysis could complement the studies mentioned earlier, by showing how the significance of names and appearances (cf. Vilimonović 2014: 51–52) along with the shift in spatial standpoint—e.g., from panoramic to scenic and close-up (de Jong 2014: 60–65)—contributes to the understanding of Anna's shaping of "herself" in her story (not Anna the historical daughter of Alexios, but Anna the narrator in the *Alexiad*). The narratological distinction between "who sees" and "who speaks" and the focus on what role the viewer or speaker has in the narrative can help us sharpen the analysis of Anna's "self-reflective expressions of personal sadness" (Neville 2013: 196) and understand the way in which she characterized herself (the heroine of the story) as a lamenting tragic woman, focalizing her narrative in a way that filters the historical events and helps determine their ideological significance in the present (cf. Jahn 2007: 99–100). Such aspects of focalization are interrelated with the fundamental distinction between author and narrator, a central principle of narratology to which we will return later. What is important to note here is that even in historiography, the narrator—just like the characters—is the creation of the author.

Time and Space

In the previous section my focus was synchronic. I tried to show how similar strategies can develop in different kinds of texts in the same period, in order to underline how easily narrative modes and techniques travel across genre boundaries. Such transfer takes place also across time, and in what follows I shall attempt a diachronic perspective

that spans several Byzantine centuries. My narratological focus here will be on the temporal and spatial dimensions of stories, and I should like to begin by citing an episode from the *Patria* of Constantinople, compiled in the tenth century. It concerns a statue of Aphrodite next to the hospital of the emperor Theophilos I (829–843), built by Constantine the Great as a brothel, where "lovers" used to come to consort with "adulterous women" (*Patria* 2.65):

Ἦν δὲ σημεῖον ἡ στήλη τῶν ἐν ὑπολήψει ὄντων καθαρῶν γυναικῶν καὶ παρθένων, πλουσίων τε καὶ πενήτων· ἐάν τις ἔλυσεν τὴν παρθενίαν τινός, ἐκείνων πολλῶν τε καὶ ὀλίγων μὴ ὁμολογούντων ἔλεγον αὐταῖς οἱ γονεῖς καὶ φίλοι· "ἀπέλθωμεν εἰς τὸ Ἀφροδίτης ἄγαλμα καὶ, εἰ καθαρὰ εἶης, ἐλεγχθήσει." Ἐκεῖσε δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς στήλης πλησιαζουσῶν, εἰ μὲν ἄμεμπτος ὑπῆρχεν, διήρχετο ἀβλαβής, εἰ δὲ ἐμιάνθη ἢ ἐλύθη αὐτῆς ἡ παρθενία, ἡνίκα ἐπὶ τὸν κίονα τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἐπλησίασαν, ἄκουσαν καὶ μὴ βουλομένην ἐπιστασία ἀθρόα ἐσκότιζεν αὐτὴν καὶ σηκώνουσα ἐν πᾶσιν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῆς, ἐδείκνυεν πᾶσιν το ἑαυτῆς αἰδοῖον· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ αἱ ὕπανδροι, ἐὰν λαθραίως ἐμ οιχεύοντο, τοῦτο καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς ἐγένετο. Καὶ ἐθαύμαζον πάντες καὶ ἐπίστευον πάντες τῇ γενομένῃ πορνείᾳ ἐκείνων ὁμολογουσῶν.

The statue was a touchstone for chaste women and virgins, both rich and poor, who were held in suspicion. If someone defiled a girl's virginity, and many or few of them did not admit this, their parents and friends would say to them: "Let's go to the statue of Aphrodite, and you will be tested as to whether you are chaste." When they approached [the place] below the column, if she was without blame, she passed by unharmed, but if she was defiled or her virginity destroyed, a sudden apparition would confuse her, reluctantly and against her will, as soon as they approached the column with the statue, and lifting her dress in front of all, she would show her genitals to all. A similar phenomenon befell married women, if they had secretly committed adultery. And all were amazed, and all believed when the women confessed the adultery they had committed. (trans. Berger 2013: 94–97)

The statue ends up being smashed by a woman who, having committed adultery, experienced its power as she was forced to pass by. This is said to have happened in the sixth century.

The *Patria* is filled with short stories like this, connecting a place or an object (most often a statue or a building) to a moment in the capital's glorious past. Each story seem to present a particular configuration of time and space, indicating the "intrinsic connectedness" of time and space proposed by Mikhail Bakhtin (1981: 84) and subsequently underlined by cognitive narratology (e.g., Herman 2005). Considered individually, both time and space point in the direction of several kinds of storytelling. Starting with the temporal dimension, the description of the former brothel and the statue that somehow mirrors the characteristics of this space of adultery belongs in the past: Constantine built it in the fourth century, and the pagan statue was, according to the story, smashed in the sixth century. The story itself is clearly fictional, but it is placed in a historical context, however vague it may seem (Berger 2001: 82). We recognize this kind of story from chronicles and histories, where such anecdotes are often inserted in order to underline

a point of the overall story, e.g., the character of an emperor (Nilsson and Scott 2007; Scott 2010). Here, the story does not characterize a person, but a place, according to the general focus of the compilation. In spite of the historical content of the *Patria*, time is not an organizing principle, nor is space or topography, at least not in any obvious manner (Berger 2013: xiv). From another temporal perspective, time is, however, at the very center of the *Patria*, built into their compilatory form: consisting of stories from the capital's past, drawn from various sources (among them the *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*, composed in the eighth century), many of them anonymous and constantly rewritten, the *Patria* can be said to thematize time and express by their very form the composite and ever changing history of Constantinople (cf. Magdalino 2014).

As noted earlier, the spatial dimension of the story offers a characterization of a place, but the situation is rather ambiguous, and it is not clear whether the statue was set up to represent the brothel (with Aphrodite as a signpost indicating extramarital sex) or if it was already there and implicitly influenced the construction of the brothel. The power of the pagan statue is beyond doubt: "all were amazed, and all believed" when they saw the female behavior induced by the statue. While magic powers of ancient statues are thematic in the *Patria*, this particular kind of miraculous event is reminiscent of both novelistic and hagiographical writing. The virginity test is central to any genre concerned with female chastity, whether ancient or pagan, and the motif thus opens up an imaginary space (Cupane 2014) where the "miracle" performed by the statue is "true," regardless of its historical authenticity (Messis 2014). The place in Constantinople where the story takes place is true enough, it is "on top of the hill, near the so-called Zeugma," but the statue is part of a parallel space known from narratives of various kinds. As women enter that space, they behave in a manner that would usually be seen as breaking the norm—showing their naked genitals—but which here seems to make perfect sense (again: "all were amazed, and all believed"). The "real" location of the space and its configuration with a historical moment mean that the text—however "unreal"—remains in semantic contact with contemporary reality (cf. Veikou and Nilsson 2018).

The test of virginity or faithfulness appears in novelistic and hagiographical traditions, where it may be endowed with both serious and comical or satirical undertones. In other contexts, statues can create impure desire in the beholder, as in the woman dreaming about the erotic embrace of the Hippodrome statues in the tenth-century *Life of Saint Andrew the Fool* (2491–2494; BHG 117). Such motifs have apparently been drawn from various contexts and inserted into the patriographic collection of places and events, presumably reminding the audience of known stories. This procedure characterizes Byzantine composition in general, as marked by the recycling of motifs and topoi (Messis and Papaioannou, "Memory," Chapter 6 in this volume). It entails a constant renegotiation of genre boundaries, which can be described in terms of transtextuality (see further discussion later in this chapter) or literary dialogism. A related generic phenomenon defined by Bakhtin is that of *novelization*, the process by which genres are "novelized," "dialogized," and gradually permeated by novelistic characteristics (Bakhtin 1981: 6–7). Margaret Mullett has applied Bakhtin's concept to depict a development in twelfth-century hagiography (Mullett 2006; cf. Nilsson 2014: 122–123), whereas Ioannis

Polemis has drawn on it in his analysis of Michael Psellos's *Chronographia* (Polemis 2015). While the "novelistic" influence seems particularly dominant in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, it should be noted that the diachronic manifestations of the same generic features and motifs are a central feature throughout the Byzantine millennium (Messis 2014).

While time and especially temporal sequence, as seen from a structuralist perspective, have received attention in recent scholarship (Vilimonović 2014; Kulhánková 2014), spatial questions have attracted less interest among Byzantinists. Much work remains to be done, not least on the complex relationship between "real" and narrative space (Veikou 2016) and on the overall significance of description as a "spatializing" and signifying discourse (Frank 1991; Nilsson 2001: 40–43, 141–145; cf. de Jong 2014: 112–116). In the passage from the *Patria* cited earlier, there is no description proper of the statue itself, only of its effect on women. This is a general characteristic of the statues in the *Patria*; the focus is not on what they look like, but on what they do to people—they offer stories, not descriptions. We may compare this to the many Byzantine ἐκφράσεις (descriptions) that have come down to us, depicting both "real" and imaginary objects, places, persons, and events. Their aim was to describe, but above all to echo the viewer's experience and perception, offering an interpretive framework for the viewing process (Nilsson 2021a). The narrator of *ekphraseis* of statues, such as Christodoros of Egypt, who described the ancient statues at the bath (gymnasium) of Zeuxippos (composed in the late fourth or early fifth century), offered descriptions and at the same time suggested explications. There is accordingly a story to be gained from this kind of *ekphrasis*, a story that goes beyond mere description and thwarts scholars wishing to reconstruct the collection: the narrative of the statues tells of the Roman origins of Constantinople in a Homeric vein (Kaldellis 2007; cf. Bär 2012). In the early thirteenth century, while narrating the fall of Constantinople to the Latins, Niketas Choniates told a related story in the "*De signis*," describing the statues that were placed in the Hippodrome, but destroyed by the barbarian attackers. Identifying one of the statues as Helen of Troy, Choniates offered a rather nondescript characterization of the object, but at the same time presented an important metaphor of the cultural value wiped out by the uneducated Latins (Papamastorakis 2009: 220–222; also Chatterjee 2011). The placement of these descriptions at the very end of his history was certainly a powerful statement.

Description used to be seen as a "servant of narrative," offering nothing but tedious digressions, but narratological developments in the 1990s changed that attitude dramatically (Chatman 1990; Ronen 1997; cf. Geertz 1973 with an anthropological perspective). Byzantine theorists themselves saw description as a superior kind of narration (cf. Ioannes Doxapatres, *Rhetorical Homilies on Aphthonios' Progymnasmata* 509–511). Thus descriptions also tell stories, and Byzantine literature offers numerous examples of the importance of description for our interpretation of the literary, sociocultural, and political significance of texts. Description is often concerned with space, but by means of its narrative potential it also has a temporal dimension, dependent on the relation between the narration and the events narrated. Such issues will be my concern in the next section.

Narrator and Narrative, Author and Audience

Narratological terminology may seem confusing, but a carefully defined terminology will always lead to analytical clarity. The long tradition of the field has led to much controversy over central concepts such as story and plot, or indeed the definition of narrative itself (Ryan 2007). Story, narration, and plot, as principal components of the overarching category of narrative, remain at the center of narratological analysis. A "story" is characterized by its forward movement in time: it is composed of action and characters and it always proceeds forward. A story has a separate existence from its "narration," since different narrators may tell the same stories in a different manner depending on their different perception of the events and on their own function in the story (cf. on focalization, noted earlier). In the Russian formalist tradition, the distinction was made between *fabula* (story) and *sjuzhet* (its rendering), where the latter could be seen as corresponding with "narration" or "plot" (cf. the French *histoire* and *discours*, introduced by Todorov and elaborated by Genette). Many modern scholars still prefer the formalist terms (see, e.g., de Jong 2014), whereas others use story and narration along with plot, in spite of its elusiveness, emphasizing the difference between the narrating and the plotting of a story (Abbott 2007: 40, 43–44). "Plot" is often understood as a type of story, as in Vladimir Propp's anatomy of plot types based on a study of Russian folktales. As noted previously, such recurring story patterns have been identified in, among other genres, Byzantine hagiography (Pratsch 2005; cf. Messis and Papaioannou, "Memory," Chapter 6 in this volume).

In the Platonic-Lucianic dialogue *Timarion*, most probably composed in the twelfth century, all three components defined in the preceding paragraph may be distinguished. The "story" is of a certain Timarion, who travels from Constantinople to Thessalonike, but who falls ill and almost dies on his way back. When he finally returns, he meets his friend Kydion, who urges him to relate what happened. The "narration" of the story is in Platonic-Lucianic dialogue form, which means that it opens with the meeting between the two characters in Constantinople. Kydion asks Timarion to explain why he has been away for so long, and his allusions to Homer inspires, or rather distracts, his friend, who replies: "You may have put me in mind of the poems of Homer in your eagerness to find out what happened to me, but I shall also need the resources of Greek tragedy to tell my tale, to make my narrative even more exquisite than my sufferings" (*Timarion* 6–10: ἐπεί με τῶν Ὁμήρου ῥαψῳδημάτων ὑπέμνησας, μαθεῖν περὶ τῶν ἐμῶν παθῶν ἐπειγόμενος, χρὴ κἀμὲ τῶν τραγικῶν ῥημάτων δανείσασθαι τὸν ὑπὲρ τούτων λόγον ποιούμενον, ὡς ἂν κομψῶν παθημάτων καὶ ἡ διήγησις κομψοτέρα προβαίη μοι; trans. Baldwin 1984: 41, modified). Kydion becomes impatient—"Oh, do get on with it and don't waste my time"—but Timarion seems lost in ancient citations; thus Kydion has to tell him off once more before he finally embarks on his tale. Timarion is just getting to the exciting part, the attempt to return home, when he is again interrupted by Kydion (53–63):

Ὡς λίαν αἰεὶ σχέτλιος εἶ περὶ τὰς διηγήσεις, ὦ λῷστε, οὕτω συνεπτυγμένως κἀπιτροχάδην ἀεὶ διηγούμενος, ἐνδιάσκευον δὲ μηδὲν ἀπαγγέλλων ἡμῖν· ἔτι γὰρ τὰ τῆς καθόδου μὴ ἀκριβῶς ἀπαρτίσας τῷ λόγῳ, περὶ δὲ τῆς κατὰ χώραν ἐπιδημίας μηδέν τι προσθείς, νόστου μνήσασθαι ἐπιβάλλῃ [. . .] πλὴν ἀλλὰ θάρρει, ὦ ’γαθέ, δεινὸν οὐδέν τι πεισόμενος, ἂν τὰ σαυτοῦ σχολαιότερον ἡμῖν διηγῇ, μηδενὸς ἐπικειμένου σοι φοβεροῦ.

My friend, you have the most exasperating way of telling a story, all précis and résumé, without ever providing us with full descriptions. For although you have not yet finished a precise account of your trip out, and have not told us a single thing about your stay, you are already rushing on to describe your return home [. . .] Come on, man. No dreadful fate is lying in wait for you, nothing bad will happen if you relax and give us the full story. (trans. Baldwin 1984: 42, modified)

Kydion's interruptions create suspense by delaying Timarion's story, but also offer interesting detail on Kydion's narrative preferences. First, he is impatient for the story to begin, but then he wants a slower story with more detail (i.e., "scene" instead of "summary"; Genette 1980: 86–112; Nilsson 2001: 79–83; or, to put it in Byzantine terms, "ἐνδιάσκευον," namely with *ekphrastic* rather than "simple" narration: cf. Ioannes Doxapatres, *Rhetorical Homilies on Aphthonios' Progymnasmata* 509). Timarion tries to humor him, but is soon interrupted: "Our old friend Timarion strikes again. He's back to his old form, even without realizing it. His stories tend to have a beginning and an end but no middle" (Baldwin 1984: 43; 98–100: Πάλιν ὁ φίλος ἡμῶν Τιμαρίων ἑαυτοῦ ἐγένετο, κἀπειδὰν λάθῃ, πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον ἄνεισιν ἦθος· εἰώθει γὰρ ἐν τῷ διηγεῖσθαι μόνης ἀρχῆς καὶ τέλους μεμνῆσθαι, τὰ ἐν μέσῳ παρείς). It now becomes clearer what Kydion actually wants: he wants a different "emplotment" of Timarion's story (cf. earlier reference to Aristotle, to which the text here may allude). In this way, the *Timarion* offers interesting reminders of the importance of the relationship between the recounted events and their narration, all within the frame of a fictional story.

We can remain with the *Timarion* and use it for a discussion of the relationship of the narrator to his work, another central problem of narrative analysis. If a story is composed of action and characters, Kydion and Timarion are both characters in the framing story. Since the *Timarion* is a so-called monologic dialogue, where the main story is told by one person, Timarion is also the narrator of that part of the story, whereas Kydion is his heterodiegetic narratee (i.e., a character who is inscribed in the discourse, but who does not participate in the narrated events). The narrator of the entire dialogue, including the narrative frame in which the two friends meet and then part, remains silent, but is still implicitly in charge of the narration as a whole (for instance, via his focalization of the discussion, taking place in Constantinople). The author—not necessarily to be identified with either the narrator or Timarion—remains anonymous, as does his audience, but we can still analyze the dialogue and make qualified guesses about its contemporary setting and significance (Kaldellis 2012; cf. Nilsson 2016a). A comparison with the other texts we looked at earlier, such as Anna Komnene's *Alexiad*, brings out the problems involved in the analysis of texts written by historical persons. From a narratological point of view, Anna the narrator is not to be identified with Anna the historical

person, but rather with the persona of the historical author Anna. We must assume that various perspectival filters and ideological preferences have shaped Anna's telling of her story—notably the emplotment of her role in her father's life. The narration of the *Alexiad* does not follow the temporal advancement of a story because it is presented in the form of a plot. We may also note that the epic and tragic style that is parodied in the opening of the *Timarion* is reminiscent of the way in which Anna characterizes herself, but Kydion does not accept the lamentation of Timarion—he wants the story proper, though only in the version he prefers.

The relationship of Byzantine authors to the texts they composed has received increasing attention, starting with letter writing (Mullett 1997) and now including a range of genres (Pizzone 2014a; Nilsson 2021b; Papaioannou, "Authors," Chapter 20 in this volume). Their particular interest in the way in which their own and others' stories were narrated demands further investigation. An interesting case in point, which also brings us back to our opening discussion on "proto-narratology" and scholia, is provided by the *Parekbolai* (*Excerpts*) on the Homeric epics by Eustathios of Thessalonike (c. 1115–1195). Before becoming archbishop of Thessalonike, Eustathios was a highly respected teacher in Constantinople and, according to the proem of the *Excerpts on the Iliad*, the work was composed for his students, though recipients probably also included his fellow intellectuals (*Parekbolai on Homer's Iliad* 2.18–20; cf. *Parekbolai on Homer's Odyssey* 1437.28). Like the ancient scholiasts, Eustathios noted narratological issues such as time, order, and voice in the Homeric texts. He did not, as has sometimes been argued, simply reproduce previous scholia; his method was rather to reinterpret old notes and/or add new ones (Cullhed 2016: 19*–20*). Moreover, his aim was not merely to explain the Homeric text, but above all to offer a mode of expression to aspiring rhetoricians in Constantinople. From Eustathios's perspective, Homer was not just "the Poet," but also and perhaps especially a skilled rhetor (Cullhed 2016: 19*). A thorough understanding of Homeric stylistics and narrative devices would accordingly enable recipients of the *Excerpts* to appropriate Homer's eloquence, which would be useful in their careers in the cultural and political setting of twelfth-century Constantinople. Eustathios offered examples of such narrative approaches in his own work (Pizzone 2014b; Cesaretti 2014; van den Berg 2017).

The significance of the skillful recycling of Homer and other authors from the past, both Christian and pagan, was by no means limited to the twelfth century, even if the use of the Homeric heritage seems to have reached new dimensions in that century, including the creation of authorial *personae* modeled on the blind bard (Cullhed 2014). As already noted, the use of not only citations and allusions, but also of motifs, episodes, or structural forms, constituted the basis of composition throughout the Byzantine millennium. Early *Lives* provided hypotexts—underlying story patterns—for later hagiographies, turning Saint Thekla, Saint Mary, and Saint Antony into not only model saints, but also model narratives. Motifs or plot elements can often be traced throughout centuries, going back to either of these "programmatic" *Lives* (e.g., Dirkse 2014). Important to note is the imaginative handling of these elements: hagiographers were no less interested in narrative strategies than other authors (Hinterberger 2014) and offered

a wide range of complex focalization and gendered characterization (Constantinou 2005 and 2014).

Such procedures have most often been discussed as imitation (μίμησις), but the modern connotations of such a term tend to downplay the sophisticated variety and innovation of the subsequent rewritings performed by Byzantine writers. The term "intertextuality" has therefore been adopted by some scholars. It was coined by Julia Kristeva (1976), but has a background in Saussurean linguistics and Russian formalism (Moraru 2005). The development of narrative intertextuality has gradually moved from a "universal" to a more "limited" kind, focusing more and more on the relationship between individual texts rather than "universal" models (cf. previous discussion of Propp). In order to come to grips with the vagueness of the term "intertextual," signifying basically any kind of textual relationship, Genette created a taxonomy that helps classify all possible relations between two texts, including the various degrees and kinds of textual transformation involved. For the complex Byzantine recycling of previous literature, such a taxonomy of *transtextuality* has proved helpful (Nilsson 2010; Marciniak 2013), but much methodological work remains to be done, not least in the field of oral storytelling and performativity (Mullett 2003; Marciniak 2007; Bourbouhakis 2010; Roilos 2011). While certain questions of readership and reading practices can be addressed via manuscript and textual studies (Cavallo 2006; Mondrain 2006), aspects of oral performance and aural reception are more difficult to deal with and perhaps even require a change in scholarly attitudes (Mullett 2010: 233–237; Messis and Papaioannou, "Orality and Textuality," Chapter 9 in this volume).

Challenges

My aim in this chapter has not been to offer an overview of the main narrative genres in Byzantium (see instead Bourbouhakis and Nilsson 2010), but rather to show how the Byzantine interest in narrative imbues all kinds of texts (Messis, Mullett, and Nilsson 2018). To observe certain narrative techniques or structures employed by an author is not an end in itself; rather, it is a basis for further analysis and can be a powerful tool, leading to significant insights. Over the last few decades, Byzantinists have more and more turned to narratology for heuristic tools or rigorous methodologies in order to study the logic and principles of narrative representation in these texts. In recent years, however, this curiosity appears to have declined, or at least to have remained unconnected to the advancement in narratology since the 1970s and 1980s. Byzantinists have also shown little or no interest in the narratological development in Classics, where significant progress has been achieved (but cf. Holmsgaard Eriksen and Kulhánková 2019, and see Suggestions for Further Reading at the end of the chapter). Perhaps the Byzantine examples discussed earlier, in combination with the references to recent narratological discussions, can contribute to a renewed and increased interest in narrative forms and narratological analysis, along with a growing curiosity about the Greek narrative tradition in a longer perspective. I should

also like to encourage Byzantinists to move beyond structuralist analysis and engage with present-day discussions within the diversified field of post-classical narratology, such as gender approaches to narrative (e.g., Warhol 2012), cognitive narratology (Herman 2012), and narrative theory on the "anti-mimetic" or the "unnatural" (Richardson 2012). Recent attempts at applying critical approaches such as ecocriticism (Goldwyn 2015) and homosociality (Constantinou 2019) have proved fruitful in dealing with Byzantine narrative and could inspire further exploration of modern criticism.

A field that remains unexplored from a narratological perspective is historiography, in spite of some important developments in recent years (Criscuolo and Maisano 2000; Odorico, Agapitos, and Hinterberger 2006; Nilsson and Scott 2007; Macrides 2010). I have tried to show how, from a narratological perspective, historical narratives functioned in the same manner as fiction, in the sense that we need to make a distinction between the narrator and the historical author. Such a distinction will help us to move beyond simplistic biographical readings of both historiographical and other texts. The related distinction between the narration and the narrated events is just as important. An understanding of the workings of focalization is crucial for our understanding of history, since focalization offers a representation of not only the perception, but also of the evaluation of persons and events. Focalization thus helps us describe and understand what the experience of a narrated character (including the narrator) does to the imagination of the listener or reader. A related issue that remains largely uncharted is that of the historiographical narrative of Byzantium, forged throughout centuries and colored—as any narrative—by various misrepresentations and biased ideas (Nilsson 2006). A desideratum would be a scholarly sound combination of narratological analysis of Byzantine sources and an analysis of modern historiographical narrative, a direction in which some younger scholars now move (Kinloch 2020). Such an approach could also contribute to the much discussed but still methodologically underdeveloped question of Byzantine identity, such as the Byzantine image of the "Other" versus the Western "orientalized" view of Byzantium (Cameron 2003, 2007; cf. Messis 2011 and Fludernik 2007). Again, the notion of focalization will prove helpful in laying bare ideologies of texts—an important concern in Byzantine studies, not least in a time when contemporary discourses on Europe are dominated by peripheral perspectives.

"Man is fond of fables, and in all stations of life takes pleasure in narratives" (φιλόμυθος δὲ ὁ ἄνθρωπος, καὶ πρὸς ἑκάστην βίου διάθεσιν χαίρει ταῖς ἀφηγήσεσιν), stated a scholiast of Dionysios of Thrace's *Art of Grammar* (ed. Hilgard 1901: 122.18–19). He appealed to the notion of storytelling as a universal human practice (cf. Ryan 2007), in order to warrant the preoccupation of secular education with poetic fictions and rhetorical fables. As we have seen, mastering the art of delivering tales, fictional or factual, was recognized as an advantageous skill in Byzantine society, not least for actors in performative and textual culture. The surviving corpus of Byzantine *progymnasmata*, oratory, hagiography, historiography, novels, liturgy, dialogues, and other less easily classifiable texts accordingly abound in inventive and complex applications of the art of storytelling. In our study of Byzantine literature, narratological perspectives enrich our close readings by offering new lenses through which to consider these texts.

Suggestions for Further Reading

For a brief overview of the main narrative genres in Byzantium, see Bourbouhakis and Nilsson (2010). On Byzantine narrative in a wider sense, and often in relation to either historiography or fiction, see Burke et al. (2006) and Roilos (2014). For an overview of literary criticism and its place in Byzantine studies, including narratology, see Agapitos (2008). For Byzantine narrative in a comparative perspective, in relation to Western and Persian medieval romance and historiography, see Agapitos (2012). We will probably see more of such comparative approaches in the near future (see, e.g,. the contributions in Goldwyn and Nilsson 2019), along with an increasing engagement with both classical and post-classical narratology (for such a collection of papers, see Messis, Mullett, and Nilsson 2018).

Classics have a longer history of narratological approaches, and in recent years significant progress has been made from which Byzantinists may profit (Grethlein and Rengakos 2009; Cairns and Scodel 2014). The enterprise initiated by Irene de Jong to write the history of Greek literature from a narratological point of view, represented by the *Studies in Ancient Greek Narrative* (2004–2012), will further promote that interest (and more volumes are underway). In addition to these volumes, I recommend de Jong's recent introduction to narratology and Classics (de Jong 2014), suitable for both students and teachers. See also von Contzen (2014, with bibliography) for a western medieval perspective.

Narratology is an immense field which has expanded as to include numerous disciplines that have little or nothing to do with texts. I have tried to limit my references to the handbooks and collective volumes that I find most useful, especially the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Narrative Theory* (Herman, Jahn, and Ryan 2005) and *The Cambridge Companion to Narrative* (Herman 2007). For the more advanced reader, I warmly recommend *Narrative Theory: Core Concepts and Critical Debates* (Herman et al. 2012), while teachers will profit from *Teaching Narrative Theory* (Herman, McHale, and Phelan 2010). An indispensable guide for both beginners and more experienced scholars is *The Living Handbook of Narratology*, constantly updated with new articles and comments (http://www.lhn.uni-hamburg.de/).

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CHAPTER 11

RHETORICAL PRACTICE

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The term "rhetoric" is derived from the ancient Greek adjective ῥητορική (from εἴρω or ἐρῶ: "to speak"), first appearing in Plato's *Gorgias* (453a) to designate the "art" or "craft" (τέχνη) of "creating persuasion" (πειθοῦς δημιουργός) as practiced and taught by sophists like Protagoras and Gorgias. Later theorists attempted to specify this understanding of rhetoric. A definition that became popular in Byzantium described rhetoric as "τέχνη περὶ λόγου δύναμιν ἐν πράγματι πολιτικῷ, τέλος ἔχουσα τὸ πιθανῶς εἰπεῖν κατὰ τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον [the art that is concerned with the power of speech in a civic matter, having the aim to speak as persuasively as possible]" (cf. Schouler 1995). Therefore what characterizes rhetoric and distinguishes it from other disciplines, such as dialectic or grammar, is the combination of medium (speech), concern ("political," that is, civic or public) and goal (persuasion).

Considering the public and performative nature of literary culture in Byzantium, one could argue that a great deal of Byzantine literature can be classified as rhetorical. What is more, even texts that do not fulfill all of the aforementioned criteria might be labeled "rhetorical" inasmuch as they make use of compositional and argumentative techniques drawn from rhetorical education and practice. As a consequence, Byzantine rhetoric is an immensely rich and complex field, and the present chapter can highlight only a few important aspects. In the following pages, I will sketch major themes and issues concerning Byzantine rhetorical practice, beginning with the difficult question of genre. After a brief outline of rhetorical education, I will then proceed to discuss the basic features and parameters of composition and performance. Although rhetorical culture underwent significant changes in the course of Byzantium's millennial history, I will present a "synchronic," mostly post-iconoclastic perspective and point only occasionally to developments. At the same time, I will highlight gaps and shortcomings of past and present research on Byzantine rhetoric and indicate possible avenues for future work.

Genres

According to ancient theory there are three branches of rhetoric (Aristotle, *Art of Rhetoric* 1.3: 1358a–b): judicial or forensic (accusation and defense speeches in the

courtroom), symbouleutic or deliberative (advice speeches in the civic assembly), and epideictic or demonstrative (occasional oratory, also called panegyrical and subdivided by Aristotle into praise and blame). Modern scholarly consensus holds that with the rise of autocratic forms of government in the Hellenistic era and the ongoing professionalization of law, epideictic oratory prevailed in the Greek-speaking world, while the other two types virtually vanished.[1] Yet the steady focus of late antique and Byzantine rhetorical theory and teaching on aspects pertaining to judicial and deliberative oratory (mainly στάσις theory and invention, on which see the later discussion) suggests that these forms of rhetoric persisted, even if in a different guise than in classical antiquity. This seeming discrepancy between theory and practice remains largely unexplored.[2] Here only a few examples and general suggestions for future research can be provided.

Direct evidence for the continued existence of judicial oratory is scarce. Only few speeches survive that can be considered forensic in the traditional sense (cf. Macrides 2005: 141 and n. 41), and most of them are situated in ecclesiastical contexts. For example, Michael Psellos composed a defense (ἀπολογητικός) for the discharged metropolitan of Phillipoupolis, Lazaros (*Orationes forenses* 2 with Dennis 1994: 192–193); and Nikephoros Choumnos (d. 1327; PLP 30961) an accusation (*Censure of Niphon*) that led to the patriarch's dismissal on charges of simony (cf. Polemis, "A Rhetorical Genre(?): The *Invective*," Chapter 13 in this volume). A rare example from the secular sphere constitutes Thomas *Magistros's* (d. post 1347/1348; PLP 16045) speech of defense for his relative Chandrenos, who had been accused of treason. This speech employs the traditional arrangement and argumentative structure of a forensic oration and was delivered in 1312/1313 before the emperor Andronikos II, probably at the imperial tribunal (PG 145: 353–374 with Gaul 2011: 62–66 and 87–101). Legal sources do not provide much evidence either, given that most of them are law books reticent on actual court procedures. However, the eleventh-century excerpts from judicial decisions and opinions by the judge Eustathios Rhomaios, known as the *Peira*, do allow the inference that rhetorical argument, as opposed to dogmatic application of the law, was very much alive in middle Byzantine courtrooms (Simon 1973; cf. Dennis 1994: 196–197 on Psellos). Moreover, a closer examination of references to judicial practice in the narrative sources (historical writing, hagiography, etc.) might yield relevant results.[3]

Another promising avenue could be religious literature. As noted earlier, most surviving examples of forensic oratory pertain to ecclesiastical affairs, and it is only logical that religious discourse—which was in permanent need of justification and

[1] See, for instance, Hunger (1978: I 67–68); Pernot (1993: I 55–114, and 2015); Jeffreys (2007: 172). Kennedy (1983: 6–26 and *passim*) offers a more careful and balanced assessment; see also Magdalino (1993: 356–358) and Whitby (2010: 246).

[2] For the Imperial Period and Late Antiquity, see Heath (2004); cf. also Pernot (1993, vol. 2: 710–723). For a few tentative attempts in Byzantine studies to bring aspects of deliberative and judicial rhetoric back into the picture, see Angelov (2003 and 2007: 166–180); Webb (2003).

[3] Cf. Kennedy (1983: 9–18, 267–269, and 294–296); Macrides (2005: 139–141). For Byzantine legal culture in general, see further Goutzioukostas (2004), Lokin and Stolte (2011), Bénou (2011), and Chitwood (2017), as well as, for legal texts, Pieler (1978), Van der Wal and Lokin (1985), and Troianos (2011).

defense—would benefit from well-tried methods of argumentation. Though Christian apologetic and polemic are an obvious place to look for rhetoric, very little research has been conducted in this regard (cf. Kennedy 1983: 180–264 on early Byzantium; Ruether 1969: 80–82 on Gregory the Theologian), as religious texts are for the most part studied by theologians and historians, while specialists of rhetorical culture usually confine themselves to the study of "secular" literature. This tendency has been fostered by the traditional division of handbooks of Byzantine literature into "secular" and "religious," in which rhetoric is exclusively treated as part of the former (Hunger 1978a), while the latter is approached from a theological (i.e., dogmatic or spiritual) perspective only (Beck 1959).

Although the apostles and early church fathers had set faith and the proclamation of truth against rational argument, Greco-Roman rhetoric played a certain role already in apostolic preaching, and the Pauline epistles in particular reveal familiarity with rhetorical techniques. The merging of Christian thought with classical culture (i.e., particularly philosophy and rhetoric) took shape with the establishment of Christianity as the official religion of the Roman Empire and the concomitant Christianization of its educated elites. By the late fourth century, leading ecclesiastical figures had adopted classical modes of expression and argument, not least as a reaction to the challenges imposed by rival religious groups, that is, Jews, "pagans," and Christian "heretics." In this framework, rhetorical discourse was employed both to formulate dogma through argument and to propagate it in public (within the congregation, at synods, etc.). Through the authority of the church fathers, this approach to the classical heritage became standard in Byzantium. Theodoros Stoudites (759–826; PmbZ 7574), for instance, advised his disciple Naukratios: "for the person who adheres to orthodoxy and wishes to oppose the heretics it is necessary to be a powerful and experienced speaker; for as the heretics are boastful, thinking that they excel in this branch of knowledge and tickling those who have itchy ears (cf. 2 Tim. 4:3), the orthodox would be well-advised not to be lacking in power of speech and to overthrow the carefully targeted siege engines of their opponents."[4] As a consequence, texts pertaining to religious controversies, such as the early Christological disputes and the iconoclast and Hesychast controversies, constitute a promising field of research for the impact of traditional means of persuasion on Byzantine religious discourse.

In addition to such theological texts, there are numerous apologetic writings from more personal contexts. Examples include Arethas's (d. 932/944; PmbZ 20554) writings concerning his fickle stance on the four marriages of Emperor Leo VI and his obscure literary style (e.g., *Scripta minora* 1, 2, 9–12, 14, 17); Niketas Choniates's (d. 1217) defense against the accusation of heretical views on the Eucharist, leveled against him by

[4] *Letter* 49.6–12: δεῖ γὰρ καὶ τῆς ἐν λόγῳ δυνάμεως καὶ πείρας μετέχειν τὸν ὀρθοδοξίας ἀντεχόμενον καὶ ἀντιφέρεσθαι τοῖς κακοδόξοις βουλόμενον· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι τῇ ἐντεῦθεν εἰδήσει δοκοῦντές τι μέγα ἔχειν κατακομπάζουσι, τοὺς κνηθομένους τὰς ἀκοὰς γαργαλίζοντες, κάλλιστον τοῖς ὀρθόφροσι μηδὲ τῇ τοῦ λόγου ἰσχύι ἐλλιπῶς ἔχειν καὶ καταβάλλειν αὐτῶν τὰς εὐθυβόλους ἐλεπόλεις.

the later patriarch Ioannes Kamateros (*Orations*, no. 8 with van Dieten 1971: 106–115); and Theodoros Prodromos's (d. 1166/1168) apologetic verses against similar charges of heresy, addressed to the γερουσία (*Poems* 59). In these cases it is often difficult or impossible to know whether such pieces were conceived for public performance—and if so, in what context (a *theatron*, courtroom, etc.)—or as pamphlets circulating in (few) manuscripts primarily intended to be read by the addressee(s) and a small number of other people. Whatever the case, they regularly employ traditional means of persuasion and can therefore be submitted to rhetorical analysis.

These remarks on judicial rhetoric are equally true for the *genus deliberativum*. Few symbouleutic speeches in the classical sense have been preserved, most of them dating from the Palaiologan period.[5] Examples are the *Symbouleutic Speech to the Citizens of Thessalonike on Justice* by Nikephoros Choumnos—a typical deliberative oration in structure and argument (Boissonade 1829–1833: 2.137–187 with Gaul 2011: 66–87); two speeches by Demetrios Kydones (c. 1324–1397/1398; PLP 13876), probably addressed to an assembly of high-ranking court officials during the emperor's absence from the capital (PG 154: 961–1036 with Ryder 2010: 43–44, 57–81, and 144–146); and a piece belonging to the late Byzantine anti-Latin polemic, namely Nikephoros Gregoras's (d. 1358/1361; PLP 4443) *Symbouleutic Speech* seeking to dissuade the episcopal synod from meeting a papal delegation for theological discussions (Beyer 1976: 58–65). Apart from these formal symbouleutic speeches, there are several other types of texts that could be classified as deliberative, particularly those belonging to diplomatic activities, such as the ambassador's speech (πρεσβευτικὸς λόγος; Kennedy 1983: 20–22) or diplomatic correspondence (cf., for instance, the symbouleutic letters of the patriarch and regent Nikolaos Mystikos (d. 925) to the caliph and to the emir of Crete: *Letters* 1, 2). As in the case of apologetic texts, there are also pieces from more personal contexts that employ deliberative strategies and are regularly cast in the form of a letter. One such example is Nikephoros Choumnos's essay *On Literary Criticism and Composition* which triggered his famous controversy with Theodoros Metochites (1270–1332; PLP 17982) (Boissonade 1829–1833: 3.356–364 with Riehle 2011: 27–28).

As noted earlier, epideictic rhetoric makes up the lion's share of the three traditional branches in the surviving record. This points not only to its significance in rhetorical practice, but also to the literary preferences of later generations of readers which determined the transmission of rhetorical texts. In his treatise on occasional oratory, Menandros the Rhetor lists sixteen different types of speeches, among them the encomium of the emperor (βασιλικὸς λόγος: *On Epideictic Orations* I–II: 76–95), the wedding speech (ἐπιθαλάμιος λόγος: VI: 134–147), the birthday speech

[5] Cf. Angelov (2003: 57 and n. 9) for examples from the fourteenth century. There are also a number of deliberative speeches on political, ecclesiastical and private subjects by fifteenth-century authors such as Georgios Gemistos (Plethon), Isidoros of Kiev, Georgios (Gennadios) Scholarios, and Michael Apostoles.

(γενεθλιακὸς λόγος: VIII: 158–161), the consolatory speech (παραμυθητικὸς λόγος: IX: 160–165), the address (προσφωνητικὸς λόγος: X: 164–171), the funeral oration (ἐπιτάφιος λόγος: XI: 170–179), the ambassador's speech (πρεσβευτικὸς λόγος: XII: 180–181) and the lament (μονῳδία: XVI: 220–227). One can find examples of nearly every kind in Byzantine rhetorical practice, although evidently some were more popular than others, particularly the encomium of high-ranking persons and funerary rhetoric (Hunger 1978a: I 120–157).

Apart from these conventional types of occasional oratory, which in this form seem to have developed during the Hellenistic and late Roman periods, there are genuinely "Byzantine" genres that show the influence of epideictic rhetoric. The most important of these—when measured by its productivity throughout the Byzantine millennium—was homiletics (Antonopoulou 1997: 95–115, and 2013; Mayer 2008; Cunningham 2008). Homilies (from ὁμιλία = "intercourse, conversation") are sermons delivered by bishops, priests or, less commonly, laymen for the religious (i.e., moral or dogmatic) instruction of the congregation. This practice originated in Jewish and early Christian biblical exegesis (see Constas, "Biblical Hermeneutics," Chapter 5 in this volume). There were different forms, contents, and contexts for this kind of preaching: most of the homilies were designed for delivery in liturgy, but there are also extra-liturgical homilies (especially, catecheses). The types most pertinent to and influenced by classical rhetoric were the festal homilies for the great dominical and Marian feasts, such as the Nativity or the Annunciation, and homilies in praise of saints, usually delivered on their feast days. While the former are regularly written in classicizing Greek and make use of rhetorical devices, the latter commonly employ in addition the traditional Menandrian structure of the biographic encomium. The integration of such ancient modes of rhetorical discourse into a Christian context engendered certain tensions that were never fully resolved and that became manifest in the texts in various ways. For instance, Theodoros Stoudites's *Encomium of Theophanes Confessor*, delivered on the occasion of the translation of Theophanes's remains to the monastery of *Megas Agros* in 822, is structured along the lines of a traditional biographic encomium. Yet it contains some Christian innovations as well, such as the inclusion of a narration on Theophanes's posthumous miracles (chap. 17: 282). What is more, Theodoros treats classical themes in an ambivalent manner: the subject φύσις ("nature"), divided into "physical beauty" (τὸ τοῦ σώματος κάλλος) and "comeliness of the soul" (ἡ τῆς ψυχῆς εὐφυΐα; cf. Menandros, *On Epideictic Orations* XI: 174.12–14), is fully elaborated, but Theodoros emphasizes that for any Christian external beauty is irrelevant, and the fact that Theophanes's physical elegancy did not corrupt him gives further proof of his virtuousness (chap. 3: 270). An equally ambivalent and creative engagement with the "Menandrian style" *Encomium* can be encountered in Andreas of Crete's *Encomium of the Apostle Titus*, which the author delivered on Crete on the feast day (August 25) of the patron saint of the island (PG 97, 1141–1170; cf. 1144A: "Μεγίστου τοίνυν πατρὸς ἐφέστηκεν ἑορτή [The feast of a supreme father is imminent]," probably indicating the all-night vigils preceding the feast day; cf. Cunningham 1998: 273–274). In this sermon Andreas, who was well acquainted with rhetorical traditions, plays with the expectations of his audience by announcing the

traditional structure of a biographic encomium with what first appear to be questions[6] ("Τίς μὲν οὖν ἐτύγχανε τὰ πρῶτα, καὶ οἵων ἔφυ γονέων, καὶ τῆς ὁποιασοῦν ῥίζης ἐξεβλάστησε ὄρπηξ; [Who was he at the beginning (of his life)? Who were his parents and from what kind of root did he sprout?]"), only to reject these topics ("λέγειν οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ἐμοί [this I deem not necessary to speak about]"), because "μὴ κατὰ βίου διήγησιν, ἢ καθ' ἱστορίας νόμον, ὁ παρών μου συντέτακται λόγος, πλὴν εἰ μὴ κατ' ἐγκωμίου δύναμιν παροδικῶς ἐσχεδίασται [the present speech has not been composed as a biographical narrative or according to the rules of historical writing, unless it employs in passing the force of the *encomium*]" (1145A), and, consequently, organizes his laudatory speech in a more informal, associative fashion.

From Hellenistic times, rhetorical means of expression were increasingly not confined to prose orations, but pervaded all sorts of literary genres, and consequently rhetorical education aimed at training in literary composition (and criticism) of any sort. From an art of persuasive speech in civic contexts, it developed into a λόγων τέχνη that comprised oral and written literature of various forms and contents (Walker 2000: 7 and 45–135). This process has been described as "letteraturizzazione" of rhetoric (Kennedy 1996 and 1999: 3 and *passim*), although it could, vice versa, also be labeled "rhetoricization" of literature (Papaioannou 2021: 84, on the middle Byzantine period). Byzantine verse did not fulfill fundamentally different functions than (rhythmical) prose and was commonly regarded as a branch of rhetoric (Bernard 2014: 31–57). In fact, Hermogenes discusses epic, dramatic, lyric, and "other" poetry as part of the genre of panegyric (*On the Forms of Discourse* 2.10.29–50 and 2.12.34–36; see Papaioannou 2013: 100–127, revised in 2021: 148–150). It should thus come as no surprise that there were mutual borrowings and conflations of rhetorical and poetic modes of expression, and that numerous panegyrical poems were composed in a structure and style that strongly resemble epideictic orations (Viljamaa 1968; Hunger 1978a: II 87–88; Webb 1997; Pernot 2015: 15–16 with references in n. 30; Jeffreys 2019). The poetical œuvre of Theodoros Prodromos is indicative in this respect. His vast corpus of occasional poems include, among others: encomiastic addresses and hymns to the emperor and members of the imperial family for various occasions (nos. 3, 4, 8, 11, 15–20, 30, 42); a coronation poem (no. 1); an ἔκφρασις of an imperial procession (no. 6); wedding poems (nos. 13, 14, 43); monodies (nos. 2, 39, 45, 54, 75); a birthday poem (no. 44); and rather peculiar leave-taking verses (no. 79).

Another genre that attests to the pervasiveness of rhetoric in almost every realm of Byzantine literary production is epistolography (Riehle 2020; cf. Figure 3.2 in Chapter 3 of this volume). There are two Hellenistic or late antique epistolary handbooks listing several types of letters, along with instructions and sample letters: Ps.-Demetrios and Ps.-Libanios/Ps.-Proklos (Malherbe 1988). Although they enjoyed popularity in Byzantium and were repeatedly expanded, they never played a role in education comparable to that

[6] This type of question, called ὑποφορά/*subiectio* in rhetorical theory (Lausberg 1990/1998, §§771–775), is akin to the rhetorical question, but differs from the latter in that an answer to the question is expected and usually also given.

of the *dictamen* in the western parts of medieval Europe. It seems that letter writing in Byzantium was learned primarily through reading and imitation of exemplary letters composed by literary authorities such as Libanios, Synesios, the church fathers, and, in later times, Michael Psellos. Such letters of learned men employed rhetorical techniques, and there is evidence that epistolary compositions regarded as particularly well-written were recited in gatherings of intellectuals (Gaul 2020). An insightful example for the impact of rhetoric on Byzantine epistolography is the letter of consolation (παραμυθητικὴ ἐπιστολή). In terms of its compositional structure, this type of letter can hardly be distinguished from a consolatory speech as described by Menandros (Gregg 1975: 51–79; Sarres 2005: 41–46 and 189–193). In fact, letters of consolation were occasionally transformed into orations in the published versions of the manuscripts (Riehle 2011: 274–280).

These brief remarks on the "rhetoricization" of Greek literature in the Middle Ages are, of course, far from complete and could easily be expanded to include other types of texts in the fields of liturgical poetry, hagiography, novelistic literature, and scientific discourse.

Education

For the few Byzantines who could afford higher education—mostly male children of wealthy families—rhetorical training began after the completion of grammatical studies, which were conducted with the help of textbooks such as *the Art of Grammar* by Dionysios of Thrace and through the orthographic, grammatical, etymological, and semantic analysis of classical texts (especially poetry) and the Psalms (for a useful overview, see Giannouli 2014). With schedography a new form of school exercise emerged in the early eleventh century, marking the transition from grammatical to rhetorical training. In the form of verbal puzzles, σχέδη trained the pupils in orthography and grammar, while making them familiar with the different types of composition they would encounter at the next educational stage in the framework of the προγυμνάσματα (Agapitos 2013: 91–92).

From the fifth century onward, the student of rhetoric would commonly acquire his training on the basis of a standardized corpus of five treatises comprising Aphthonios's *Progymnasmata* and Hermogenes's *Art of Rhetoric* (cf. Figure 4.1 in Chapter 4 of this volume), along with supplementary materials such as prolegomena (introductions to rhetoric in general and to the individual treatises), scholia, and excerpts (see Papaioannou, "Theory of Literature," Chapter 4 in this volume). The προγυμνάσματα, or preliminary exercises, provided an introduction into basic forms of composition such as narration (διήγημα), refutation and confirmation of an argument (ἀνασκευή-κατασκευή), praise and reproach (ἐγκώμιον-ψόγος), impersonation (ἠθοποιία), and description (ἔκφρασις). From the handbook of Ailios Theon (first or fifth century CE) it emerges that these exercises built upon each other and that students had to go through the entire course under the guidance of their teacher, who would explain each type (definition, division into subtypes), provide them with exemplary texts from the canon of the classics—which the

students would read aloud, memorize, paraphrase, elaborate, and refute—and correct their compositions (*Progymnasmata* 61.30–72.27). The four treatises attributed by the Byzantines to Hermogenes of Tarsos (2nd century CE) aimed to help students become familiar with methods of argument and categories of style.

In sum, the corpus of Aphthonios and (Ps.-)Hermogenes provided teachers and students with instruction on the fundamental techniques of rhetorical composition. What is missing from this course in rhetoric is a systematic treatment of epideictic oratory, as Hermogenes's *Art of Rhetoric* is concerned with problems of invention and arrangement in forensic and deliberative rhetoric, which for the *genus demonstrativum* are relevant only to a limited extent.[7] One could think of (Ps.-)Menandros's treatises as an epideictic counterpart to the (Ps.-)Hermogenian treatment of issues and invention. However, despite the obvious conformity of rhetorical practice with his instructions, the comparatively few manuscripts (cf. Muñoz 1997 and 2001) and lack of commentaries suggest that Menandros was not widely used in Byzantine schools. It is therefore likely that students of rhetoric learned the basic principles of each epideictic genre by studying exemplary speeches and by modeling their own compositions after them. After all, argumentation in judicial or deliberative settings, which in practice could be infinitely varied, was much more complex and difficult to learn than the invention of suitable topics in an epideictic speech, and therefore was in need of a more sophisticated theoretical framework.

Once students had completed the course of rhetoric, they had to compose full-blown speeches employing the techniques they had acquired. During the Second Sophistic and the early Byzantine period, a form of exercise flourished in which students were presented with a fictitious or historical-mythological problem and had to argue for or against a given course of action or verdict. Such μελέται, or declamations, were meant to drill prospective orators in forensic and deliberative rhetoric (Russell 1983 with Heath 2004: esp. 246–254 and 299–308). This practice does not seem to have been widespread in schools of rhetoric after the sixth century, although there is evidence that it never fully died out (cf. Hunger 1973; on the early Palaiologan revival of this genre, see Gaul 2011: 136–137 and 170–172—notably, Planoudes's version of the *Corpus rhetoricum* contains a list of *Problems for [the Training of] Issues*, which provides fictitious cases for elaboration in declamations; *Rhetores Graeci*, vol. 8: 400–413). What is more, we know of students performing epideictic speeches in public, which probably served the purpose of advanced rhetorical training (see "Performance" later in this chapter).

[7] The mid-thirteenth-century treatise *On the Four Parts of the Perfect Speech*, erroneously attributed to Gregorios Pardos, attempts to superimpose the four-part structure of judicial and deliberative speeches on the *genus demonstrativum*, invoking Aphthonios's *Progymnasmata* (ll. 2–3, 35–40). However, Aphthonios (VIII 3) does not apply this arrangement to the encomium, but only prescribes the "chapters" (κεφάλαια) known from Menandros.

Composition

Preparing a speech or other type of rhetorical text for composition and delivery required several steps that in rhetorical theory were labeled "tasks of the rhetorician" (ἔργα τοῦ ῥήτορος/*officia oratoris*: *HWR* 7:1412–1423; Lausberg 1990/1998: §§255–1091; Porter 1997: chap. 3–6). First, the author-speaker had to think about the given topic and determine what he (or, rarely, she) would say: if he spoke before the episcopal synod, defending or accusing a church official (as in the previously cited examples of Psellos und Choumnos), he would ponder the stance he would take and "invent" the arguments he would bring forward (for example, presentation of evidence and witnesses, accusations that discredit the defendant in general), all the while taking into account his audience (the episcopal jury) and the effect his arguments might have on them. If his subject was a deceased person, he would have to decide on a suitable format for the occasion (a monody, a funeral oration, a homily, a speech or letter of consolation) and select those "topics" he would highlight (e.g., praise of the deceased's characteristics and deeds, lament, consolation).

This "invention" (εὕρεσις/*inventio*) of topics and arguments is inextricably entwined with the following step, arrangement (διάθεσις, τάξις or οἰκονομία/*dispositio*), in which the rhetorician would give his speech structure and organize his arguments. In a forensic or deliberative speech, he would begin with a prologue in which he would try to make the jury sympathetic to his cause with remarks on the given subject (e.g., the severity of a certain crime) or person(s) involved (e.g., the improbity of the defendant), and by providing evidence for his own integrity and credibility. For example, in his *Censure of Niphon*, Choumnos has the speakers—two metropolitans for whom he had composed the speech—begin with the apodictic statement (πρότασις) "Ψεύδους καὶ συκοφαντίας ὅτι μὲν οὐδέν ἐστι χεῖρον πάντες εἰσὶν εἰδότες [Everyone knows that there is nothing worse than falsehood and slander]," followed by biblical quotations supporting this assertion (κατασκευή. *Censure of Niphon*, 255–256); he then contrasts the speakers' integrity with the defendant's obvious lack of morals (256–257). In an epideictic speech, the orator would similarly introduce and amplify his theme, for example by extolling its greatness or by attempting to stir the audience's emotions. Niketas Choniates, for instance, in his *Monody on His Son, Who Had Died as an Infant*, introduces the theme of "humans' innate compassion" (τὸ συμφυὲς ἀνθρώποις φίλοικτον), attested by emotions elicited in people when they see a withered flower or an overturned statue. This statement naturally leads to the question "How should I not lament the death of my own child?" (*Orations*, no. 6: 46.3–15).

The speaker in a court or civic assembly would then expound the pertinent facts (διήγησις) and present evidence and arguments in favor of the suggested verdict or course of action (πίστις or ἀγών; including the anticipation and rebuttal of counterarguments of the opposing party). In Choumnos's *Censure*, the speakers' position is that the patriarch had acted against canon law by accepting money for the consecration of clerics, and

that therefore he should be dismissed. Consequently, the speakers begin by quoting the respective regulations in the apostolic canons and synodal decisions (257–258) and then proceed to provide evidence for the patriarch's unlawful actions, which includes the recital of names of uncanonically appointed clerics (258); a narration of specific cases with proof of their unlawfulness (260–264); and the calling of witnesses and presentation of evidence testifying to various sacrilegious and unjust actions of the patriarch, mostly pertaining to his greed (264–283). In epideictic settings, there were various structural templates available, depending on the occasion. In funerary rhetoric, the orator could, for example, choose between a "linear" biographical narrative presenting the deceased's life and deeds in accordance with a prescribed set of "chapters" (lineage, hometown, birth, upbringing and education, etc.), and an arrangement on the basis of past, present, and future, yet not necessarily in this order. This latter format was particularly suitable for monodies on recently deceased young persons, which "οὐ μὴν φυλάξει τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τῶν ἐγκωμίων διὰ τὸ μηδ' ἑαυτοῦ δοκεῖν εἶναι τὸν λέγοντα, ἀλλ' ἐξεστηκέναι ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους [should not preserve the sequence of the encomia (i.e., the biographical chapters mentioned previously), because the speaker gives the impression of being out of his mind and distracted by his suffering]" (Menandros, *On Epideictic Orations* IX: 160.12–14). Choniates invents his monodic topics exactly within this time structure: lamentations about the circumstances of the child's death, the "unbearable misery" it caused to his parents, and the view of the body in the tomb stand for the present (e.g., *Orations*, no. 6: 47.1–6, 49.4–50.3, 50.10–51.21); the child's virtuous life for the past (very brief in the case of an infant: e.g., 47.20–23, 50.3–9); and the topos "deceived hopes" for the future (e.g., 47.7–19, 48.1–16, 51.21–26, 52.16–29). These time-based units alternate in quick succession, thus intensifying the emotional effect.

In the epilogue, the speaker would then address his audience—in Choumnos's *Censure* the speakers turn to the present emperor (283), Choniates addresses his deceased child (53.11–14)—exhorting it to undertake the suggested course of action or expressing a wish, and often conclude with a prayer.

Once the author-speaker knew what he would say where, he would have to decide on the appropriate style (λέξις in the broad sense/*elocutio*). In addition to Hermogenes's *On the Forms of Discourse*, there were also other theoretical discussions available—for example, Demetrios's *On Style* (Περὶ ἑρμηνείας) and treatises on specific aspects such as rhetorical figures (see Valiavitcharska, "Rhetorical Figures," Chapter 12 in this volume)—that could help the author with a conceptual framework for the use of different styles. Moreover, the canon of ancient, late antique, and, to a limited extent, Byzantine literary classics provided models for various genres and types of style, as is attested not only by cases of stylistic *mimesis* of specific authors in Byzantine texts, but also by reading lists and instructions in handbooks (cf., for instance, *On the Four Parts of the Perfect Speech*, 53–110, 120–122, 162–165, 170–172).

A word of caution should be expressed when singling out stylization as a separate step in the compositional process. The distinction between content (διάνοια or πράγματα) and style (λέξις in the broad sense) may be necessary for heuristic and educational purposes, but breaks up their inextricable contexture by misinterpreting form

as an external addition to a preexisting thought. Ancient and medieval theoreticians, in fact, largely refrain from such a dichotomy. For example, Ps.-Hermogenes and his Byzantine commentators treat form as an integral part and tool of argument invention (Valiavitcharska 2013: 8–12 and 115–141). By contrast, modern research has tended to regard style in isolation rather than in dynamic interaction with the argumentative structure and performative properties of texts, thus often confining itself to compiling catalogues of rhetorical devices and to allocating certain linguistic and stylistic usages to various registers ("high": Atticism; "middle": literary *Koine*; "low": spoken *Koine*/vernacular). This has resulted in sweeping and rather superficial generalizations (e.g., Hunger 1978b; Ševčenko 1981; Kazhdan 1999: 404–406 and 2006: 333–336). To give just one example, Niketas Choniates is usually regarded as a typical high-style Atticist, notorious for his difficult language, which includes a large number of rare words, an often convoluted syntax, and generous use of allusions (see, e.g., Browning 1978: 121). It has therefore been argued that his writing was intended more for the eye than the ear (Grabler 1962/1963: 61–64). While this assessment perhaps applies to part of Choniates's historical and rhetorical œuvre, it hardly holds true for his previously mentioned *Monody on His Son*. In this speech, and particularly in the direct expressions of grief (e.g., 47.1–6; 49.25–29; 51.1–21), features that we associate with "Asianic" oratory—such as short, paratactic cola, *asyndeton*, anaphora, parallelism and antithesis, *homoioteleuton*, isosyllaby and stress responsion—prevail. These give the text gravity, but also render it more easily accessible for the audience in an oral performance (cf. Valiavitcharska 2013: 56–89). It was evidently the form of the monody, with its generic requirements of syntax and style—"loose" (ἄνετος) as opposed to "tense" = periodic (σύντονος; Menandros, *On Epideictic Orations* XVI: 206.36, with Soffel 1974: 192–195 and Pernot 1993, vol. 1: 340–343)—and its intended emotional effect on both the speaker and the audience (cf. Menandros on emotion, quoted earlier) that engendered the choices of style made by Choniates for this specific occasion and each utterance within the text (cf. the similar "Asianic" lament on the fall of Constantinople which Choniates inserted in his *History*: esp. 576.1–577.19).

Compositional practice was thus highly flexible. For each context, a suitable mixture of means of expression had to be found. This opened the way to literary experimentation, resulting in hybrid generic types and innovative combinations of themes and forms (cf. Agapitos 2003). In order to trace and understand these processes of rhetorical composition, we should consider taking late antique and Byzantine theoretical discussions more seriously, as they can help us detect and define more subtle nuances of argument and style.

Performance

The "tasks of the rhetorician" do not end, of course, with the completion of the compositional process. When studying Byzantine literature and rhetoric in particular, one has to keep in mind that the vast majority of texts were not—or not primarily or

exclusively—conceived for private, silent reading. Rather, they were meant for public, oral delivery and fulfilled various social functions in this context (Mullett 2003: 151–157; Bourbouhakis 2010; Riehle forthcoming; and Messis and Papaioannou, "Orality and Textuality," Chapter 9 in this volume).

There is evidence that some orators continued the practice of improvising speeches (αὐτοσχεδιάζειν), known from the very beginnings of Greek rhetoric (*HWR* 9:1359–1368; Pernot 1993, vol. 1: 432–434; Bernard 2014: 105–106), but at least for formal occasions it was certainly more common to recite a prepared text (Riehle forthcoming). Yet this recital would most often be by heart, meaning that where a fully fleshed-out text existed, the speaker would have to memorize it. Although we may assume that mnemonic techniques were taught as part of a rhetorical education, it is difficult to substantiate this assumption since Greek rhetorical theory hardly touched on μνήμη as an element of the "tasks" (cf. *HWR* 5:1037–1078; Messis and Papaioannou, "Memory," Chapter 6 in this volume).

Evidence for the last step of the *officia oratoris*, delivery (ὑπόκρισις; Lat. *actio* or *pronuntiatio*), is slightly more abundant (cf. *HWR* 1:43–75 and 7:212–247; Quiroga Puertas 2019: 21–33 and *passim*). In his *Art of Rhetoric*, Longinos (third century CE) gives the following definition: "Ὑπόκρισίς ἐστι μίμησις τῶν κατ' ἀλήθειαν ἑκάστῳ παρισταμένων ἠθῶν καὶ παθῶν καὶ διαθέσεις σχήματός τε καὶ τόνοι φωνῆς πρόσφοροι τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις πράγμασι [Delivery is the imitation of the characters and emotions presented truthfully for each (enacted person/persona), and the arranging of the body and the tone of voice in a way befitting the subject matter at hand]" (205.370–373). These mimetic-dramatic aspects of delivery—comprising the speaker's enactment of characters and emotions through his voice and bodily movement (that is, facial expression and gestures)—are better described by the modern term "performance" (cf., e.g., Schechner 2013: esp. 28–51) rather than "delivery." (The Greek ὑπόκρισις is itself derived from dramatic terminology denoting acting on stage.) Voice and gestures went hand in hand with and had to be attuned to the style of each text or passage in order to achieve the intended effect on the audience (cf. *Anonymus Seguerianus* 137, 197; note that theorists regularly use the same terminology for the various styles of recital [ἀνάγνωσις] as for periodic structure: σύντονος, ἀνειμένος, μικτός [*Corpus rhetoricum*, vol. 1: 40–42]). Authors had to take these performative effects into account already in the compositional process (cf., e.g., Aristotle, *Art of Rhetoric* 3.11: 1413b on the performativity of *asyndeton* and repetition). Likewise, other contextual elements making up a rhetorical performance and contributing to the unfolding of its meaning—architecture and its acoustic properties, décor and light, dress, and music—are usually irretrievably lost to us. Stripped of these essential parameters, the interpretation of rhetorical texts is a difficult task.

The possible contexts and places of performance were as manifold as the different types of rhetorical texts outlined earlier. Schools of higher education provided the first opportunities for students of rhetoric to test and show off their oratorical skills. For the Roman and early Byzantine periods, we know of "exhibitions" (ἐπιδείξεις) that students would have to give before the whole school, and upon completion of their studies, young

rhetoricians had to pass an examination (δοκιμασία) in their hometown. This consisted in the delivery of a speech—most commonly a eulogy of the city—intended to prove the young men's abilities as sophists and educated citizens (Cribiore 2007: 84–88 and 201–202). There is similar evidence for middle and late Byzantine Constantinople. We know, for instance, that in some periods contests (ἀγῶνες) were held in and between schools and that these involved the competing delivery of (sometimes polemical) speeches, poems, and/or σχέδη evaluated by a jury or "judge" (Bernard 2014: 253–290).

Competitions were also a regular constituent of educated men's public appearance once they had advanced to officials or teachers. A term that frequently comes up in this context is *theatron* (Magdalino 1993: 335–356; Gaul 2011: 17–53 and *passim*; Gaul 2018). While for the early Byzantine period we can surmise that this term regularly refers to actual theaters—such as that of Antioch in which Libanios performed some of his orations—it assumes a metaphorical meaning in later times. A *theatron* could be staged virtually anywhere in the urban centers of the empire: the imperial palace (reception or dining halls, courtyard), various public spaces, or in the private homes of sophists and magnates. Accordingly, the audience would be composed of the patron-host, dignitaries and officials, other sophists, learned men and students, and under certain circumstances larger crowds of citizens. The *theatron* was the place where intellectuals hoped to draw attention to their talents through rhetorical display, and often served as a stepping stone for a career in imperial, aristocratic, or ecclesiastical service—or at least for protection and occasional employment as composers of eulogies, epigrams, and didactic texts.

For judicial and deliberative rhetoric, the most common settings were the various courts, the senate—which continued to exist throughout the Byzantine millennium, if with restricted political power—and the episcopal synod; but the often shaky evidence is yet to be examined in detail. Military camps or battlefields could turn into venues for hortatory speeches. Narrative sources suggest that generals, including emperors, regularly addressed their troops to spurn and bolster their bellicosity (Taragna 2000; Hoffmann 2007; cf. also *HWR* 3:225–238), and two such pieces by Constantine VII survive (McGeer 2003, with translation). This military oratory could be as much influenced by "classroom" rhetoric as other forms of civil or ecclesiastical rhetorical practice, as demonstrated by the so–called *Rhetorica militaris* pseudonymously attributed to Syrianos—a handbook for generals addressing the army in various contexts which heavily draws on the *Corpus Hermogenianum*, particularly *On Invention*.

Those texts that can be classified under the *genus demonstrativum* were regularly performed in a ceremonial setting. Some of the ancient festivals dedicated to various divinities persisted in early Byzantium despite their "pagan" context, notably the Olympic Games of Antioch, for which Libanios composed his *Antiochikos* (Or. 11). Naturally such "pagan" festivities were gradually superseded by Christian religious feasts, many of which allowed for the performance of speeches. Sermons were delivered by bishops, priests, and laymen as part of the Christian rite during Sunday and festal liturgy, but also in the service of matins and in all-night vigils, especially before important feasts (Cunningham and Allen 1998; Antonopoulou 1997: 97–100). Churches provided space not only for homiletic rhetoric, but also for the performance of "secular,"

non-homiletic oratory, as well as occasional poetry (cf. Magdalino 1993: 352 and 454–457). In the Komnenian and early Palaiologan periods, major religious feasts were occasions not only for the performance of sermons, but also for imperial encomia. The twelfth century saw the establishment of annual Epiphany (or, later, Christmas) orations in praise of the emperor performed by the "master of the rhetors" (*maïstōr tōn rhētorōn*, later *rhētōr tōn rhētorōn*)—a "professor" of rhetoric affiliated with the patriarchate. Apparently the master's performance was regularly followed by orations of students who could thus display their skills and advance their careers (Magdalino 1993: 426–427 and 438–439; Angelov 2007: 31–38 and 45–47). The *maïstōr* also had the duty to compose Menandrian-style eulogies of the patriarch of Constantinople, performed each year on Lazarus Saturday by himself and his students as part of a ceremony in the patriarchate, which was adjacent to the church of Hagia Sophia (Loukaki 2005: 27–67).

On these and other occasions—such as coronations, the emperor's return from campaign, the arrival of an imperial bride, or funerals and commemoration services—the rhetorical performance was firmly embedded in a ceremonial setting which followed a strict protocol and intended to capture the audience by appealing to all senses. One of the relatively well-documented imperial ceremonies is the *prokypsis* (from προκύπτω = "to emerge"). The ceremony was known under this name in the Palaiologan period, when it was performed mainly on Christmas and Epiphany, but had its roots in the twelfth century (Angelov 2007: 41–42 and 45; Macrides et al. 2013: 401–411). In the course of the ceremony, the emperor would "emerge" from behind curtains on a high platform (the *prokypsis*) in the courtyard of the imperial palace. Accompanied by music, cantors would sing verses and acclaim the emperor(s). Some of the *prokypsis* poems survive, for instance those of the *rhētōr tōn rhētorōn* Manuel Holobolos (d. 1310/1314; PLP 21047; Boissonade 1829–1833: 5,159–5,182). One of their most interesting aspects is their interaction with the ceremonial performance: they point to and, seemingly, prompt actions performed at the ceremony—apparently during the recital of the verses—and reflect the impressions these actions leave on the audience. In Holobolos's *prokypsis* poems the cantors demand, "Τῶν πέπλων ἄρατε λαμπρῶς τὰς πτύχας ὥσπερ πύλας,/ἵνα φανείη ξύμπασιν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ νέος [Raise the folds of the curtains radiantly like gates (cf. Ps. 23:7)/so that the younger emperor may appear to everyone]" (no. 3.1–2: 162); and then declare "ἔφανεν ὡς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τοῦδε λαμπρῶς τοῦ λόφου [he appeared radiantly from this ridge here (i.e., the *prokypsis*) as if from heaven]" (v. 12). They contrast Christ's coming to earth—a reference to the feast of Christmas at which the performance took place—with the elevation of the emperor on the *prokypsis* "up in the air" (no. 7.5–11: 168; no. 18.1–2: 179) and invite the spectators to raise their eyes up high so as to behold the emperors (no. 15.1–2: 176).

This example demonstrates the important role of the audience in a rhetorical performance: it was the speaker's task to engage those present in listening to and responding to his words in order to make the performance work. In fact, there seems to have been much room for the interference of the addressees and audience of rhetorical texts in certain settings. Evidence for homiletic rhetoric, particularly of the early Byzantine period, is especially rich in this regard. The frequency of references to the—sometimes

unsolicited, sometimes apparently orchestrated—interference of the audience suggests that shouts, applause, and acclamations by the congregants, to which the preacher would respond and possibly also adjust his homily ad hoc, were a regular feature of homiletic performances (Antonopoulou 1997: 100–110). Examples from "secular" contexts are not lacking either (cf. Marciniak 2007: 283–284; and Reinsch 2006: 263–266 for an example from Psellos). Thus rhetorical performances could be much more interactive and open to spontaneous changes of direction than the surviving "solid" texts lead us to believe.

This brings us to issues concerning the interface between form and performance. If Byzantine rhetoric was performative in the sense that it was staged in public and engaged the audience in following and identifying with the delivered discourse, one should assume that this audience would be able to understand the words spoken. Yet scholars have frequently noted the wide gulf separating the spoken language from the classicizing sociolect of learned literature, which was practiced by a small number of intellectuals in any given period of the Byzantine millennium (see, e.g., Demetrios Kydones, *Letter* 262, vol. 2: 169.73–170.85, on the performance of a speech of Manuel II Palaiologos which only the very few who could appreciate the emperor's rhetorical skills attended). Moreover, due to convoluted syntax and abundant use of metaphor and circumlocution, some highbrow texts were, and continue to be, difficult to grasp even for the educated reader/listener—and we know of several complaints by contemporaries against the obscure writings of authors such as Arethas and Theodoros Metochites.

Byzantinists have offered various explanations for this paradox (cf. Walker 2004: 55–64): obscurity could be a badge of exclusiveness and a coded form of communication that served as social glue for the intellectual elite (e.g., Ševčenko 1981: 303–304); or part of a ritual in which meaning is produced not primarily or exclusively by the actual meaning of the words; or a deliberate "double-tonguedness" that invested the discourse with ambivalence and thus allowed the accommodation and expression of thoughts that could not be openly stated (Roilos 2005: esp. 21 and 26–31). An alternative approach has been pursued especially in studies on homiletics (e.g., Cunningham 1990: 45–47; Reinsch 2000: 38–43; Valiavitcharska 2013: 87–89). According to this view, even difficult highbrow texts could be understood, at least in part, by the audience precisely because of their performative properties. This interpretation is supported by the audience responses to homiletic performances mentioned earlier—although one should emphasize that there is also evidence pointing to the contrary (cf. Kosmas Vestitor [PmbZ 4125], *Life of St. John Chrysostom*, 433, reporting that during the recital of one of John's sermons a woman stood up and complained that she did not understand the meaning of his lofty words). Be that as it may, Byzantine literati were well aware of the difficult balance between grandeur, which could lead to obscurity, and clarity, which could result in ignobility (see, for instance, the προθεωρία to Libanios's *Imperial Oration on Constantine and Constans—Orat.* 59: vol. 4: 290.4–6; for Byzantine discussions of obscurity see Kustas 1973: 63–126). In fact, several examples show that authors famous for their difficult, obscure writing were able and willing to adapt the style of orally performed texts to their audience. One such author was Niketas Choniates, whose *Address to the Emperor Theodoros Laskaris* (*Oration* 16) is, according to its title, "σαφηνείας πλῆρες διὰ τὴν τῶν

ἀκροατῶν ἀσθένειαν [full of clarity due to the audience's weakness]." The speech is indeed "easier" in wording and sentence structure than the majority of his other orations.

Another important question that needs to be addressed when discussing performance is if, and how, certain texts were performed in the form that has come down to us. Some of the preserved speeches are so voluminous that is it is hard to imagine that they were fully delivered in one continuous performance. According to George Dennis's calculation (1994: 190), Psellos's accusation of Keroullarios (on which cf. Polemis, "A Rhetorical Genre(?): The *Invective*," Chapter 13 in this volume) would have taken nine hours to deliver (for calculation methods, see Pernot 1993, vol. 1: 454–458). Ihor Ševčenko (1996: 224) estimated five hours for Metochites's encomium of Gregory the Theologian—in comparison to "a mere" two and a half hours for Gregory the Theologian's famous funeral oration for Basil the Great—and concluded that the text was not meant for public performance, but rather for "silent reading." However, as Ševčenko himself admitted, there are other explanations available, such as the reading of a text in installments or excerpts. We should also consider the possibility that some texts survive in revised redactions that significantly expanded the original (i.e., performed) texts. Of Manuel II Palaiologos's *Funeral Oration for His Brother Theodoros*, which is considered one of the longest surviving texts of its kind, there exists a shorter version which probably represents a text closer to the original performance. The delivery of the longer version was later split up between two speakers (see Chrysostomides's introduction at 29–31). Reasons other than length could also lead to partial performance, and this seems to have been the case with Choumnos's oration addressed to Metochites in the course of their controversy. The second part of this speech, dealing with questions of astronomy, was omitted in a public performance probably because of its technical character (Boissonade 1829–1833: 3,365–3,391 with Riehle 2011: 72–73). We should therefore be wary of making broad claims about the performance of specific texts, given that we usually do not know if and to what extent a text originally delivered, or at least conceived for delivery, was subsequently revised for the purpose of "publication" (Riehle forthcoming).

In general, we know very little about the actual execution of rhetorical performances. While this is an issue even for more conventional orations, texts with complex performative structures pose several additional problems. Take, for example, Ioannes Chortasmenos's (d. c. 1436; PLP 30897) *Funeral Lament for Andreas Asanes and His Son*, which constitutes a rare case of a Byzantine prosimetrum (i.e., a text combining prose and verse). The text begins with a first-person dirge in dodecasyllable verse by the widow and mother of the deceased, consisting of a prologue, two separate laments on father and son, and an ἔκφρασις of the son's physical beauty. A short narrative passage, in which the mother relates how her son appeared to her repeatedly in her sleep, marks the transition to a dialogue between mother and son, which is framed first in prose and then in fifteen-syllable verse. In the course of this extensive exchange, the deceased son attempts to console his mother over his own and his father's death; and at its end, the mother pledges to take monastic vows. The text concludes with an address, in the same meter, of "the teacher" (ὁ διδάσκαλος; i.e., the author) to the deceased young man.

How should we conceive of the performance of this piece? Did the mother actually recite over the tomb the words that the author put into her mouth by means of an ἠθοποιία?[8] Were the dialogic parts read out with the roles assigned to different speakers (as Hunger 1999 suggested for Romanos Melodos's *kontakia*)? Or did the author himself present the whole text, as the last verses could suggest,[9] perhaps changing the pitch of his voice for the different personae? Were the metrical and prose parts performed differently (e.g., in musical or rhythmical backing)? This at once stunning and puzzling piece of funerary rhetoric, which remains to be fully understood in terms of its performative setting and execution, testifies to the highly flexible and potentially innovative nature of Byzantine rhetorical literature.

Suggestions for Further Reading

There are numerous and serious desiderata in the study of Byzantine rhetoric. Many Byzantine rhetorical texts remain unpublished or poorly edited and have not been translated into any modern language. Although there is an ever-growing number of introductory essays in handbooks and companions (Jeffreys 2007, 2008, 2019; Whitby 2010; Bourbouhakis 2010), we still lack a comprehensive monographic treatment or handbook of Byzantine rhetoric. The chapter on rhetoric in Hunger (1978a: I 65–196) is a good starting point for extant genres and texts, but is outdated in method and detail. Kennedy (1983) provides a still valuable discussion of (chiefly) Roman and early Byzantine and (cursorily) later Byzantine rhetoric in theory and practice. The chapters in Porter (1997) cover a wide range of topics and can serve as a useful guide also for the Byzantine era. Heath (2004) gives a thought-provoking reassessment of rhetorical theory and education in the imperial and late antique periods, from which Byzantinists can learn a great deal. Jeffreys (2003) assembles case studies on various issues, authors, and periods. Excellent recent monographs include Gaul (2011; on the early fourteenth century), Valiavitcharska (2013; on rhetorical rhythm in theory and practice), Papaioannou (2013 and 2021; on the early and middle Byzantine period through the lens of Psellos). The massive *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik* (*HWR*) presents comprehensive entries on rhetorical concepts, terms, and genres from antiquity to the present, though Byzantium is rather underrepresented.

[8] Cf. the title (p. 227): "Θρῆνος ἐπιτάφιος . . . παρὰ τῆς εὐγενεστάτης Ἀσανίνας λεγόμενος [Funeral lament . . . spoken by the most noble Asanina]."

[9] V. 387 (p. 237): "νῦν μονῳδῶ σε δυστυχῶς ἐν στίχοις διαφόροις [now I bewail you bitterly in various verses]."

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CHAPTER 12

RHETORICAL FIGURES

VESSELA VALIAVITCHARSKA

The rhetoricity of Byzantine discursive culture is on spectacular display in the liberal and accomplished use of figurative language. This could range from simple word reduplication, to modeling an entire paragraph according to a figurative scheme, to what is known as "figured discourse," namely discourse whose apparent meaning both conceals and reveals a contrary intent. The rhetorical figures are often obvious but frequently hidden; they are sometimes vaguely described as "rhetorical flourish" and at other times rejected as bombastic or excessive embellishment, especially by readers accustomed to the lean, restrained language of most modern prose. Yet in Byzantium they were a staple of the rhetorical curriculum and an indispensable tool in the arsenal of any rhetorician.

The study of figurative language comprised a regular part of rhetorical training, which was gradually consolidated in the texts and commentaries of the Hermogenian corpus (on which, see Papaioannou, "Theory of Literature," Chapter 4 in this volume). In addition to Hermogenes, Byzantine teachers of rhetoric inherited, collected, and reworked a number of treatises on figures and tropes composed between the second century BCE and the sixth century CE. Many extant rhetorical manuscripts—and literary miscellanies also—contain treatises on figures or tropes, often found after Aphthonios's (or other) *Progymnasmata*, before Hermogenes's *On Issues*, next to a discussion of meter. From this one could infer the likely place for the study of figures within the curriculum: after the preliminary composition exercises, before a serious encounter with rhetorical theory, and in company with the study of rhythm and meter.

However, it would be a mistake to think that Byzantine engagement with figures and tropes was restricted to rhetorical training. The study of "poetic tropes" (ποιητικοί τρόποι) is listed in second place in the definition of grammar by Dionysios of Thrace—a definition which, among other things, outlines the pedagogical progression of elementary students in their study of ancient authors (*Grammatici graeci* 1.1: 5–6)—indicating that work on figures began early in the process of reading and memorizing ancient literature. Indeed, the reading of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, usually the first unabridged texts to be studied, was accompanied not only by a study of Homer's vocabulary, prosody, and syntax, but also by an identification and explanation of the rhetorical figures—if we

are to judge by their presence in the Homeric scholia, including the later recensions *bT* and *h* (partially edited by Erbse 1969–1988 and Nicole 1891, respectively). How a writer deploys figures constituted a criterion for literary judgment, as Photios's evaluation of various authors in the *Bibliothêkê* suggests. They also comprised a required part of an educated person's command of learned literature, as can be inferred from Eustathios of Thessalonike's commentary on Homer, which identifies and expounds hundreds of examples.

But what precisely is a figure in Byzantine grammatical and rhetorical pedagogy? How were figures analyzed and studied? How and to what purpose were they employed? And in what ways can they be studied?

Handbooks of Tropes and Figures

For anyone approaching the subject for the first time, the mass of extant treatises appears chaotic. From their lists, it is possible to extrapolate over a hundred different figures classified in various ways, some conspicuous in their form, others less so, sometimes sharing the same name but not the same definition. It would be useful, therefore, to keep in mind two things when dealing with the theory of figures.

First, the majority of treatises we find in Byzantine manuscripts constitute teaching compilations, aiming, first and foremost, at practical proficiency and only marginally at abstract exposition or enumerative comprehensiveness. They may borrow from one or several authors, or offer a faithful reproduction of a single treatise, or an abridged version, or an assortment of several versions. The majority of complete treatises have been published by Christian Walz in the eighth volume of his *Rhetores graeci* (Walz 8: 1835) and by Leonhard Spengel in the third volume of the Teubner *Rhetores graeci* series (Spengel 3: 1856), but neither edition takes into account the full number of extant texts or manuscripts. The textual tradition is tangled, relatively unexplored, and remains a *desideratum*, especially concerning the fate of the handbooks that were written in the seventh and the eighth centuries.[1] Conley (1986) identifies several authors whose "traditions" (he refers to them as "continuities") of tropes and figures were carried on in Byzantium. These include the first-century BCE grammarian Tryphon of Alexandria (West 1965), whose classification was adopted but reworked and supplemented by Georgios Choiroboskos in the mid-ninth century and possibly also by Gregorios Pardos (bishop of Corinth) in the twelfth. Choiroboskos's version subsequently became the most widely used treatise (Resh 2015). Another is the second-century rhetorician Alexandros Noumeniou, whose treatise *Περὶ τῶν τῆς διανοίας καὶ τῆς λέξεως σχημάτων* seems to have been well known, judging from the number of extant manuscripts. Likewise popular was the treatise of the

[1] Among recent efforts at distinguishing trends and parsing transmissions are those of Bady (2010), Conley (1986 and 2004), Jaewon (2011) and Hajdú (1998).

fifth- or sixth-century sophist Phoibammon (*Περὶ σχημάτων ῥητορικῶν*). Other texts include a treatise *Περὶ σχημάτων* attributed to the second-century Alexandrian grammarian Aelios Herodianos (Hajdú 1998); one authored by the third- to fourth-century rhetorician Tiberios (*Περὶ τῶν παρὰ Δημοσθένει σχημάτων*; Ballaira 1968), whose work seems to have fallen out of use because of the popularity of Gregory the Theologian's texts as models of rhetorical perfection after the tenth century (Conley 2002–2003; Bady 2010; Papaioannou 2013: 51–63 and 2021: 95–102).

Other treatises include: one authored by a certain Kokondrios (*Περὶ τρόπων*), about whom we know nothing; another by a certain Zonaios (*Περὶ σχημάτων τῶν κατὰ λόγον*), who, according to the *Suda*, was a sixth-century sophist, but who is probably not the author of the treatise transmitted under his name (Conley 2004; Hunger 1: 90; Bady 2010: 262–264). A substantial portion of the same treatise also appears under the name of Manuel Moschopoulos. In addition, there are three different anonymous treatises here referred to as Anonymous I (Περὶ τῶν σχημάτων τοῦ λόγου, Spengel 3: 174–188 = Walz 8: 698–713); Anonymous II (Περὶ ποιητικῶν τρόπων, Spengel 3: 207–214 = Walz 8: 714–725); and Anonymous III (Περὶ τῶν τοῦ λόγου σχημάτων, Spengel 3: 110–160 = Walz 8: 617–670). Anonymous I belongs to a family of texts also known as *Anonymus Christianus* (Jaewon 2011), which seem to have derived from Alexandros (or possibly Kaikilios of Calacte), and to which also belong the "Zonaios" and "Moschopoulos" texts. Peculiar to this version is that the majority of examples from ancient authors have been replaced with quotations from Gregory the Theologian, and that a great number of these quotations appear as marginal notes inscribed by a thirteenth-century hand next to Alexandros's text in Paris, BnF, gr. 1741. "Zonaios" and "Moschopoulos," by contrast, are transmitted as self-standing treatises. Bady (2010) has produced a careful and comprehensive synoptic edition of the figures in this family and their corresponding examples taken from Gregory the Theologian. Anonymous III represents another important family of texts and epitomes, still insufficiently explored, which purports to extrapolate and illustrate every figure from Hermogenes and the Hermogenian corpus, with examples occasionally supplied by Sopatros or Homer, and whose earliest copy dates to the eleventh century (Paris, BnF, gr. 2977). The list here is by no means exhaustive.

All these texts have a very simple structure: they may contain a brief preface with a discussion of what constitutes a figure or a trope, how to tell an artistic alteration of language from a solecism or barbarism, and what the categories of figures are. Alternatively, the text may proceed directly to listing the figures one by one, accompanied by illustrative examples. The number and types covered varies. At first look, the lists appear arid and repetitive, but we need not assume that this translated into a mind-numbing pedagogical practice. If the *ekphrasis* of the late twelfth/early thirteenth-century school housed in the precincts of the Church of the Holy Apostles by Nikolaos Mesarites is a good indication of what actually happened in a Byzantine "classroom," then one could surmise that the figures were taught in the same context of the lively, informal, and agonistic performance that is described in the text, with the students practicing and quizzing each other on their definitions and examples (Downey 1957: 916–917). It

is also likely that each teacher employed only what he needed and saw fit for practical instruction.

The second point to keep in mind is that the Byzantines followed, generally speaking, the Hellenistic and late antique classification and division of figures into tropes (τρόποι, sometimes referred to as ποιητικοὶ τρόποι), figures of diction (σχήματα λέξεως), and figures of thought (σχήματα διανοίας, σχήματα κατ' ἔννοιαν). There is some overlap between tropes and figures of diction and between tropes and figures of thought, and much fluidity in the organization of categories. Quintilian, speaking in the first century about Latin as well as Greek rhetorical theory, notes that many rhetoricians consider tropes to be identical with figures of diction (9.1.1–3), but then offers a distinction between the two: a trope is a transference of the principal signification of a word or expression to another, as happens in metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche, and allegory; a figure is the shaping of language in a way other than what is common and ordinary, as happens in hyperbaton or irony (9.1.4–7). Quintilian's theory, not without echoes among the figure traditions circulating in Byzantium (cf. Tryphon, Gregorios of Corinth), is but one way of dividing and describing figurative language.

A different division is suggested by Alexandros Noumeniou, whose treatise seems to have been popular due to its succinct but thorough discussion of the linguistic and philosophical grounds for distinguishing figurative from ordinary language. Alexandros argues that a trope achieves a figurative expression by means of a single word, while a figure involves several words (Spengel 3: 9; cf. Lausberg 1998: 248–271); a trope is the graceful counterpart of barbarism, whereas a figure is the counterpart of solecism, an "alteration of speech for the better, according to thought or diction" (Spengel 3: 11). Figures are divided into figures of thought and figures of diction; the latter are "put into motion and held together by the words," while the former are effected by the thought itself (Spengel 3: 10). According to this classification, metaphor would be a trope, as in "at the foot of Mount Ida" (πόδα νείατον Ἴδης, *Il.* 2.824), since it is achieved by means of one word, "foot." A figure of diction is exemplified by the *antistrophê* "ἐπὶ σαυτὸν καλεῖς, ἐπὶ τοὺς νόμους καλεῖς, ἐπὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν καλεῖς [against yourself you summon him, against the laws you summon him, against the democracy you summon him]" (Aeschin. 3.202), which is achieved by repeating the same word(s) at the end of successive clauses. A figure of thought would be Demosthenes's sarcastic remark "δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι σὺ μὲν ἀλγεῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν Θηβαίων ἀτυχήμασιν, κτήματα ἔχων ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ [no doubt, Aeschines, you lament the misfortunes of the Thebans, you who hold property in Boeotia]" (Dem. 18.41 = Spengel 3: 23). This suggests that Aeschines benefited from the defeat of the Thebans; in other words, it is an *irony* that can be expressed in different ways and does not depend on any particular wording or a ready syntactical scheme. Alexandros does not define "alteration of speech," but proceeds to refute the opinion that all speech is figured, after which he arrives at the following explanation: figurative language is what is acquired and produced by means of art (τέχνη), and brings vividness and force to one's speech (Spengel 3: 11–14). Alexandros then discusses twenty-seven figures of thought, including *prodiorthôsis*, *epanalêpsis*, *êthopoiia*, *aposiôpêsis*, *epitrochasmos*, *eirôneia*, *apostrophê*, *diaporêsis*, *erôtêma*, followed by twenty-eight

figures of diction, such as *anadiplôsis*, *epanaphora*, *antistrophê*, *symplokê*, *synônymia*, *pleonasmos*, *asyndeton*, *polyptôton*, *homoioteleuton*, *homoioptôton*, *paronomasia*, *antithesis*, *synkrisis*, *hyperbaton*, *parison*, among others. (This list represents the most easily recognizable terms; for more, see the Glossary of Rhetorical Figures at the end of this volume). The scheme is neat and apparently obvious, but not all of the listed figures seem to belong in their category, and some are listed twice. *Epanalêpsis*, for example, though figure of thought, seems to depend heavily on the wording. It is achieved by the straightforward repetition of a word or phrase, as in "ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἡμάρτετε, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι [but no, it is not, not possible that you erred, o men of Athens]" (Dem. 18.208 = Spengel 3: 20). Clearly, it is not easy to offer a comprehensive guide to what constitutes a figure and to describe how figures differ from one another—as Quintilian admits, and also points out that *irony* can exhibit features of both trope and figure of thought.

Perhaps for that reason Byzantine rhetoricians seem comfortable with the simultaneous existence of several different methods of explaining and classifying the figures. The inventory of tropes compiled by Georgios Choiroboskos offers a list of twenty-seven entries (thirty-three in some versions of the treatise), which include items as diverse as *allêgoria*, *metaphora*, *hyperbaton*, *anastrophê*, *onomatopoiia*, *periphrasis*, *pleonasmos*, *epanalêpsis*, *hyperbolê*, *ainygma*, *prosôpopoiia*, *eirôneia*, and *hysterologia.* It is immediately noticeable that Choiroboskos does not follow Alexandros in understanding tropes as "concerned with a single word," even though several terms from his list overlap with those of Alexandros. The very first trope discussed is *allêgoria*, "an expression saying one thing but having in mind another, as in the Holy Scriptures where God says to the snake, 'Cursed are you above all cattle.' What is said is about the snake, but we understand it to refer to the devil by analogy, that is, allegorically" (Spengel 3: 215–216). Thus Choiroboskos's working definition of a trope was probably adapted from Tryphon's "κατὰ παρατροπὴν τοῦ κυρίου λεγόμενος [a deviation from mainstream usage]" in order to elucidate something in a more elaborate manner or out of necessity" (Spengel 3: 191), and is close to that offered by Kokondrios, who understands the trope as "an expression which departs, for the better, from customary and typical usage" (Spengel 3: 230). Choiroboskos notes that they are called "poetic tropes" only because the poets use them more than anyone else.

A third method of dividing the rhetorical figures, or rather of imposing four operations on each of the two preceding classifications, derives from Plato (*Cratylus* 394b) and has much in common with the grammatical theory of word variation (πάθη, cf. Ps.-Herodianos in *GG* 3.2: 166–389; Tryphon in Schneider 1895). It is prominent in Phoibammon. All figures, he says, are constituted in four ways: by privation (κατ' ἔνδειαν), by excess (κατὰ πλεονασμόν), by transposition (κατὰ μετάθεσιν), and by variation (κατὰ ἐναλλαγήν). Figures of diction formed by privation are, for example, the *asyndeton* and the *apokoinou* (ἀπὸ κοινοῦ). The former is characterized by lack of conjunctions (as in "εὗρον αὐτὸν ἐλάλησα ἔπεισα [I found him—spoke—persuaded]"; [Spengel 3: 46]); the latter, by partial omission of syntactical structure, or rather, by a joining of two dissimilar structures with a single word (as in "ἀπελθὼν ᾔτησα τοὺς

ἄνδρας, μάλιστα δὲ τόνδε καὶ τόνδε [after I left, I asked the men, and especially this and that one]" [Spengel 3: 46], where ᾔτησα governs both clauses). Examples of figures of thought formed by privation are *aposiôpêsis* (a sudden break in the speech caused by apparent overwhelming emotion) and *epitrochasmos* (a hurried enumeration of several points or actions, as in "ἀλλ' ἐφ' Ἑλλήσποντον οἴχεται, πρότερον ἧκεν ἐπ' Ἀμβρακίαν, Ἥλιν ἔχει τηλικαύτην πόλιν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ, Μεγάροις ἐπεβούλευσεν πρώην [but he is off to the Hellespont, not long after he got to Ambrocia, then he captures Peloponnesian Elis, a city of equal size, and only yesterday he plotted against the Megarians]" [Dem. 9.27 = Spengel 3: 22]). Transposition produces figures of diction such as *hyperbaton* (wrenched syntax), *anastrophê* (inverted word order), or *prolêpsis* (an insertion of a reason before an injunction, as in "Friend, you have everything—wheat, wine, oil; do not steal, do not get indicted!" ἑταῖρε πάντα ἔχεις, σῖτον, οἶνον, ἔλαιον. μὴ κλέψῃς, μὴ καταγνωσθῇς [Spengel 3: 48]). It also produces figures of thought such as *apopoiêsis* (a preliminary denial of suspicions against us) or *erôtêsis* (presenting one or several reasons as a matter of necessity before asking a rhetorical question such as "ὅτι αἱρέσεώς μοι οὔσης, συγκινδυνεῦσαι αὐτῷ, ἢ πεῖσαι αὐτὸν μὴ ποιῆσαι τόδε, ἢ ἀναχωρῆσαι, μὴ πειθομένου αὐτοῦ συμβουλεύοντί μοι τί ἐχρῆν με ποιῆσαι; [I had a choice: to suffer danger with him, to persuade him not to do this, or to leave. Since he was not persuaded, what was I to do?]" [Spengel 3: 53]). Excess and variation produces figures such as *tautologia* and *epanaphora*, both of which rely on excessive repetition, as well as *heterochronon* (switching the tense) or *apostrophê* (switching the person being addressed; Spengel 3: 49–50), which achieve their effect by means of varying one element. This type of classification has found traction in contemporary figure theory, especially that based on classical approaches (cf. Lausberg 1998: 271–334) or structural linguistics (e.g., Durand 1970; cf. Knape 1996).

A fourth type of manual, a compilation rather than a principled list, is based on the Hermogenian corpus (chiefly *On the Forms of Discourse* and the Ps.-Hermogenian *On Invention* and *On the Method of Force*), and appears in an anonymous treatise and several epitomes dating to the eleventh century at least (Anonymous III, noted earlier). These texts include a variety of often idiosyncratic figures, some of which could be described as aiming at mellifluous sound and rhythmic effects; others could be referred to as "inventional," that is, as topical templates aiding the process of inventing arguments and making the point succinctly and poignantly; others still as "performative," that is, they are figures which yield an effect that is best perceived aurally. Also in the Hermogenian tradition, an entire list of "figured problems" is found in Book Four of *On Invention*, which covers a number of strategies for saying the opposite of what is meant making an oblique reference or insinuation (tactics that have a long tradition stretching back to antiquity). Also on the margins of "proper" figure handbooks lies *On the Method of Force*, a collection of stylistic and figural precepts aiming at creating something that Walker has described as "the maximal style" (cf. Ps.-Longinos, *On the Sublime*

with Walker 2015)—a type of style which, when employed opportunely and well, elicits a passionate response, if not sublime transport.

Many of the figures in the Hermogenian corpus are "matched" to a certain "genre" of oratory—forensic, epideictic, or deliberative (cf. *On Invention* 4.1). The *strongylon*, *periodos*, and *kyklos*, for example, belong to the forensic genre because of their syllogistic potential as well as terseness. Figures such as the *pneuma* and its variation the *akmê* are deemed suitable for the epideictic genre due to their success in stirring emotions. Since, according to Hermogenes, figures are one of the five instruments needed to create a particular stylistic quality or *idea*, many of them are considered best employed in the service of one or another characteristic, such as brilliance (*anairesis*, *asyndeton*, *plagiasmos*), rapidity (*epitrechon*, *exallagê*, *epanastrophê*), or subtlety (*paronomasia*, *to kat' akolouthian*). Despite the fact that it enjoyed great popularity in Byzantium, Hermogenes's theory of style has yet to receive the amount of attention it requires. The relationship of *On the Forms of Discourse* to stylistic precepts appearing in the rest of the corpus, its practical study, and creative application in Byzantine literature are issues that remain wide open.

It is perhaps ironic that scholars today continue to echo Quintilian's frustration with the task of defining and separating tropes from figures and figures of thought from figures of diction: "the bitter and incessant quarrels" he describes among grammarians, rhetoricians, and philosophers are perhaps no longer as heated, but the controversy is by no means over. No one so far has been able to offer a satisfactory explanation of what a figure is, how figures differ from ordinary language, and how they ought to be classified (Knape 1996). With this in mind, I will attempt to sketch out some prominent literary and rhetorical functions of figurative language (based on Fahnestock 1999 and 2011), without pretense at comprehensive coverage.

Emphasis

A major role of figures involving repetition and redundancy is to create emphasis and thus lead to a sense of presence. The accumulation of similar sounds and syllables, the repetition or chiastic doubling of words and phrases, and the abundant use of synonyms deliver a palpable and vivid experience of sound and imagery, which renders the object of description present and available to the reader or listener. Figures of emphasis may be as simple as the thirteen *epanaphorai* (χαῖρε-χαῖρε) in each *oikos* of the famous *Akathistos* (3):

> Χαῖρε, τὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων πολυθρύλητον θαῦμα!
> Χαῖρε, τὸ τῶν δαιμόνων πολυθρήνητον τραῦμα!
>
> Rejoice, marvel most marveled by the angels!
> Rejoice, wound most lamented by the demons!

Emphasis is also created by the accumulation of the *homoioteleuta* ητον-ητον and αῦμα-αῦμα at the ends of lines, by the persistent repetition of the genitive plural ending in the sixth or seventh syllable within the same line, or by the *paronomasia* (τὸ τῶν ἀγγέλων) πολυθρύλητον—(τὸ τῶν δαιμόνων) πολυθρήνητον, which serves as much to associate as to juxtapose the two ideas. But it could also be produced more unobtrusively, as in Gregory the Theologian's popular *On the Theophany* (*Or.* 38.4):

Τοῦτό ἐστιν ἡμῖν ἡ πανήγυρις, τοῦτο ἑορτάζομεν σήμερον, ἐπιδημίαν Θεοῦ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους, ἵνα πρὸς Θεὸν ἐνδημήσωμεν, ἢ ἐπανέλθωμεν (οὕτω γὰρ εἰπεῖν οἰκειότερον), ἵνα τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀποθέμενοι, τὸν νέον ἐνδυσώμεθα· καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ Ἀδὰμ ἀπεθάνομεν, οὕτως ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ ζήσωμεν, Χριστῷ καὶ συγγεννώμενοι, καὶ συσταυρούμενοι, καὶ συνθαπτόμενοι, καὶ συνανιστάμενοι.

This is our festival, this is today's feast: the coming of God among people, in order that we may dwell with God, or rather that we may return to God (more properly put), in order that, having put off the old man, we may put on the New. And just as we died in Adam, we might live in Christ, being born with Christ, crucified with Him, buried with Him, and raised from the dead with Him.

Here the idea of the presence of God—prepared beforehand by the festive association of πανήγυρις with ἑορτάζομεν and punctuated vigorously with the *epanaphora* τοῦτο-τοῦτο—is introduced with the *paronomasia* ἐπιδημίαν-ἐνδημήσωμεν and highlighted by the phonetic repetition of [e], [el/em], [le/me], [en/in], [ne/ni], [an], [na], which is frequently accompanied by the fricatives [th] and [ð] (a figure of repeating sounds across similar clauses also known as *paromoiôsis*): ἐπ**ανέλθ**ωμ**εν**, **ἵνα** τὸν πα**λαι**ὸν **ἄνθ**ρωπ**ον** ἀπο**θέμενοι**, τὸν **νέ**ον **ἐνδ**υσώ**μεθ**α. The same idea then is assimilated—by means of sound as much as sense—with the series of actions that follow the reference to Adam (the old man) and Christ (the New Man), echoing in the *epêchêsis* of the sibilants [is], [si], [zis], [sto], [os], [so]. These offer a phonetic extension of the name of Christ (οὕτ**ως** ἐν τῷ Χρ**ιστῷ ζήσω**μεν, Χρ**ιστῷ** καὶ **συ**γγεννώμενοι, καὶ **συστ**αυρούμενοι, καὶ **συ**νθαπτόμενοι, καὶ **συ**νανι**στά**μενοι) and are rounded off with the collectivizing *homoioteleuton* μενοι-μενοι. The effect is a sonorous unity of the feast, the church assembly, God, divine presence, Christ, and "us," as well as a dynamic transition from a state of being to a state of action. Other figures creating effects of repetition include: *antistrophê*, *anadiplôsis*, *symplokê*, *pleonasmos*, *epanodos*. Emphasis created by means of sound, word, or phrase repetition is particularly prominent in festal homilies and hymnography, where the goal is to celebrate by creating a vivid sense of presence. Sound repetition, its progress and accumulation in a text, and its relationship to oral performance and aural perception suggest a possible (and exciting) direction for future study.

Expansion, Contraction, or Shift in Meaning

In addition to emphasis, various forms of repetition can generate an expansion or contraction of meaning. The *parisôsis* (assonance) of apophatic epithets concerning the nature of God in Andreas of Crete's *Homily on the Exaltation of the Holy Cross* achieves both at the same time (58–60):

Ὁ μὲν γὰρ θεὸς ἀπόρρητος οὐσία, κάλλος ὑπέρκαλον, ἀμήχανον, ἄπειρον, ἁπλοῦν, ἀγαθόν, αὐτὸ τἀγαθόν, ὑπερφυές, ἀναφές, ἀπρόσιτον, ἄρρητον.

For God is nature unspeakable, a beauty beyond all beauty, inconceivable, infinite, single, good, the good itself, beyond nature, impalpable, unapproachable, ineffable. (trans. De Groote)

The proliferation of adjectives that deny positivistic attribution constitutes an extended *asyndeton* which refuses to name characteristics and yet presents a multiplicity of ideas about God, listed as if they are synonyms. But this multiplicity is anchored in the sound [a] and drawn together into a single referent—the divine nature. The same sound is also conspicuously present in the three positive characteristics mentioned: ἁπλοῦν, ἀγαθόν, αὐτὸ τἀγαθόν. The effect is a broadening of the idea of the divine nature while focusing on it as a single entity.

The diffusion of a concept—to the point of shifting its meaning—is a more extreme case of the functions of figures of repetition and accumulation. A good example can be found in Kassia's *Maxims* (on which cf. Messis and Papaioannou, "Memory," Chapter 6, and Hörandner and Rhoby, "Metrics and Prose Rhythm," Chapter 17, in this volume). *Polyptôton* (repetition of words sharing the same root in different syntactical positions) is among her favorite tools (Krumbacher 1897: A. 49–51):

> Φθονεῖν μὴ δῶς μοι, Χριστέ, μέχρι θανάτου,
> τὸ δὲ φθονεῖσθαι δός μοι (ποθῶ γὰρ τοῦτο),
> τὸ δὲ φθονεῖσθαι πάντως ἐν ἔργοις θείοις.
>
> Until my end do not let me envy, O Christ,
> But give me the gift of being the object of envy (for this I desire),
> To be the object of envy in godly works, of course.

The verb "envy"/"be envied" remains the same, but by the end of the third line Kassia achieves a complete reversion of the traditional meaning: she reiterates it in order to bring it into focus, but alters it from "jealousy" to "zeal for godly deeds." The repetition of φθονεῖν-φθονεῖσθαι anchors the concept while ensuring a sense of discovery at its transformation.

Conceptual drift frequently accompanies figures of repetition and substitution. In the following passage against his political—and possibly intellectual—opponent Leon Choirosphaktes, Arethas does not refrain from copiously exploiting the meaning of Leon's embarrassing surname (*Choirosphaktes or Misogoes* 205.16–20; for the text, cf. Polemis, "A Rhetorical Genre(?): The *Invective*," Chapter 13 in this volume):

Ἐπεὶ ὅτι γε εἰ καὶ πάντα σοι τολμητέα, ἀλλ' οὖν οὐ καὶ τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ τὸ βούλημα κατανύσεις, οἰχήσῃ δὲ πρὸς χάος, οὐχ ἧττον ἢ οἱ πρὸ τοῦ σοι φυλέται, αὐτοῖς χοίροις, τοῖς σπουδασταῖς σου φημί, καταλλήλως ἀφανιζόμενος—οὕτω γὰρ ἂν καὶ τὸ ἐπώνυμον ὑμῶν ἐπαληθεύοι ὁ Χοιροσφάκτης, τοῖς χοιριδίοις ἐναριστεύων καὶ συμφθειρόμενος.

Because even if you are up to every kind of brazenness, you will not perpetrate your scheme against the Church of God, but you will depart to the nether darkness—you no less than those who until recently belonged to your clan, along with all your swine, your supporters I mean—perishing fittingly; and thus may your surname "Pig-Butcher" prove true for you, who flourishes and perishes together with the pigs!

The surname "Pig-Butcher" provides a starting point for an argument of equivalence between the implied occupation and the disgraceful habits and end of a pig. The figure of *etymology* here serves the rhetorical game of invective well: it equates Choirosphaktes with a pig, extends the insult to his supporters, and suggests that, like the gluttonous animal, they will perish in fleshly incontinence and spiritual darkness. Among other figures that can produce a conceptual drift are *synônymia*, *plokê* (repetition of a word in various places), *antonomasia* (substitution of an epithet for a proper name), *kyklos*, and *aparithmêsis*. The arrangement of similar figures and their participation in the development of an argument from the level of sentence, to that of paragraph, and an entire discourse could prove a productive line of study.

Mixing Disparate Concepts

The two most obvious figures which map meanings from one domain onto another are metaphor (together with its varieties, *metônymia* and *synekdochê*) and simile (*synkrisis*). Thus Photios's famous metaphor of the writer's pen as a spear—by now transformed into a maxim (Kazhdan 2006: 36)—freely mixes physical characteristics and physical action with intellectual activity (*Homilies* 176):

Οἷα γὰρ θεοχαλκεύτῳ λόγχῃ ὁ καλλίνικος ἡμῶν πρωταγωνιστὴς τῆς γραφῆς τῷ καλάμῳ χρησάμενος διὰ μέσων αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐγκάτων τὸν ὄλεθρον ἤλασε.

As if making use of a divinely forged spear, namely the pen of his writing, our victorious leader drove destruction through the middle of their innards.

The description is dynamic and persuasive; it transforms the long and muddled process of writing, thinking, and exchanging arguments into a single vivid image of decisive and completed action. By handbook standards, it would be considered a combination of a simile with a metaphor: the comparison of the pen with a spear (an inanimate object compared with another inanimate object) and the substitution of the act of writing for the act of stabbing (animate action for animate action). The combination becomes known as *tropologia* (τροπολογία) in the later period (cf. Ioseph Rhakendytes, Walz 3: 560); it is not entirely typical of early usage, since metaphor was generally regarded as a figure of diction/trope in which one or two words from a source domain are directly transposed onto another, as in "the sea saw and turned back" (Choiroboskos 2), or "without loosening the locks of virginity" (Photios, *Homilies* 7, p. 82). A more extreme example of tropologic mixing is noted by Kazhdan in *Theophanes Continuatus* (III 34, 34–38)—the emperor Theophilos, boiling with rage as if heated by fire, asks for cold water from melted snow and, as soon as he drinks it, falls ill and expires (Kazhdan 2006: 151). Here the mixing of senses is extended to the physical realm and amounts to an explanation of the cause of death. Other figures which involve conceptual mixing include *allêgoria*, *katachrêsis*, *metalêpsis*, *hyperbolê*, and *antapodosis*.

Epitomes of Argument

Certain figures owe their effectiveness not so much to sound or vivid imagery as to their function as epitomes or "templates" of reasoning (Fahnestock 1999: 23–36). Such are, most conspicuously, the figures from the Hermogenian treatise *On Invention* (e.g., *antitheton*, *strongylon*, *periodos*, *elenktikon*), whose presence in a handbook dedicated to invention speaks of their potential as structures of inference. For example, the figure of *antitheton* (not the same as *antithesis*) is usually described as a "doubling" of the underlying proposition (*On Invention* 4.2) by comparing it with its hypothetical counterfactual (e.g., "If it were nighttime, we would not be able to do this, but since it is day, we must do it"; *On Invention* 4.2). As a result, it creates an inferential structure based on an apparent contradiction between what is and its opposite, what it is not, where the desired conclusion is assimilated to what is and the undesired outcome to what it is not. The consummate rhetorician Michael Psellos wields this tool brilliantly in his *Oration on the Miracle at Blachernai*, a speech composed in the genre of forensic defense (*Or. hag.* 4.298–305):

"Ναί," φασίν, "ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάδοσιν τῶν δικαιωμάτων ἡ κίνησις, ἐπιμαρτυρουμένη ὥσπερ τῷ δικαίῳ τῆς ἀναδόσεως. ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν κεκινῆσθαι, φαίη τις καὶ ὁ τυχὼν πρὸς αὐτούς, τῷ στρατηγῷ ἐκεκλήρωτο, ὑμῖν δὲ τὸ ἠρεμεῖν. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἠρέμησε μέχρι παντός, μεθ' ὑμῶν τὸ νικᾶν· εἰ δὲ κεκίνηται, τῇ μερίδι τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τοῦτο τέτακται καί, ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς ἐκρατήσατε ἂν εἰ μὴ κίνησις ἐγεγόνει, οὕτως ἐκεῖνος νενίκηκεν ὅτι γέγονεν."

"Yes indeed," say the monks, "but the drapery moved after the surrender of the documents, witnessing as it were to the justice of the surrender." Someone, even someone

just chancing upon the monks, might say, "But the movement of the drapery fell to the lot of the general, and to you its lack of movement. If then it remained still during the entire time, yours was the victory. But if it moved, this victory is assigned to the side of the general, and, just as you would have won if no movement had occurred, so he has prevailed because it did." (trans. Fisher 2014)

In the bitter lawsuit between Leon Mandalos and the monks from Tou Kalliou—a lawsuit which, after a series of contradictory rulings, is referred for a final, supernatural decision to the miraculous icon of the Theotokos at Blachernai—Michael Psellos takes the side of the general. The icon has delivered a judgment that has also become the object of controversy: the miracle of the moving curtain has occurred not while the litigants were waiting, but after Leon conceded defeat and relinquished his rights of ownership. The *antitheton* is the last line in the quoted paragraph: "just as you would have won if no movement had occurred, so he has prevailed because it did." The hypothetical counterfactual (if the drapery had not moved) and its logical consequence (the monks would have prevailed) is opposed to reality (the drapery did move) and its intended consequence (the general wins) in an argument of apparent contradiction. It forces a stark conclusion: no movement means judgment in favor of the monks; movement means victory for the general. To make it more emphatic and memorable, Psellos weaves a *parêchesis* (κίνησις - ἐκεῖνος νενίκηκεν) and deploys military allusions (τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τοῦτο τέτακται, νενίκηκεν) in the *antitheton*; these make the desired conclusion all the more natural.

The *periodos* is another Hermogenian figure that holds argumentative value; it is also known for producing a striking effect (*drimytês*) derived from its rhythm (*On Invention* 4.3). The *periodos* pairs clauses of "equal value" (*isodunamoi*) employing similar syntactical structures of approximately equal lengths, which put forward and bring an argument to a close within a single thought. In effect, the *periodos* begins by comparing two items and ends by binding them together, asserting equality and affinity between them. The following excerpt from Michael Psellos's *Encomium for kyr Symeon Metaphrastes* provides examples of the so-called anastrophic (*anastrephomenê*), dicolonic, and tetracolonic periods (I have inserted dashes for clarity and ease of reading) (*Or. hag.* 7.68–74):

Ἐφιλοσόφει γοῦν μετὰ τῆς ἠθικῆς πιθανότητος καὶ ἐρρητόρευε μετὰ τῆς φιλοσόφου βαθύτητος· καὶ ἦν ἀμφοῖν τοῖν γενοῖν ὁμοίως εὐάρμοστος—καὶ οὔθ' ὁ φιλόσοφος τὴν πολιτικὴν ἐμίσει ὑπόθεσιν—ὁρῶν χρωννυμένην ταῖς ἀπὸ τῆς φιλοσοφίας βαφαῖς—οὔθ' ὁ ῥήτωρ πρὸς τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἀπήχθετο—ταῖς τεχνικαῖς μεθόδοις ἐναμβρυνόμενος.

Indeed, he presented philosophy with the persuasiveness of character [in the rhetorical sense] and practiced rhetoric with a mental profundity typical of philosophy. Because he accommodated himself equally to the two sorts [of discipline], neither did philosophers despise [Symeon's] political subjects, upon seeing that they had a philosophical hue, nor did rhetoricians, mollified by [Symeon's] rhetorical practices, feel vexed at [his philosophical] knowledge. (trans. after Fisher 2017: 205–206)

The periods are "anastrophic" because they follow parallel syntactical structures, weaving sound and word repetition in key places, while mixing ideas that properly belong to two different spheres. The first sentence, a dicolonic period, asserts that Symeon provided philosophy with something characteristic of rhetoric, moral persuasiveness, and that he gave rhetoric something characteristic of philosophy, profundity of thought. The two clauses are arranged in the figure of *parison katholou*, with seventeen syllables each and perfectly matching stress placement. The second sentence, a tetracolonic period (which begins at καὶ οὕθ' ὁ φιλόσοφος), elaborates on the idea of amalgamating rhetoric and philosophy by putting together in one clause φιλόσοφος - πολιτικὴν ὑπόθεσιν and ῥήτωρ - ἐπιστήμην in another, which then alternate with ὁρῶν χρωννυμένην ταῖς ἀπὸ τῆς φιλοσοφίας βαφαῖς and ταῖς τεχνικαῖς μεθόδοις ἐναμβρυνόμενος. The term "colors" is something properly applied to rhetoric and alludes to figures of speech and artistic embellishments, while "principled methods" is something usually associated with the rigorous procedures of philosophy. The effect is that in the person of Symeon, a man of exemplary political conduct and a model of spiritual life, we also find a perfect practitioner of philosophical rhetoric/rhetorical philosophy—espoused by Psellos himself (Papaioannou 2013: 29–50 and 158–162 and 2021: 59–88 and 201–204).

Other figures which hold argumentative potential include *horismos* (definition), *antimetabolê* (lexical inversion), *gnômê* (maxim), *dilêmmaton*, and *klimax*. The relationship between these types of figures and formal reasoning (Aristotelian syllogistic) in both theory and practice could be a productive line of inquiry.

Structures of Rhythm

Rhythm is created by repeating elements, whether of sound, syntactical structure, sense, or performance, as long as they are sufficiently close to each other so as to be perceived by the ear (or the eye). It is also achieved by the melody and tempo of a discourse. Thus many of the figures of repeating sounds and recurring structures create a sense of rhythm by virtue of their regularity or symmetry—something noted several times by Eustathios of Thessalonike. For example, he says in his commentary on Homer, the *parison* of the following two phrases, τοῦδε πεσόντος and οὐκέτ' ἐόντος (*Il.* 22.383–384), is distinguished by synonymy as well as symmetry (that is, syntactical symmetry), both of which produce rhythmical beauty (*Parekbolai on Homer's Iliad* 4.635). On another occasion, he remarks that the phrase Πάτροκλον πρόφασιν (*Il.* 19.302) has become a proverb on account of its rhythmical brevity and persuasiveness (4.334). One might add that in both cases we have a pattern of regularly repeating sounds (*epêchêsis*), stresses, and word endings (*homoioteleuton*).

Tempo is another aspect of rhythm regulated by means of figures, as the various kinds of *synônymia* and *pleonasmoi* (excessive number of words) create a slow, measured pace, while *asyndeton* (lack of conjunctions) and *epitrochasmos* (rapid enumeration of actions) lend vigor and energy. In the following excerpts from Eumathios

Makrembolites's novel *Hysmine and Hysminias*, the young would-be lovers meet each other for the first time and are overwhelmed by emotion (1.10 and 12):

Ἠρυθρίων, ὠχρίων, ἐσίγων, ἐδειλίων, ὑπέτρεμον, ᾐσχυνόμην ἐμαυτόν, τὸν Σωσθένην, τὴν Πανθίαν, τὴν κόρην, τοὺς παρεστῶτας καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν Κρατισθένην. Τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν ἐπεπήγειν, ἀπαλλαγῆναι ταύτης ηὐχόμην.

. . . Ὑσμίνη ὀκλάσασα τὼ πόδε καὶ λαβομένη μου τῶν ποδῶν ἐκπλύνει τῷ ὕδατι [. . .] συνέχει τούτους, κατέχει, περιπλέκεται, θλίβει, ἀψοφητὶ φιλεῖ καὶ ὑποκλέπτει τὸ φίλημα· καὶ τέλος ἀμύττουσα τοῖς ὄνυξι γαργαλίζει με.

I blushed, blanched, fell silent, grew afraid, trembled, and felt embarrassed for myself before Sosthenes, Panthia, the maiden, those present, and my Kratisthenes. I fastened my eyes upon the table, praying to be delivered.

. . . Hysmine knelt by my feet and, taking them up, began to wash them with water [. . .] Holding on to them, she clasped them in her hands, pressed them, kissed them quietly, and concealed the kiss. At the end she scratched and tickled me with her nails.

In the first paragraph, Hysminias describes his embarrassment at having been put on the spot at the dinner table of Sosthenes and Panthia and in the company of their beautiful young daughter, who unabashedly expresses her attraction toward him. The extended *epitrochasmos*, which involves seven verbs and five nouns, conveys his loss of self-control to a whirl of feelings coming rapidly one upon another. It anticipates Hysmine's bold flirtation two paragraphs down, when she is asked to wash his feet as a herald of Zeus. To the nervous and self-conscious Hysminias, this ritual bath unleashes another string of actions, which come too swiftly to allow him to react. The series of unrelated verbs, dissimilar in sound and strung together without conjunctions, renders well the rapid, chaotic flow of the experience—and the figure *epitrochasmos* itself comes to be associated with all-sweeping erotic passion, mostly used to this purpose in the text.

A rapid ordering of consecutive actions is at the core of another figure, the *pneuma*, and its longer version, the *akmê*. The *pneuma* is a performative unit, a figure of enumeration whose length is measured by the breath of the speaker. Since the listed items or actions carry a mostly negative judgment, the *pneuma* is generally directed against the speaker's opponents and has the force of bearing down on them in a rapid, breathless pace, which presumably ends only because of his need to stop and breathe. A sequence of two to three *pneumata* comprises an *akmê*—a virtuoso performative unit, which, according to Ps.-Hermogenes, never fails to excite applause (*On Invention* 4.4). And because of its performative nature, it is difficult to detect it in a written text, but the following passage from Michael Psellos's *Encomium for kyr Symeon Metaphrastes* stands as a possible candidate for a *pneuma* (and even an *akmê*) (*Or. hag.* 7.91–109):

Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὥσπερ ἀπλέτῳ φωτὶ ταῖς ἀπὸ τῆς φιλοσοφίας καταστραφθέντες ἀκτῖσιν αὐτίκα ἐπέμυσαν καὶ οὐ προεβίβασαν εἰς πρᾶξιν τὴν ἀρετὴν οὐδ' ἐχρήσαντο τοῖς δόγμασι μεγαλοπρεπῶς οὐδὲ ἡγεμόνες γεγόνασι πόλεων οὐδὲ φέροντες ἃ μεμαθήκασιν εἰς μέσον τοῖς πολλοῖς προτεθείκασιν, ἀλλὰ μακροὺς μὲν ἐξέθρεψαν πώγωνας ὥσπερ ἄκαρπα θέρη καὶ σκυθρωποὶ τοῖς προσώποις γεγόνασιν· εἶτα δὴ οἱ μὲν οὐδὲν δέον διὰ

τῆς προσώποις γεγόνασιν· εἶτα δὴ οἱ μὲν οὐδὲν δέον διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς θέοντες ἀκράτῳ τῇ παρρησίᾳ ἐχρήσαντο, οἱ δὲ πιθάκνας τινὰς κατῳκήκασι περιγράψαντες ἑαυτούς, οἱ δὲ περὶ διαλεκτικὰς ἐρωτήσεις τὸν ἑαυτῶν βίον κατατετρίφασιν, ἄλλοι δὲ περὶ φυσικῶν ἐζήτησαν ὑποθέσεων ἀνωφελεῖς τινας ἀντιλογίας καὶ ἔριδας τῷ βίῳ κατακομίσαντες. καὶ τῶν ῥητόρων δὲ οἱ πλείους ταὐτὸ τοῦτο πεπόνθασι τὴν ἔμφρονα τέχνην ἀφροσύνης ἀφορμὴν ποιησάμενοι καὶ δέον τὰ λυσιτελοῦντα ταῖς πόλεσι προαιρεῖσθαι καὶ μελετᾶν, οἱ δὲ τὰ μὲν αὐτοὶ πλάττοντες, τὰ δὲ οἷον ἀποκειμένοις χρησάμενοι πλάσμασι καινήν τινα σκηνὴν τῷ βίῳ ἐπετραγῴδησαν.

For the former group, stunned by philosophy's rays as if by boundless radiance, immediately squeeze their eyes shut and neither advance virtue into practical action, nor employ its principles with a truly noble spirit, nor assume the leadership of cities, nor take into public life what they have learned and present [it] to the general population; instead, like a harvest without fruit, they cultivate long beards and assume sullen expressions. Then some of them run through the center of town and needlessly indulge in unrestrained public speech, while others live in barrels where they have shut themselves up; others spend their whole lives examining [topics] through questions and answers, and yet others conduct inquiries concerning natural science by contributing to [everyday] life useless [presentations of] contradictory arguments and wordy disputations. The majority of rhetoricians undergo this same experience by claiming the sensible art [of rhetoric] as a basis for [exercises in] silliness, even when it is necessary to determine and expedite what is beneficial to cities; some of them devise their own, others use stock plausible inventions to add a tragic touch to life. (trans. Fisher 2017: 206–207)

Psellos runs through a whole catalog of activities on the part of philosophers as well as rhetoricians, which he disparages as worthless pursuits. He would then go on to say that Symeon did nothing of this sort, but engaged in the best sort of activity—the philosophically sound, rhetorically and politically embodied wisdom. The speed of enumeration adds to the dismissive and entertaining value of the list. A dramatic pause to take a breath at the end would perhaps also allow room for laughter.

Engaging the Audience

The so-called figures of thought can be said to rest on a specific assumed relationship between the speaker and the audience; moreover, they construct a position for and elicit a reaction from the listener. Figures such as *diaporêsis* (bewilderment), *prodiorthôsis* (anticipation), *epidiorthôsis* (correction), *erôtêma* (rhetorical question), *aposiôpêsis* (a sudden break in the speech), *eirôneia* (irony), *apostrophê* (addressing a person who is not present), *prosôpopoiïa* (speech in character), and *horkos* (oath) function by creating expectations, rectifying perceptions, inducing identification, and inviting a predetermined response. Perhaps the most obvious genre where these effects are produced is epistolography, especially Byzantine epistolography, whose playful and highly rhetorical character spells out clearly the relationship between writer and

addressee. Manuel II Palaiologos's letter to the provincial secretary and *litteratus* Triboles (PLP 29295), for example, sets the friendly relationship on a mentoring basis by means of irony, bewilderment, and rhetorical questions (*Letter* 9.20–27):

Ἀλλὰ σύ μοι λέγε, πρὸς Θεοῦ, τίνα δὴ τὰ γενναῖα ἐκεῖνα σκιρτήματα ἃ καθήμενος σκιρτᾶν οὐκ ἀπηξίους γράφειν; Ἔφησθα γὰρ ὡς οἶσθα· «κάθημαι φαιδρῷ τῷ προσώπῳ καὶ σκιρτῶν καὶ σεμνυνόμενος.» Τό τε οὖν τελευταῖον καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον, τὴν σεμνότητα λέγω καὶ τὴν φαιδρότητα, σὴν χάριν σιωπῶμεν. Ὅπως δὲ καθήμενος ἐξήσκηκας σκιρτᾶν καὶ πόσα πλέθρα γῆς, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ σφόδρα βουλοίμην μαθεῖν, καὶ ἢν διδάξῃς κἀμὲ ταυτηνὶ τὴν καινὴν ἐπιστήμην μεγάλην σοι χάριν ὁμολογοῦντες ἐσόμεθα.

But tell me, by God, what indeed are those noble leaps of yours in your letter, where you thought it fitting to leap while sitting? As you know, you said: "I sit here with a bright countenance, both leaping about and assuming a grave air." The last word as well as the first—I mean the "grave air" and the "bright countenance"—those I pass over in silence for your sake. But in what way you manage to leap while sitting still and over what distances, I would very much like to learn, and if you would teach me this great new science, I will be exceedingly grateful. (trans. after Dennis 1977: 26)

Manuel affects sincerity with the figure of *horkos* as well as *diaporêsis* while criticizing the stylistic infelicities of the sentence "I sit here with a bright countenance, both leaping about and assuming a grave air," where "sitting" and "leaping about" and "bright countenance" and "grave air" stand in an uneasy union. The passage feigns ignorance and asks for instruction; it is this ironic inversion of the roles that would compel the young Triboles to assume once again the position of literary mentee and, one would imagine, strive to choose his verbs more carefully.

It is somewhat expected to run across these figures in letters, but they can be wielded judiciously in any type of writing, as Theodoros Metochites demonstrates in his philosophical essays *Sententious Remarks*. In a paragraph castigating Aristotle for undertaking to write on the subject of rhetoric while neither using it nor knowing much about it, Metochites says (*Sententious Remarks* 5.4.6–9):

Ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἄκρας ὡς ἀληθῶς δοξοσοφίας καὶ τοῦ πάντ' ἔχειν αὐτὸς μόνος παντέλειος δοκεῖν λογίζεσθαι καὶ τοῦ πάντ' εἰδέναι, πῶς ἂν εἴποιμι, τά τ' ἐόντα τά τ' ἐσόμενα πρό τ' ἐόντα, καὶ ταῦτα σπουδάζει.

But because of his truly enormous intellectual vanity, and because he thinks he is the only person who is able to calculate everything and who knows everything—how shall I put it: what is, and what will be, and what has been—he devotes himself also to this study.

Metochites's *diaporêsis* and *prodiorthôsis*, expressed also as a *hyperbolê* ("how shall I put it, what is, what will be, and what has been") serve to distance him from the all-knowing, all-understanding, glory-seeking object of his blustering criticism (Aristotle) as one who is at a loss for words before a great subject ("what is, what will be, and what has been"), can hardly grasp its extent, and is not inflated with self-confidence.

Figured Discourse

Among the most difficult to recognize and interpret of the figures of thought are the so-called figured problems and figured discourse (cf. *On Invention* 4.13), which are intended to both conceal and reveal something other than the obvious. The goal is accomplished mostly by means of apparent contradictions and incompatibilities, from the level of lexis to literary allusions. These figures, however, rely on shared knowledge of historical and cultural events as well as literature. Figured discourse is presumed to have been particularly common in Byzantium, where freedom of speech often incurred danger; the trouble is that detecting and analyzing it as figured can be a difficult task.[2] Figured discourse, from the level of simple allusion to the level of structure and argument flow, would be another productive direction for future research on the Byzantine figures and their deployment in literature.

Suggestions for Further Reading

Excellent guides to theories of figuration, figure function, and style are Lausberg (1998) and Fahnestock (2011). For a comprehensive survey of contemporary linguistic theories, see Knape (1996) on figures; Drux (2009) on tropes; also Fix, Gardt, and Knape (2008–2009). For a cognitive and functional linguistics perspective, see Lakoff (1987) and Turner (1987). The essays in Fludernik (2011) could provide a quick orientation on the work which has been done on metaphor in the last fifty or so years.

Ancient theories of figuration have been well studied. For a concise overview of tropes, see Novokhatko (2014); Bradford (1982) on a comparative study of ancient and contemporary figures; for a glossary, see Anderson (2000); on metaphor, Calboli (2007); on figured discourse, see Breij (2011), Barwick (1957), and Colish (1985) on Stoic rhetoric and theories of figuration; De Jonge (2008: 251–326) on natural signification and word order in Hellenistic grammarians. The Byzantine traditions of theory and practice, however, remain relatively unexplored. On textual traditions, see Bady (2010), Conley (1986, 2004), Jaewon (2011), and Hajdú (1998); on practice, see Norden (1898), and Kazhdan (1999, 2006). The best introduction to the Byzantine use of the figures of the Hermogenian corpus is offered by the commentaries of an anonymous rhetorician (tenth c.; Walz 7.2), Ioannes Sikeliotes (c. 950–after 1010?; Walz 6), and Maximos Planoudes (c. 1255–1305; Walz 5).

[2] For insights on how an *ekphrasis* of a procession could function as a political critique, how an imperial oration could become a critique of tyranny, and how a historical narrative could indulge in duplicity, see the respective contributions by Krallis, Mullett, and Angelou in Angelov and Saxby (2013), as well as Angelov 2003.

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CHAPTER 13

A RHETORICAL GENRE(?)

The Invective *(Ninth–Fifteenth Centuries)*

IOANNIS POLEMIS

In a volume that does not single out genres in order to survey Byzantine literature, the present chapter stands out. But genres—as outlined in Chapter 1 of this *Handbook*—were important structuring devices of Byzantine literature, especially in the field of rhetoric; they can thus offer interpretive frames, even if, as everything else, they shall also raise interpretive problems. What follows may be read as a case study of Byzantine learned rhetoric in action, and some of the complications (hence the question mark of the title) that we may face when we apply to it the concept of "genre," a definable set (to employ here a common understanding of the term) of formal characteristics associated with a specific subject matter. The test case is the *invective*, in Greek ψόγος, and the perspective we shall adopt is that of Byzantine rhetorical education and practice—rather than, say, modern sociological or anthropological concerns, very legitimate and productive in themselves, that often accompany the study of "genre" (see, e.g., Goldhill 2008; cf. Mullett 1992 for an overview of modern theories of genre for Byzantinists). After a series of general observations, we shall review a few representative examples in order to trace the manifold profile of Byzantine invectives during the middle and the late periods.

Rhetorical *Invective*: Type of Speech or Mode?

According to Aphthonios's definition, the *invective* (ψόγος) is a speech (λόγος) exposing and magnifying the vices of somebody, and is divided into the same parts as an *encomium*, since the slanderer has to blacken the same things a writer of an *encomium* commends: at the beginning, the slanderer must censure the family and upbringing of the accused and then go on to defame his actions, compare him with others (making

him out to always be the worst), and conclude with an epilogue in exactly the same way as an encomiast (Aphthonios, *Preliminary Exercises* 9; cf. Koster 1980: 15–16). In this respect, the *psogos* is very similar to the so-called *koinos topos* (Aphthonios, *Preliminary Exercises* 7; cf. Messis and Papaioannou, "Memory," Chapter 6 in this volume), which is a speech exaggerating the shortcomings of someone. In the view of Ailios Theon (*Progymnasmata* 6), their difference consists in that, unlike *psogos*, the *koinos topos* cannot be written as an independent piece of oratory. Both Theon and Aphthonios write about *rhetorical exercises* (*progymnasmata*) and not rhetorical genres per se; however, they seem to draw on a long-standing tradition which saw *psogos* as an autonomous type of speech, one that lays bare the magnitude of somebody's wickedness.[1]

When we move from the context of introductory rhetorical training to actual rhetorical practice, the field becomes fuzzier. The first thing we lose is a distinctive generic term as far as the manuscript titles of invective texts are concerned. Both *psogos* and *koinos topos* are attested rarely (and almost exclusively within the corpus of teachers; e.g., Gibson 2008: 141–193 and 266–319, with several examples by Libanios). Instead, frequent are the terms ἔλεγχος (censure, refutation), κατηγορία (accusation), ἀντιλογία (counterargumentation), λόγος στηλιτευτικός (defamatory speech[2]) or, the related, ἀντιρρητικός (refutation), none of which necessarily prefaces a text that can be characterized as an invective in the definition of the rhetorical handbooks. Indeed, the most common title for an invective type of text seems to be the phrase κατὰ, followed by a genitive (either collective or of one particular person). Though again one has to be careful, since not all works having such a phrase in their titles are also invectives: for instance, the *Antilogia against those who argue that there is no humility among men* = *Ἀντιλογία πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι ταπείνωσις ἐν ἀνθρώποις* (Leone 1970) by Nikephoros Gregoras should not be considered an invective, since Gregoras examines his subject *sine ira et studio*, avoiding any insulting phrases against his opponent Barlaam the Calabrian (Hunger 1978: 53). This brings us to the most important formal feature that seems to distinguish an invective: its unequivocal verbal attack that follows the author's intention to blacken the reputation of his/her opponent(s). At that, the *psogos*—just as many other types of speech delineated in the Byzantine *progymnasmata* (such as the *êthopoiia* or the *ekphrasis*)—does not turn into a "genre" when we move into the diversified field of Byzantine rhetorical practice, but rather resembles a "mode" (as argued in Papaioannou, "Theory of Literature," Chapter 4 in this volume), a discursive habit that may have some of the formal characteristics

[1] This tradition is continued in the middle Byzantine commentaries of Ioannes of Sardeis (*Commentary on Aphthonios' progymnasmata* 9) and Ioannes Doxapatres (*Rhetorical Homilies on Aphthonios' Progymnasmata* 460.29–478.12).

[2] Which in rhetorical theory (e.g., in *Suda* σ 1085) is, interestingly, defined as follows: Στηλιτευτικὸς λόγος ἐστὶν ὁ . . . προερχόμενος διὰ μόνων τῶν πράξεων, εἰ τύχοι δὲ καὶ συγκρίσεως. Τούτου δὲ διαφέρει ὁ ψόγος, ὅτι διὰ τῶν ἐγκωμιαστικῶν κεφαλαίων προσάγεται, οἷον γένους, ἀνατροφῆς, πράξεως, συγκρίσεως = The defamatory speech is the one . . . that proceeds by recounting only actions, and occasionally includes comparison. It differs from the invective, since the latter follows the headings of the encomium, namely family, upbringing, actions, and comparison.

of a progymnasmatic *psogos* (e.g., the sequential defamation of a person's origins and actions), but whose defining feature is the intended persuasive effect, namely blame, defamation, and libel.

Many invectives are thus incorporated into larger compositions, often hidden under the pretext (determined by genre expectations) of presenting something objectively. Historiographical texts and, especially, texts from the context of theological controversy (dealing with various old or new heresies—such as, in our period, the Latins or opponents of Hesychasm—or perennial problems—such as the use of astrology) lent themselves to this type of approach: from the *Anekdota* (*Secret History*) of Prokopios (Tinnefeld 1971: 33–34) to the fourth book of *Theophanes Continuatus*, an invective against the emperor Michael III (842–867), and from Gregory the Theologian's two *Στηλιτευτικοὶ λόγοι* against the emperor Julian (*Orations* 4 and 5) to the late fourteenth-century bishop of Nicaea Theophanes's (d. 1380/1381; PLP 7615) speech *Against the Latins* (which in fact [Polemis 1996: 126–139] targets Demetrios Kydones, one of the key supporters of the Latin doctrine at the time, to whom we shall return). Indeed, it appears as if almost every Byzantine theological treatise contains elements of invective, as even texts which purport to deal with theological matters in a neutral way (e.g., hermeneutical works on the Bible) are seldom devoid of contentious points, giving rise to short invectives against those who propound a different point of view. Similarly, in the moralizing framework of much Byzantine historiography, blame along with praise usually peppers accounts of past events.[3]

The natural settings for *rhetorical* invectives, however, were the courtroom (real or imagined, secular or ecclesiastic) and the antagonistic environment of professional intellectuals. For this, let us turn to some representative examples of texts that deploy invective strategies. We shall examine these specimens briefly, focusing on common formal characteristics, which hint at *progymnasmatic* rules, and shared typologies of verbal "abuse"; but we shall let the texts, in their variety, speak for themselves, and thus we will refrain from overarching conclusions.

Forensic Rhetoric

Let us begin with a massive text, Michael Psellos's *Accusation brought to the synod against the patriarch = Πρὸς τὴν σύνοδος κατηγορία τοῦ ἀρχιερέως* (*Or. for.* 1) whose purpose was to accuse the deposed ecumenical patriarch Michael Keroullarios and to justify his deposition from the throne by the emperor Isaakios I Komnenos in 1058 (on Psellos and Keroullarios, see Kaldellis and Polemis 2015).[4] As one might expect, *psogos*

[3] Something for which the Byzantines were of course conscious; see, e.g., the comments of Photios on Philostorgios (*Bibliothêkê* 40).

[4] The question of whether these texts were ever (in what form) delivered will not concern us here. For forensic discourse in Byzantium, see Riehle, "Rhetorical Practice," Chapter 11 in this volume.

sets in. Psellos proceeds methodically, step by step unraveling the supposed criminal activity of Keroullarios under specific "headings" (κεφαλαιώδεις ἐπιτομάς. *Or. for.* 1,1201). First (lines 1202–1293), he accuses Keroullarios of impiety because of the protection he offered to the monks who founded the Nea Mone in Chios and his leaning toward the superstitions of these monks, who encouraged their followers to have supernatural visions, etc. Then (1294–1707), Psellos deals with the involvement of Keroullarios in the deposition of the emperor Michael VI Stratiotikos after the coup d'état of Isaakios I Komnenos (1057), accusing him of letting the conspirators enter the church of Hagia Sophia. Under the third heading (1708–1931), Psellos reproaches Keroullarios as the supposed instigator of murder during the turbulent days before Isaakios Komnenos entered Constantinople. The fourth heading (1932–2341) treats the sacrilegious activities of Keroullarios, who did not hesitate to destroy several churches in the capital, supposedly in order to embellish the city by building new ones (the accusations include grave-robbing, since Keroullarios supposedly did not hesitate to sack old tombs in order to carry out his magnificent building plans).

It is near the end of his speech that Psellos sketches a short biography of the accused, thus nodding to the progymnasmatic *invective*—even if at the conclusion of the relevant passage (2385–2386), Psellos employs two infinitives (*λοιδορεῖν ἀντὶ τοῦ κατηγορεῖν*) that hint at the foregrounded "generic" identity of his text: his treatise is to be read not a *psogos*, but as a formal "accusation." However this might be, the *psogos*-like narrative of Keroullarios's life before becoming patriarch is introduced by a clever device; Psellos supposedly has no appetite to discuss the past crimes of the patriarch, but he presents them anyway (2373–2386): "I shall refrain from mentioning his . . . I pass in silence his . . . I also omit . . . etc. . . ."; he concludes: "I omit all the rest, so as not to be considered by him a severe accuser, so as not to be regarded as a slanderer rather than an accuser. . . ."

Some sixty years later, we come across a little-known text, composed in 1116, the *Speech by the sinner Niketas Seides, addressed to the great emperor kyr Alexios Komnenos concerning the recently expounded doctrine of Eustratios, metropolitan of Nicaea, proving it to be impious on the basis of holy Scripture and the holy Fathers who taught the orthodox doctrines* = Τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ Νικήτα τοῦ Σεΐδου λόγος πρὸς τὸν μέγιστον ἐν βασιλεῦσιν αὐτοκράτορα κῦρ Ἀλέξιον τὸν Κομνηνὸν περὶ τοῦ καινοφανοῦς δόγματος τοῦ μητροπολίτου Νικαίας Εὐστρατίου, ἀσεβὲς τοῦτο ἀποδεικνύων ἀπό τε τῆς θείας Γραφῆς καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρθοδόξως δογματισάντων θείων Πατέρων (on Niketas Seides, probably a *maistôr* of rhetors, and his works, see Nesseris 2014: 2,481–2,483). For all intents and purposes, the text in question seems to be a forensic speech, formally addressing the emperor and accusing Eustratios, a philosopher, interpreter of Aristotle, and one of the most learned men of the empire at the time, of holding heretical views.

Seides is obliged to deal with his opponent in a circumspect manner, being aware of Eustratios's close relations to the emperor, and his own position: a layman attacking a bishop, who must thus present his case as effectively and *as safely* as possible. Accordingly, at the beginning of his speech Seides hastens to assure the emperor

that he did not decide to compose his text out of envy. He goes as far as trying to justify Eustratios: "We shall defend that man, for though he is very learned and wise, he is still a human being and the thoughts of men lack power. Only God is inerrant, having no passions at all" (37.8–11). But a few lines further, he compares Eustratios with the most notorious heretics of the past: "That was the case with those deranged men Arius and Sabellius" (37.21–22). Seides then goes on to describe the brilliant career of Eustratios, who, misguided by his wisdom, ended up outside the realm of orthodoxy. After expounding his doctrinal position, he addresses Eustratios directly: "Why do you change your colors like an octopus or a chameleon, changing along with the situation and the circumstances? Were you not a student of John the former chartophylax of the great church of Antioch?" (The last phrase hints at the notorious heretic of the late eleventh century, John Italos.) Thus, Seides moves carefully, but undermines his adversary's position to a gradually devastating effect.

The next text dates to the mid-twelfth century, and presents all the formal characteristics of a progymnasmatic *invective*: the *Against Bagoas* by the prolific Nikephoros Basilakes (on whom see most recently Beneker and Gibson 2016). *Against Bagoas* seems to follow the rules of forensic texts (Magdalino 1993). Indeed, in the *προθεωρία* to the text, Basilakes clearly refers to the theory of Hermogenes concerning *staseis*. Still, Basilakes follows the rules of a progymnasmatic *psogos* closely and the invective *topoi* of vituperating a eunuch (Messis 2014: 224–225)—a high dignitary of the church, whose identity escapes us, is hidden under the fictive, but telling name of Bagoas (which alludes to the protagonist of Lucian's *Eunuch*).

There is a long section on the biography of Bagoas, which comes after a long narrative concerning the condemnation of Kosmas and the way his enemies Bagoas and Hierotheos tried to implicate him in the crime of the profanation of the icon. There (99.23–100.11), it is pointed out that the accused was a half-Scythian (the archetypal barbarian in both ancient Greek and Byzantine literature), the son of a poor fisherman, who wandered all around the Black Sea and happened to take a Scythian woman as a consort. Basilakes goes on to give an account of Bagoas's homosexuality, who became a close "friend" of a certain man (100.21–29); after a while Bagoas became an eunuch (101.1–2), and managed to join the clergy—despite being a male prostitute—continuing to perform the nefarious activities of his youth. Some comparison follows, in a clear inversion of the rules governing the *encomium* (as demanded by the rhetorical handbooks): Bagoas is likened to notorious criminals of Greek antiquity (Alcibiades, Medea, Phalaris, Hippias, Critias, etc.; 102.1–2, 107.6–33). The rhetoric of *psogos* is thus fully utilized.

Another forensic *psogos* which shares many characteristics with the diatribe of Psellos against Keroullarios is a text entitled *Censure of Niphon who was an evil patriarch in all respects* =*Ἔλεγχος κατὰ τοῦ κακῶς τὰ πάντα πατριαρχεύσαντος Νίφωνος* (cf. Riehle, "Rhetorical Practice," Chapter 11 in this volume). It is an accusation aimed at patriarch Niphon (PLP 20679), which was brought before the synod of the patriarchate of

Constantinople by the metropolitans of Nikomedeia and Mytilene, although it was composed by the then powerful collaborator of the emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282–1328), Nikephoros Choumnos (d. 1327; PLP 30961). The text is arranged under several headings dealing with the various crimes of Niphon, all revolving around the basic accusation of simony, i.e., being bribed to sell church dignities to unworthy persons. The formal character of the text is underlined by the quotation of various church canons prohibiting simony, and by the narration, one by one, of the various cases of simony perpetrated by the patriarch. The most important charge against the patriarch was that of avarice (*Censure* 278–283), a rather popular charge, often employed in the forensic *psogoi* of antiquity (Nisbet 1961: 195). Choumnos also accuses the patriarch of sacrilegiously stealing holy icons, thus desecrating venerable church property, a charge we came across both in *Against Bagoas* of Basilakes and in the *Accusation* of Psellos.

What strikes the reader are the frequent exclamations, the direct addresses to the accused, and the rhetorical questions which, all combined, give to the text a rather pathetic tone. It is no coincidence that Choumnos himself, in a short notice preceding the text, calls this discourse "a most elaborate and well-constructed piece of work, imitating Demosthenes" (255). In a lengthy series, for instance, of rhetorical questions (264–265) that aim to enlarge on the magnitude of the patriarch's impiety, amplified further by the employment of a *tricolon abundans* (namely a set of parallel units, but increasing in size: [a] οὔτ' αὐτὸς σταυρός, [b] οὔτ' ἐν εἰκόνι Χριστὸς τούτῳ προσηλωμένος, [c] οὔθ' ἡ πάναγνος αὐτοῦ μήτηρ τῷ σταυρῷ παρεστῶσα), Choumnos transforms Christ, the Virgin Mary, and the saints into litigants who seek justice for the sacrilege perpetrated against them by the patriarch. It is a Demosthenic device: in a well-known passage from *On the Crown* (208), the ancient orator invokes the authority of those who fell defending the city in order to present those who had fallen in Chaeronea as the true heirs of their glory, and indirectly as accusers of Aeschines.

Lampoons

Let us turn to examples of pamphlets and lampoons, not meant to be presented as official complaints before a higher authority. We may start with Arethas of Caesarea's *Choirosphaktes or Misogoes*—the latter word is borrowed from Lucian and means literally "someone who hates trickery, fraud, or jugglery." Leon Choirosphaktes (PmbZ 4527 and 24343), a prominent politician and man of letters in the time of Leo VI the Wise (886–912), is accused by Arethas for impiety (Arethas becomes indignant when he remembers that a theological *katechesis* on fasting by Choirosphaktes was read out in Hagia Sophia).

The text of Arethas does not seem to conform to the rules governing the composition of a progymnasmatic *psogos*. There is no biography of the accused, no clearly

defined section on his nefarious deeds, and the text lacks a clear structure. The indignation of Arethas seems to break all rules, and knowing no limits, gives to his text the character of a Greek tragedy, being full of exclamations and pathos, stressing Choirosphaktes's moral depravity and impudence. But progymnasmatic tropes do crop up, such the frequent comparisons of Choirosphaktes with evil characters of the biblical, Greco-Roman, and early Byzantine past (Cain: 212.2; Jannes and Iambres: 205.29; Phalaris: 208.10; Diomedes of Thrace: 208.10; Porphyry: 212.17; and, tellingly, Julian the Apostate, the author [one might add] of an invective text called *Misopogon*: 212.17).[5] Arethas also resorts to another common device, by poking fun at Choirosphaktes's epithet (cf. Valiavitcharska, "Rhetorical Figures," Chapter 12 in this volume). And he does not hesitate to call Choirosphaktes an "Epicurean enemy of the Trinity" (*Choirosphaktes or Misogoes* 210.28)—Epicureanism was, we might add, a standard accusation in ancient invectives (Nisbet 1961: 195). However this might be, while lacking the formality of Basilakes's or Choumnos's texts, the *Misogoes* of Arethas presents us with a more vivid and vitriolic discourse (see further Kazhdan 2006: 79–83, who regards *Misogoes* as a reinvention of the genre of the "pamphlet").

Theodore Metochites's (1270–1332; PLP 17982), *An accusation brought against those who use logoi in an uneducated way* =Ἔλεγχος κατὰ τῶν ἀπαιδεύτως χρωμένων τοῖς λόγοις (Or. 13) is an example of a lampoon that at first glance addresses an anonymous group of opponents but is in fact directed at a single person, in this case against Metochites's former friend Nikephoros Choumnos (cf. Ševčenko 1962).[6] Metochites clearly adapts his text to the rules of *psogos*: though there is no section dealing with Choumnos's origins and family, there is a long introductory chapter where Metochites stresses his adversary's lack of any education concerning the matters he dares to write about; according to Metochites, in order to conceal their ignorance, Choumnos and his followers lift various passages from the ancient texts so as to adorn their own writings. The severity of Metochites's vocabulary is telling,[7] and notably he even mentions Archilochus (2.15), the archetypal writer of invective poetry (i.e., iambs in the traditional meaning of the word[8]). Then, Metochites proceeds in a systematic manner, dividing his material under two headings, one dealing with the accusations advanced by Choumnos and his friends against astronomy, and the other concerning the importance of high style (δεινότης), a literary quality whose importance was denied by Choumnos. Even the conclusion of Metochites's text is rather menacing: Choumnos should not delude him, since he will not be able to go on striking his enemies under cover of darkness, but "an

[5] On Julian's *Misopogon*, see, e.g., Gleason (1986) and Reinsch (2009).

[6] For another example, see the first antirrhetic speech of Nikephoros Gregoras (Beyer 1976) which turns out to be a personal attack against Gregory Palamas.

[7] E.g.: . . . ἀσελγαίνοντες ὑπ' ἐσχάτης ἀμαθίας . . . καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀσχήμονα βακχείαν, πάσης ἀηδίας τοὺς προστυγχάνοντας πληροῦντες (3.18–20), etc.

[8] Cf. the following definition that circulated in Byzantine *lexika* (e.g., Zonaras, *Lexikon* 1078): ἴαμβος ἔμμετρός ἐστι λοιδορία = the iamb is a libel in verse.

arrow will hit you destroying you completely and you will escape much more shamefully than you believe = ἀπαντήσει γε καὶ σοῦ βολὴ πρὸς ὑπερτάτην ἄτην καὶ ἀπαλλάξεις αἴσχιον ἤ ποτ᾽ ἂν ᾠήθης" (14.34–36).

During the second half of the same century, we encounter another lampoon (yet from the context of ecclesiastical controversy), the *Speech resembling a letter to . . . patriarch kyr Philotheos concerning the author's brother Prochoros = Λόγος . . . ἐπιστολιμαῖος πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν πατριάρχην κυρὸν Φιλόθεον περὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ κυροῦ Προχόρου*, Mercati 1931, 313) by Demetrios Kydones. Prochoros (c. 1330–1368/1369; PLP 13883) was condemned as a heretic by the council of 1368, which vindicated the doctrinal positions of Gregorios Palamas, and died soon afterward. His brother Demetrios Kydones (c. 1324–1397/1398; PLP 13876) takes pains to rehabilitate his brother's memory by charging with heresy and impiety his main opponent, the patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos (1300–1379; PLP 11917; patriarch, twice: 1353–1354 and 1364–1376; cf. Constas, "Biblical Hermeneutics," Chapter 5 in this volume).[9]

In the formal proem to his speech, like an ancient Greek orator, Demetrios assures his audience that he is a peace-loving man; his only reason for taking up his quill once more was Philotheos's machinations. He goes on to praise his brother's integrity, at the same time taking pains to present the behavior of Philotheos in as bad colors as possible. There is, for instance, a long narrative (διήγησις), giving a detailed account of Prochoros's persecution and his final condemnation. Demetrios stresses that the jury that condemned Prochoros was worse that the juries of the Scythians (324: 77–80). Demetrios accuses Philotheos of acting like a thug in a blasphemous manner and of organizing a council that was a farce. It is worth quoting an eloquent passage from this section (328: 21–25):

> Καὶ διὰ πάντων ὑβρίζων ἄνθρωπον ἐλεύθερον καὶ ἐξ ἐλευθέρων καὶ ἐλευθερίως τραφέντα, καὶ βασιλεῦσι γνώριμον καὶ τῆς ἐκείνων οἰκίας, εἰ καὶ τούτων πάντων ἐκεῖνος πρὸς τὴν ἐν οὐρανοῖς δόξαν ὁρῶν κατεφρόνησεν, ἀνδράποδον καὶ τύχῃ συμβεβιωκὼς φαυλοτάτῃ καὶ ᾧ πᾶς τις ἐχθρὸς τῶν γονέων ὑπομιμνήσκων.
>
> You insulted in every possible way a free man, who was born of free men and was educated in a liberal way, a man who was familiar with the emperor and a man of the palace, although he despised all these for the sake of the glory of heaven—you who were a slave, who had lived with a most sinister fate and who considered an enemy anyone reminding you of your parentage.

Beyond the theme of the humble origins of the one against whom the invective is addressed, we note here the balanced structure of the period: three characteristics of

[9] For a similar text, see the so-called *Appellatio* of Theodoros Dexios against the emperor John VI Kantakouzenos (1347–1354) (Polemis 2003). On the Kydones brothers, cf. also "Translations I: From Other Languages into Greek," Forrai, "Section I. Latin," in this volume.

Prochoros given in a *polysyndeton* (the use of multiple coordinating conjunctions) correspond to another *polysyndeton* referring to Philotheos's base origins.

Our last example, the so-called comedy of *Katablattas*, written by Ioannes Argyropoulos (PLP 1267; cf. 92341), was interpreted by its editors P. Canivet and N. Oikonomides as a unique text in Byzantine literature, which has much in common with the humanistic *invectivae* of the Italian scholars of the fifteenth century. But this is perhaps not the case. The text, which has the form of a letter (its title reads: *Ἰωάννης τῷ ἀκολάστῳ Πριάπῳ τῷ Σκαταβλαττᾷ Χαίρειν*), may be read as a pure Byzantine lampoon, reminiscent of the *Misogoes* of Arethas or the *Bagoas* of Basilakes. At the beginning of the fictitious letter, the author deplores the fact that he is obliged to write just a short text which does not permit him to speak about his adversary's life (41: τόν τε βίον καὶ τὴν ἄλλην πολιτείαν) extensively; yet, following the precepts of *psogos*, Argyropoulos refers to his enemy's humble origins (he comes from Serres, while Argyropoulos himself comes from Constantinople; lines 35 and 96), and to his deficient education and homosexuality, accusing him of seducing his students and of all sorts of illicit activities both in Thessalonike and in Constantinople. Simultaneously, Argyropoulos toys with motifs from hagiographical discourse in order to enhance his parodic treatment: e.g., he claims that he will offer a mere sketch of his opponent's life (107–108: φέρε σου τὸν βίον ἐγὼ πρῶτον σκιαγραφήσω), thus an inversion of *Bios*, the common title of Byzantine hagiographical texts, and he calls his enemy's shameful actions "solemn deeds = τὰ . . . τῆς πολιτείας σεμνολογήματα" (614), a typical hagiographical, encomiastic phrase.

Suggestions for Further Reading

There exists no recent comprehensive study of the invective in Byzantium. The following is a representative list of editions and studies that illuminate, from different angles, the Byzantine literary culture of the three interlocking fields of defamation, derision, and laughter: Ševčenko (1957), Hunger (1969), Baldwin (1982), Magdalino (1984), Eideneier (1977, 1991 [2012]), Romano (1999), Kazhdan (1999, 2006; cf. the lemmas on genres [*psogos*], invective, and pamphlet), Sideras (2002), Gaul (2007), Haldon (2002), Garland (2007), Magdalino (2007), Migliorini (2010), Mullett (2013), Bernard (2014, esp. 253–290), van Opstall (2015), Marciniak (2011, 2016), and Marciniak and Nilsson (2020); cf. also Bernard and Demoen, "Poetry?," Chapter 15 in this volume (on invectives in verse form).

For comparable work (also in an eclectic list), with further bibliographies, see Branham (1989), Richlin (1992), Corbeill (1996), Henderson (1999), Flower (2013), and Hawkins (2014), on classical and late antique literature; and Beaumatin and Garcia (1995), Bayless (1996), Morini (2006), Kendrick (2007), Baragona and Rambo (2018), and Applauso (2020) on Western medieval and early modern European literatures.

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CHAPTER 14

REWRITING

STEPHANOS EFTHYMIADIS

All Writing Is Rewriting!

"Immature poets imitate, mature poets steal, and bad poets deface what they take, and good poets make it into something better, or at least something different." This paradoxical statement that we owe to T. S. Eliot, who knew rather nothing of or must have heard too little about Byzantine literature, fully adjusts to the way we should generally read and treat Byzantine writers (Eliot 1934: 205). As a matter of fact, the suspicion of intertextual or merely textual debts follows any study of a Byzantine text. In other words, the character and degree of an author's reliance on his/her earlier counterparts, commonly designated with the German term *Quellenforschung*, is always a central issue for scholarly investigation and discussion. The dependence on a previous model could thus be open, free, loose, and masked, or close, intimate, and manifest, if not declared. The overwhelming majority of texts produced in the Byzantine era bear signs of such a dependence and must be consequently handled as *palimpsests*, a word that in modern literary theory points to works written upon other looming behind. As such, moreover, they must be compared, contrasted, and weighed against their hypotext(s)-intertext(s) and the "original" models which they imitated, copied, wholly or partly, and, in some cases, replaced.

Modern literary theorists have singled out and discussed all possible kinds of reworking to which a literary text might be subjected and after which a new text might be produced (e.g., Genette 1997 [1982]). It would not be too far-fetched to maintain that most of these transformations-transfigurations of a given narrative come into play in Byzantine literature. This chiefly derivative character of much Byzantine writing involved a wide range of usurpations and interventions that square with the concept and practice of rewriting. By and large, rewriting may be defined as the composition of a new version of a preexisting text that is produced by means of linguistic, rhetorical, and stylistic revision. This revision may result in formal-external and quantitative

modifications that affect the signifier and/or in qualitative-semantic changes that affect the signified, i.e., the argument and message of a text. Any literary use of a precise pre-existing text can be thus designated as "rewriting," no matter if it refers to it explicitly or implicitly.

In fact, contrary to an intertextual relationship between a literary work and another, which may be conscious or not, rewriting was always intentional, though hardly ever acknowledged and confessed. This observation, however, does not solely apply to instances of rewriting but encompasses Byzantine literature at large. The overwhelming majority of Byzantine authors are in dialogue with their immediate or distant predecessors but, despite their declared modesty and humility, they conceal their debts and dependences; and when they provide us with precise references to them, this is for allowing a justification of their own undertaking. In the prologue of his *Life of St John the Almsgiver* (BHG 886d), Leontios of Neapolis (seventh century) argues that Ioannes Moschos and Sophronios, the other hagiographers who extolled the feats of the same saintly prelate, left much unsaid about his virtue (*Life* 343,30–41). In the early twelfth century, in the preamble of his *Synopsis of Histories* (3–4), Ioannes Skylitzes takes distance from a sequence of former historians whom he denounces as failing to offer an objective historical account; this denunciation, however, did not prevent him from excerpting material from them and reusing it in his own account (Cheynet 2011). In a similar vein, Konstantinos Akropolites, the systematic hagiographer of the early Palaiologan era, alludes to pieces of hagiography on the basis of which he composed his own (for references and discussion, see Efthymiadis and Kalogeras 2014: 269–270).

Types of Rewriting in Byzantium

Whether acknowledged or not, rewriting in Byzantium may be categorized as follows: (a) the mere copying verbatim (i.e., applying a "copy-paste" technique!); (b) the creation of a new text by means of a large adaptation of an older one which may affect the plot, the hero, and/or the form; (c) the production of a new version/redaction, that is, a shorter, longer, or slightly different text stemming from a certain prototype. All these categories entail not a simple proximity but a close relationship between the hypertext and the hypotext(s)-intertext(s), i.e., the earlier and the older text(s).

Copying

The first kind of rewriting is merely synonymous to what we call today "plagiarism," actually a practice met with disapproval and derogatory comments already in classical antiquity (Stemplinger 1912). Taken broadly, plagiarism may have extended to the production of pseudonymous texts, the re-attribution of a work to a different author, and,

more often than not, the integration of longer or shorter extracts from an "original" work into another that is presented as a new and different one. The reasons lying behind the first two kinds of this literary manipulation are rather evident: add value to a work produced by a not well-known author and promote its reception and circulation. Although this phenomenon was typical of works of theological orientation which by being ascribed to renowned and respected Christian authors gained authority and prestige, it also embraced secular literature. In this respect, it will suffice to point out the texts transmitted under the name of Michael Psellos but which are of uncertain or spurious authorship (Moore 2005: 540–562). The fact, however, that these are new texts, not based on previous ones, does not account for treating them as a kind of rewriting (cf. further Papaioannou, "Authors" Chapter 20 in this volume).

Another type of plagiaristic rewriting corresponds to the application of a copy-paste process which may result in the production either of a clumsy "patchwork" (a pastiche) that is mechanically constructed or of a work that is more artfully reconstructed and can stand on its own. Some examples culled from the hagiography and the historiography of the middle and late Byzantine periods may illustrate this point of differentiation. Made up as it is of stitching together extracts from earlier hagiographical accounts, the *Life of Prokopios Dekapolites* (BHG 1583) (after 868), a saint of the Second Iconoclasm (815–843), is a "patchwork" with no literary pretensions and limited credibility. Another text largely produced in a similar fashion is the *Life of St. Stephanos the Younger* (BHG 1666), a key text in defense of the veneration of icons, which, *inter alia*, appropriates a long list of extracts from the hagiography of Cyril of Skythopolis, the *Homilies* of Andreas of Crete, and the *Acts* of the Seventh Ecumenical Council of Nicaea in 787. Despite this large verbal and structural dependence, however, the author produced a document that can be read as a self-standing biographical account, i.e., as an "original" composition (Auzépy 1999: 92–153). Similar considerations loom large in the *Life of St. Nikon Metanoeite* (d. 1004; BHG 1366), the *Miracles of St. Athanasios, Patriarch of Constantinople* (d. 1323; BHG 194f), and the *Life of St. Athanasios of Meteora* (d. 1383; BHG 195), whose biographers reproduced in relevant sections of their accounts either a great deal of the miracle section of the *Life of St. Loukas the Younger* (or *of Stiris*) or its prologue and epilogue (BHG 994). In these cases, hagiographers contented themselves to just replace the names of the people cured.

By the same token, no matter that it records some factual details elsewhere unattested and has thus been useful to Byzantine and modern historians alike, the *Synopsis of Histories* of Georgios Kedrenos is no more than a compilation made of earlier sources but lacking altogether in "personal" literary character. The fact that no substantial part of the *Synopsis* derived from Kedrenos's personal inspiration and judgment weighs heavily on this characterization (Tartaglia 2007). By contrast, the same cannot be held for the work of other chroniclers such as, for instance, Theophanes the Confessor, whose extensive chronography, barring its final section where recent events are related, is the product of extensive rewriting, all in all undertaken with the application of significant changes in wording and narrative perspective.

Adaptation

The *Chronicle* of Theophanes the Confessor exemplifies the second category of rewriting, which at once suggests a large appropriation of extant textual material, yet followed by a creative involvement on the part of the author-redactor. The latter's contribution could vary: skillfully weld together extracts from different texts in order to construct a synthesis; elaborate on a particular story borrowed from a previous text; recast the model-text in a different style and diction. It would be unfair indeed to regard all these types of rewriting as a mere reuse or assemblage of literary sources and borrowings. Granted, the distinction between slavish reproduction and creative readaptation of a given model is not always straightforward. In fact, reusing and reordering large portions taken from preexisting works may result in producing different outcomes.

Generally speaking, a substantial, creative reworking entailed a verbal readaptation, dilatation, and contraction of a model-text in parts or in its entirety and, all in all, interfered with its content and message. If so, it could represent an "update" expressing the viewpoints of a particular author or his patron-commissioner, and as such, it could reflect a shift in social values and literary taste. If not spectacular, the pluralism that might derive from this readaptation may result in a noteworthy variation. Among the best-known and well-studied texts, the epic-romance of *Digenes Akrites* survives in six different versions (two of them dating from the Byzantine era) that, on account of their divergences, it is more functional to treat as independent texts rather than versions of a now lost archetype (Jeffreys 1998: xxiii–xxx). This is the case, too, of some novels of the Palaiologan age, extant in different versions that deem to be regarded as separate, autonomous texts, and the same, more largely, applies to a considerable number of hagiographical and historiographical texts. On the one hand, the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, the inventory that enlists all preserved Greek hagiographical texts dating from before the end of the Byzantine era, owes its considerable size to the various versions and redactions that refer to the same saint and carve out of the same frame story. On the other hand, whether secular or ecclesiastic, Byzantine historiography is teeming with examples of extensive borrowing from earlier authors. Interestingly, successors do not follow the path of predecessors in terms of language and style and, what is more, in conformity with their proper agendas, they often demonstrate much concern to integrate their words and stories into different accounts and settings. In all these cases of rewriting, the new texts based on preexisting others can stand on their own.

A New Version: Expansion or Reduction

A final and most common form of rewriting entailed the reworking of a single text in a fashion that affected, first, its original size and, second, its language and style. The result was either dilatation or contraction, i.e., the production of an expanded version-redaction or an abridgment (an *epitome*) of the initial work. As a rule, in the former kind

of reworking, the tendency is to amplify an account with rhetorical fillings, whereas in the latter, what mattered was to retain the substantial part of an account and leave out much of its rhetorical ornamentation. Such reworkings could be incidental, caused by scribal intervention, meaning that they ushered in rather small-scale changes, which is fair to call "variants" of one and the same text, or "conscious, intentional, and extensive," resulting in the production of a markedly different text that involved a great deal of endeavor on the part of the redactor (Agapitos 2006: 94–108).

Such "conscious, intentional, and extensive" efforts constitute, for example, the paraphrases of texts of Greek antiquity and reworkings of hagiographical and historiographical works. All of them are due to later authors working on their own initiative or upon some commission. Quite exceptionally, the reworking of a text may have been derived from the pen of the author himself following a later reconsideration. Notable examples are the two *Lives* of St. Peter of Atroa (BHG 2364–2365) by the monk Sabas (mid-ninth century), the first and second redaction of Nikephoros Blemmydes's autobiographical *Partial Account* (thirteenth century), or, according to plausible speculation, some of the different versions of Niketas Choniates's *History* (Maisano 1994; Simpson 2006). Yet in other instances the reworking of a now lost archetype may have been due to obscure reasons implicating the history and reception of a text. This is, e.g., the case of the two redactions V (of the Vatican ms.) and L (of the London ms.) of the *Short History* of Patriarch Nikephoros (late eighth century). In this last and other instances, the line distinguishing between variant and version is hard to trace, the more so similarities and divergences between cognate texts as occurring in Byzantine and post-Byzantine manuscripts may be variously evaluated and interpreted. In fact, more often than not, the history of a text and its variations is a matter of a delicate philological investigation which cannot be always rounded off with conclusive results.

Parody and Prosification/Versification

Next to the preceding basic divisions of rewriting, two other kinds of elaboration on a preexisting text are worth mentioning. The first is that of parody, i.e., a satirical imitation of a serious work. To this category we can reckon, for instance, the *Katomyomachia*, a work attributed to Theodoros Prodromos, the prolific poet of the twelfth century, that derives inspiration from ancient tragedy; and the *Office for the Impious Goat-Bearded Beardless Man*, commonly known as *Spanos* and unfolding as a comic imitation of Christian mass. The second is that of prosification and versification, that is, the conversion of poetry into prose and vice versa, literary practices poorly represented in the Greek Byzantine tradition. On the one hand, as specimens of prosification we reckon the prose reworking of the *Odyssey*, of which epitomes or fuller versions survive, some of which are attributed (Browning 1992; Silvano 2017) to the fourteenth-century scholar Manuel Gabalas (PLP 3309; RGK I 270, II 370, III 445); and the rather post-Byzantine prose version of *Digenes Akrites* as preserved in the so-called Andros manuscript. On the other hand, notwithstanding its rather modest engagement with Greek hagiography

(Efthymiadis 2014) and other genres such as the fable, which lent itself to any kind of reworking (Lauxtermann 2019: 225–237), metrical adaptation of prose (i.e., versification) found two rather unexpected representatives in Konstantinos Manasses and Ephrem of Ainos, the chroniclers who, in fifteen- and twelve-syllable meter, respectively, composed a versified summary of long periods of the history of the Christian Romans. It should be noted that most of these efforts date from the last centuries of Byzantium and, although they rather stood on the margins of "mainstream" literature, they tied in with the literary experimentalism that characterized this period.

Rewriting at School

Training in the art of rewriting often began at school and often targeted pre-Byzantine texts. Defining rhetorical tropes and figures and explaining their use and function in the narrative by means of citations and examples was a standard feature of *Progymnasmata*, handbooks and treatises destined for the initiation of students into rhetorical theory and terminology (cf. Papaioannou, "Theory of Literature," Chapter 4 in this volume). Manuals of rhetoric included sections touching upon all different kinds of linguistic adaptation, especially in light of their essential function in an orator's training. *Allegory, periphrasis*, *epitome, paraphrasis*, and *metaphrasis* form a selection of key terms encapsulating the small- and large-scale processes of reworking that a given text or phrase may be subjected to. They all corresponded to qualitative and quantitative shifts between different registers and modes of discourse. The distinctions of each one's definition provided by theorists of rhetoric hardly prevented authors, compilers, and scribes from understanding them differently and employing them inconsistently, if not, sometimes, interchangeably.

In essence, this literary procedure did not merely presuppose a theoretical background, but, more significantly, the mastering of language in all different registers and respects: vocabulary and syntax, semantics of the words, levels, and layers of the written and spoken discourse as they mutually interacted and evolved with the passage of time. This was a recurrent consideration for writers and rewriters alike. Words would thus replace other ones so that a new text may be built. They could be collected from memory or even invented in accordance to or the interference with what we might vaguely call "linguistic feeling" or, more broadly, "literary taste." Assistance may have legitimately been sought in *lexica*. Besides their obvious purpose, namely to indicate the meaning of words, *lexica* were useful for including synonyms, i.e., words that could explain and at the same time replace others. The title of patriarch Photios's *Lexicon* is telling of its use: *Collection of words in alphabetical order thanks to which the toils of orators and writers are relieved a great deal* (ed. Theodoridis 1982: 3). Moreover, in his *Bibliothêkê*, the same Photios reserves positive comments on the now lost *Lexicon* of a certain Helladios, pointing out its usefulness to writers and readers who appreciate erudition "for it includes quotations from renowned orators and poets" (cod. 145, p. 110).

The glosses we very often find on the manuscripts' margins confirm this wide use of *lexica* and the hardships which readers of Atticizing Byzantine prose and poetry were confronted with.

From the same context of Byzantine education, we possess several Byzantine *paraphrases* of the *Iliad* that are in their majority anonymous and fragmentarily preserved. They have come down to us in various manuscripts dating from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century (Ludwig 1885; Cesaretti 1991; Vassis 1991). Similar interest was also reserved for the *Odyssey*, which, as already pointed out, was subjected to a prosification process in the early Palaiologan period. No doubt the existence of all these versions points to an intensified dialogue with the literary monuments of antiquity as evident from, at least, the eleventh century and further developed by scholars of the Komnenian and the Palaiologan periods. In fact, these paraphrases and other reworkings went hand in hand with the lengthy commentaries on Homeric epics and other works of Greek literature produced by distinguished scholars during the last centuries of Byzantium.

The reworking of classical and post-classical pre-Byzantine texts perhaps would make up a rather short chapter in a survey of rewriting in Byzantium. Nonetheless, the shade of Hellenism's prestige lurked behind another current that emerged in the fourth and fifth centuries, the linguistic conversion of Christian sacred texts into a language and forms peculiar to the literature of pagan antiquity. Despite its short-lived existence, this conversion provided the first attestation of rewriting as a cultural phenomenon.

Early Byzantine Paraphrasing

In essence, rewriting as a practice spans the chronological range of the entire Byzantine era. At any time, one could plagiarize, rework, and elaborate on a previous author or a preexisting text. Seen, however, as a literary trend, rewriting in Byzantium knew of its landmarks and periods of burgeoning that should be interpreted in light of sociopolitical transformations.

The fourth century, in which rewriting first gained some currency, saw Christian authors striving to, *inter alia*, respond to pagan criticism that the Holy Scriptures lack in linguistic and stylistic sophistication (Wilson 1983: 8–12). It was in such a context that the two Apollinarii (father and son) are said to have converted such works as the Gospels, the Psalms (Faulkner 2020), and other books of the New and Old Testament into archaic meters using a most sophisticated language. Standing in parallel, Sokrates and Sozomenos, the ecclesiastical historians of the fifth century, commented upon these compositions of the Apollinarii, but agreed only on styling them as ephemeral and as having lost their value in a short period of time. Ironically enough, Sokrates Scholastikos considered these works as much evanescent as the famous law of emperor Julian that prohibited Christians to teach and to which these attempts were a literary reaction (*Ecclesiastical History* III.16). On the other hand, though admitting that these texts soon

lost their appeal, Sozomenos passed a more favorable verdict on them, judging that, should people have been inclined to appreciate better the works of the ancients, all these authors would have been evaluated much differently (*Ecclesiastical History* V.18).

The example of the two Apollinarii and their critics is revealing in that they provide us with early references to two literary phenomena which cut through Byzantine literature: the paraphrasing movement and the attestation of two or more authors, contemporary or not, who can be placed side by side and studied in parallel. Indeed, Sokrates and Sozomenos, who wrote with a chronological gap of ten years, shared much of the same material, namely the ecclesiastical crises of the fourth and early fifth centuries (van Nuffelen 2004: 59–61). We know that the later Sozomenos copied the earlier Sokrates without always taking pains to modify the language of his original. However, this is hardly true of the interpretation of the role of the same figures and the impact of the same events. Sozomenos's differentiation is visible not only in the evaluation of the Apollinarii, but in employing, in several other instances, moderate tones for interpreting the same events.

Extant or not today, the few specimens dating from the same age (fourth–fifth centuries) make these reworkings a small-scale phenomenon, rather exclusively devoted to turning biblical and hagiographic texts into a different form (from prose to poetry) and a much more elevated linguistic register. Apart from the Apolinarii, it is represented by two other literary figures: the empress-poetess Athenais-Eudokia (c. 400–460), who recast the *Passion of St. Cyprian*, in fact three different texts about the same saint (BHG 452–455), into Homeric hexameters (BHG 458–459); and her contemporary Nonnos of Panopolis, the famous poet of the *Dionysiaka*, or his pseudonymous peer, who is responsible for the *metabolê* or *paraphrasis* of St John's Gospel, i.e., its conversion into dactylic hexameters.

Middle Byzantine Period

These extravagant and ephemeral attempts at conforming the "sacred texts" to the requirements of a high-brow literature dimly anticipate the expanded and expansive reuse of texts that came about in later centuries and was typical of precise literary genres, chiefly historiography, hymnography, and hagiography. It was during the ninth and tenth centuries that a literary activity, which deserves to be called "the Metaphrastic movement," was manifested (Høgel 2014). The antiquarian interest that characterizes the literary and artistic activity of this period gave way also to revisionism, a tendency to revisit the world of Late Antiquity, imitate its aesthetics, and revive its classicism (Rapp 1995). The concern for elegant compositions couched in sophisticated Greek permeates the literature of this period and embraced a genre that in the previous centuries had a limited number of learned compositions to show off.

Cases of revisiting earlier hagiography for producing a new one were not uncommon after the rise and spread of the literature about saints in early Byzantium. Explicit

references and clear allusions can be found in the work of named hagiographers such as Leontios of Neapolis and Theodoros of Paphos, who in the seventh century reworked previous material with a view of reshuffling its content, providing a supplement or giving a synthesis (Déroche 2011; Van den Ven 1953: 86*–115*). On the other hand, emblematic texts of early Byzantine hagiography such as the *Life of St. Mary of Egypt* are very likely to have been inspired from a literary elaboration of an edifying story that knew of a wide circulation and was reproduced in the *Spiritual Meadow* of Ioannes Moschos (ch. 31; cf. Flusin 2004; cf. Messis and Papaioannou, "Orality and Textuality," Chapter 9 in this volume).

From the early ninth century onward, several Constantinopolitan *literati* engaged with the rather systematic rewriting of older hagiography, especially *Passions* of Martyrs, with a clear tendency to elevate their style and enrich their diction. The array of learned authors that dealt with this kind of hagiography is long, comprising Emperor Leo VI the Wise (886–912), whose literary acclaim was founded on his homiletic work, and the most prolific and elaborate among them, Niketas David Paphlagon (Efthymiadis 2011: 114–116). His *floruit* must be placed in the early tenth century, when he proceeded to a massive rewriting of older hagiography in the form of highly rhetorical *Enkomia*. These compositions tend to depart considerably from the texts upon which they were modeled (Paschalidis 1999; Flusin 2011). The portrait, for instance, that Niketas draws in praise of Gregory the Theologian does not represent him as a father of the church who would attract the Christian flock by his public activity, but as an ascetic, a kind of mystic living at a distance from the world (Efthymiadis 2019).

As a keyword to denote a text produced after the linguistic and stylistic reworking of one or more previous ones, *metaphrasis* was initially associated with a reworking of biblical texts (Resh 2015). The term was to become emblematic for the person who came to associate his name with a gigantic literary enterprise, the production of a hagiographical collection arranged according to the feasts of the church calendar and made up of texts worked out of source-texts: Symeon Metaphrastes (or the *Metaphrast*) who bequeathed us the so-called *Metaphrastic Mênologion* (cf. Figures 20.4 and 20.4 in Chapter 20 of this volume). Modern research has shown that Symeon and his team reworked their source-texts with the average reader/listener in mind and on the premise that, next to simple and naïve prose style, he/she should also dislike the excesses of highly flown rhetoric (Peyr 1992). Notably, Symeon's *Mênologion* was invested with the authority of a liturgical book celebrating saints in Byzantium, and the texts that made it up were to be cited as the *metaphraseis*. The same authority was enjoyed by another collection inscribed in the literary climate of the tenth century, the *Synaxarion of the Great Church of Constantinople* (Delehaye 1902; cf. Figure 21.1 in Chapter 21 of this volume). By virtue of its simplified language that left out rhetorical embellishments and concentrated on concrete information, the *Synaxarion* was at odds with the polished and elegant prose that we evidence in the *Mênologion*. At any rate, both of them provided further incitement to producing extensive collections of hagiographical content like, for instance, the verse *synaxaria* of Christophoros Mitylenaios and Theodoros Prodromos in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, respectively (Paschalidis 2011: 145–146).

The hagiographic identity of the Metaphrastic movement should not create the impression that the revisiting of older texts and the copying and excerpting from them did not leave its mark on other genres that flourished in the same period. Much of the historiography and chronography produced from the late eighth to the late tenth century relied on material deriving from earlier compositions, be they the classicizing historians of Late Antiquity (the cases of Theophanes the Confessor and Georgios the Monk) or the near contemporary counterparts (the cases of Genesios, *Theophanes Continuatus*, and the so-called cycle of the *Logothetes*). Though not treated as such by modern scholars, much of the text that runs through all these works is the result of extensive rewriting. This was not in itself a new development, but a practice already observed in Late Antiquity. Authors treating a shorter or a longer period of time prior to their own lifetime (the case of historiographers) or the history of mankind from creation down to their present (the case of chronographers) naturally had to draw on one or more previous compositions, similar or not in literary character. Despite the quantity of the material that they imported into their own account, they managed to construct their own account and make something individual out of it.

Albeit by no means inscribed into any metaphrastic movement, the other genre largely affected by the practice of rewriting was hymnography. With the gradual predominance of the *kanôn* (see Papaioannou, "Sacred Song," Chapter 18 in this volume), numerous hymns were composed especially in honor of new and old saints (Spanos 2010: 17–21; Giannouli 2019). The engagement of several important poets in this endeavor and the inclusion of their name in the acrostic formed by the first letters of the odes, either of the strophes or the verses, did not safeguard them from falling victim to a quite extensive plagiarism. For, whether wholly or partly, several *kanones* preserved under the name of such renowned ninth-century poets as Ignatios the Deacon, Theophanes Graptos, Georgios of Nikomedeia, and, most of all, Ioseph Hymnographos confront us with questions of authenticity. In fact, starting with the *kontakia* of Romanos Melodos, the usurpation of the hymnographer's name, let alone the "recycling" of whole hymns or odes, was a common phenomenon that even came to typify the genre.

Late Byzantine *Metaphraseis*

From the late thirteenth to the mid-fourteenth century and as a result of the new social and cultural implications, not only hagiographical but also historiographical texts were recast in a different linguistic register and style. In the first place, after its period of decline in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, hagiography revived casting a look backward, that is, to old saintly heroes and heroines. Palaiologan hagiographers fostered their literary interests in praising holy men and women of earlier periods, many of whom were not of high religious acclaim. Contrary to Konstantinos Akropolites, who did not depart substantially from his source-texts and the traditional hagiographical model, Nikephoros Gregoras and Nikephoros Kallistou Xanthopoulos, the other

erudite hagiographers of the early Palaiologan period, demonstrated a tendency for innovation, reflected in their highly elaborate diction and expression, as well as in the way they interpreted the saint's engagement in his/her holy cause (Efthymiadis 2004; Hinterberger 2010).

The metaphrastic vogue in hagiography is also visible in a sub-genre that was revived in the same period, the miracle collections pertaining to holy shrines of Constantinople. The main argument was to offer an updated confirmation of the healing efficiency of the shrine after it had suffered years of arrestment during the Latin occupation of the Byzantine capital and the pro-Latin government of Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos (1259–1282). The aforementioned Xanthopoulos took delight in stylistically uplifting the tenth-century collections of the *Miracles* of the Theotokos of the Source (BHG 1073) and completed it with miracles dating from his own lifetime. Maximos the Deacon revisited the late antique collection of the miracles of Saints Kosmas and Damian by elaborating on their diction and prose-style before adding eight stories that recount the miraculous cures of his contemporaries (BHG 391). In other words, both Xanthopoulos's and Maximos's compositions were divided into a "metaphrastic" section that elaborated on a preexisting text and an "original" one that pertained to the recent events.

It was in the same period that rewriting in its narrow sense as a stylistic intervention on a given text branched out in the field of historiography. Historians whose work was couched in a more sophisticated Greek and permeated with classical allusions knew of their own *metaphrasts*, i.e., learned readers who turned the elaborate diction and syntax of their compositions into a simpler and straightforward Greek while demonstrating a parallel tendency for abridgment. Designated as *metaphraseis* or not, the simplified and abridged versions of the historical accounts of Anna Komnene, Konstantinos Manasses, Niketas Choniates, Georgios Akropolites, and Georgios Pachymeres drained their originals from their elegance and classicizing flavor (Hinterberger 2014). Owing to that almost all of these versions have been preserved fragmentarily and/or without their title, we ignore the names of the redactors. Yet it is legitimate to identify them with the ecclesiastics Georgios Galesiotes and Georgios Oinaiotes, whose names figure in the heading of another *metaphrasis*, that of the *Imperial Statue* of Nikephoros Blemmydes (Davis 2009 and 2011). Interestingly, in this and the other reworkings, we detect a preoccupation for censoring proverbs and metaphors featuring figures of Greek mythology, an insistence on a moralizing language, and a tendency to amplify passages featuring biblical allusions. Apparently attached to an ecclesiastical milieu, redactors tended to intervene into their hypotexts and bowdlerize what they deemed as peculiar to the secular order (Efthymiadis 2017).

Rewriting as Creativity

The well-founded and useful categorization of Byzantine literary style as high, middle, and low (Ševčenko 1981) should not lead us to overlook the multiple linguistic registers

and stylistic nuances that Byzantine poetry and prose, learned and "popular-demotic" alike, may admit. The modern scholar who argued in favor of this stylistic differentiation was prudent enough to call attention to the degree of rhetorical refinement that distinguishes not only a Byzantine author from his/her counterpart, but a work from another work by the same author (Ševčenko 1982: 220). This assessment encompasses authors and copyists alike, who were quite conscious of the semantics and weight of words, and, on this account, they could accordingly operate linguistic and syntactic modifications that could lead to an uplifting or lowering of the style of a text.

No doubt this deep concern for "playing" with the fluid character of words and, by extension, of texts highlights the creative aspect of rewriting in Byzantium. Apart from the linguistic and stylistic viewpoint, its serious study entangles with a variety of other issues which touch upon the availability, circulation, and acclaim of the model texts and authors. Sacred or not, no text in Byzantium could remain intact and untouchable, nor could it escape the possibility of being reshuffled and reworked. All in all, reusing a text had much to do with its reception and fate in the course of time. Scholarly research, prior to or after the application of electronic research tools such as the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (TLG: http://www.tlg.uci.edu/), has at times come up with surprising discoveries with regard to earlier texts lagging behind later compositions. Their appropriation at some later point can be indicative of either their wide circulation or rarity. As a matter of fact, works not easily accessible can be usurped more unscrupulously than those which constitute prominent and obvious cases. Thus, in his final section where he narrates the death of the saint and his posthumous miracles, the author of the tenth-century *Life of St. Fantinos the Younger* (BHG 2367) borrowed large parts from an equally highly-flown monastic biography, the ninth-century *Life of Theophanes the Confessor* (BHG 1787z) by the patriarch Methodios I (Krausmüller 2008). In a similar vein, toward the end of the tenth century, the *Continuator of Symeon Logothetes* based his description of the conquest of Crete by Nikephoros Phokas (960–961) on copying passages from Prokopios of Caesarea's *Vandal War* (Kaldellis 2015).

Byzantine hypertexts largely deriving from ancient Greek and Byzantine hypotexts can be viewed from two parallel perspectives: as inscribed in the literary mentality of an era that knew of renaissances and revivals chiefly by revisiting the past (usually the distant one!) and as isolated cases betraying the literary taste of an author, the milieu to which he/she belongs, and the audience he/she is addressing. Seen as such, they offer a vantage point for understanding better the literary creation in Byzantium and, through that, the evolving spirit and modifying taste of *homo byzantinus*. For the Byzantines, many of these rewritings were not deemed inferior to the texts that they were inspired from and, what is more, they were treated with much respect because they were regarded as a performance that required considerable skills. In an oft-quoted work, the *Enkomion for kyr Symeon Metaphrastes* (BHG 1675), Michael Psellos defended his subject vis-à-vis his predecessors by acknowledging the originality of his achievement: Symeon's endeavor was innovative and unprecedented. It still rests upon us to defend rewriting, discover its implications, and reorient it in the orbit of Byzantine literature.

Suggestions for Further Reading

A comprehensive treatment of the practice of rewriting in Byzantium is still a desideratum in Byzantine scholarship. Individual studies that refer to the phenomenon more broadly are recent and include Codoñer (2014), Hinterberger (2014), Høgel (2014), and Resh (2015, 2018); related collective volumes: Høgel (1996), Constantinou and Høgel (2021), and Alwis, Hinterberger, and Schiffer (2021); see also Faulkner (2019) on early Christian paraphrases. The works by Paschalidis (1999) and Høgel (2002) remain the most comprehensive discussions on Niketas David Paphlagon and Symeon Metaphrastes, respectively. Sharing interest between hagiography and historiography is the collective volume Marjanović-Dusanić and Flusin (2011). An edition of the full text of the *Metaphrasis of Niketas Choniates' Chronike Diegesis* is expected by Davis and Hinterberger. A related database on the correspondences between the vocabulary of classicizing Greek and that of the literary *koine* are in preparation at the University of Cyprus by a team guided by M. Hinterberger: http://www.ucy.ac.cy/byz/documents/Hinterberger/Introduction_Lexical_Correspondences.pdf.

Much more work has been undertaken on the subject with regard to medieval western European literature. An important study for hagiography is Goullet (2005); see also Goullet and Heinzelmann (2003).

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CHAPTER 15

POETRY?

FLORIS BERNARD AND KRISTOFFEL DEMOEN

What is poetry—and, for that matter, what is prose? The question has received different answers in every culture. The simplest distinction is based purely on form: poetry, structured in verse lines, is "bound" speech, as opposed to "loose" prose, which continues without recurring patterns. Thus, in a grammatical treatise, possibly from around 1000, poetry is described as "fusing/joining the material of loose words together with art and meter = τὴν ὕλην τῶν διαλελυμένων λέξεων τέχνῃ καὶ μέτρῳ συναρμόσῃ" (*Prolegomena of Dionysios' Art of Grammar* 2,13–14), in line with the literal definition of ποίησις as "creation" and alluding to the common Aristotelian and Neoplatonic notion of "matter" joined with "form" as *the* manifestation of creative process. Yet in almost every culture, this quality of "bound speech" is related to a number of cultural and social components that are felt to belong to poetry alone. Typically, poetry is speech that is more elevated, complex, even divine; it is related to the expression of individual or communal emotions, to mystical "enthusiasm" or the rapture of the senses, to the collective memory of nations and other lofty subjects.

The interesting feature of Byzantine poetry is that none of these usual connotations seems to commonly apply. Dense figurative language, introspection, lyrical expression, intense emotionality, and subjects of great communal importance are all incidental, rather than defining features of Byzantine poetry. And when these features do appear, they are to be found in hymnography, which Byzantines would generally not consider as "poetry" (see later discussion). This is telling of the many paradoxes that complicate our understanding of Byzantine poetry. In this chapter, we will attempt to sketch out some of these paradoxes, offering a brief and necessarily incomplete survey of Byzantine ideas about both the form and content of metrical texts.

Two examples may, in a preliminary fashion, illustrate the unusual scope of Byzantine verse production. The first is a report of a juridical case written (in the twelfth century?) by a certain *protekdikos* Andronikos (edited in Macrides 1985). As Ruth Macrides pointed out, the structure and purpose of this poem resemble those of a σημείωμα, a legal document, even if it is composed in verse. There are some self-referential statements that stress its poetic character, but it is certainly no more "literary" than its

prose counterparts: "the verse form itself [is not] necessarily a determining factor in assigning the piece a literary rather than legal function" (Macrides 1985: 165).

A second example is a didactic poem by the eleventh-century author Michael Psellos that purports to give a summary of the science of medicine (Michael Psellos, *Poem* 9). The poem, counting more than one thousand verses, is eminently technical and resembles a list of glosses to medical terms. At one point, Psellos (closely following Galen, as in other parts of the poem) describes at length the different colors and odors of urine and their usefulness in diagnosing diseases. Poetry can hardly get more unpoetical than this. As if Psellos himself had also realized this, he added after this section that he composed the text in verse so as to implant "a small taste" in interested readers brought about by the grace (χάρις) of the meter (see vv. 529–538). The modern reader is left with the question of what this χάρις is exactly and why Psellos, with enormous effort, undertook the composition of more than one thousand verses about diseases, foodstuffs, and urines in a meter that met not only rhythmical but also prosodical demands.

It is no accident that Marc Lauxtermann focused on didactic poetry when he considered the issue of poeticality in Byzantium (Lauxtermann 2009). He noted a conflict in our use of the term "poetry" when we describe Byzantine poetry, especially didactic poetry. One may posit that Byzantine didactic poetry is not poetry at all, since all of our usual parameters for considering something as "poetic" are absent. But if we simply equate poetry with verse, retaining only the formal aspect, we can fruitfully investigate how this form engendered a specific "poetic" discourse. Lauxtermann concluded: "didactic poetry is to be considered poetry for no other reason than that it is in verse" (2009: 46). This statement can be taken as a starting point for our discussion. The fundamental question we will be addressing is whether for the Byzantines writing poetry was indeed merely "fusing/joining the material of loose words with art and meter"; in other words, whether Byzantine poetry can be approached as prose (in scope, uses, purposes, contexts) that merely underwent a formal transposition from unmetrical to metrical form.

Meter: Theory and Practice

Any student of Byzantine poetry should always be aware of the gap between the Byzantine theoretical conception of verse and the linguistic reality of the time. In ancient Greek the duration of vowels had a phonemic relevance. Ancient Greek poetry was prosodical; it was built, that is, upon the distinction between syllables that were perceived as either long or short. By the fourth century CE, this distinction had long been lost; the ear of the Greek speaker now primarily perceived the distinction between stressed and unstressed syllables. After such a major phonological change, Greek poetry could no longer be built on the same premises. Prosody thus became a fossilized, purely intellectual feature. At the same time, from fairly early on, poetry (in varying degrees) adopted rhythmical patterns based on stress accent. These "living" features, however,

were in principle not accepted by Byzantine teachers (and, consequently, most learned writers) as essential to what they called "poetry." In their conception, "meter" (μέτρον) continued to equal prosodical meter (for this and related issues discussed in the following, see further Hörandner and Rhoby, "Metrics and Prose Rhythm," Chapter 17 in this volume).

The most widely used Byzantine meter, the dodecasyllable, is an excellent illustration of this tension. To start with, the term "dodecasyllable" was very rarely used in Byzantine times. It was introduced in modern usage by Paul Maas (Maas 1903; see also Rhoby 2011). Byzantine scholars generally continued to use the term "iambs" or "iambic trimeter," the ancient prosodical meter from which the dodecasyllable evolved. But the dodecasyllable is clearly a syllabic verse, always counting twelve syllables. And, as often in European versification (see Gasparov 1996), the principle of isosyllaby was not enough to create the feeling of recurrence to which poetry always strives. Increasingly, a regular stress pattern appeared in Byzantine dodecasyllables: the penultimate syllable received a stress and certain combinations of stresses with caesuras (more appropriately called "verse pauses") were preferred or avoided (see also Lampsides 1971–1972; Romano 1985). The dodecasyllable thus gradually became a syllabo-tonic verse. These developments set in with Georgios Pisides in the early seventh century and were completed by the turn of the first millennium. All the while, the prosodic structure of the iambic trimeter was at certain times meticulously upheld and at other times wholly neglected. Most often, a compromise was found in which only the most eye-catching prosodic infringements were avoided.

In theory, rhythm was not acknowledged to be a defining feature of poetry. Byzantine theoretical literature about meter took ancient rather than contemporary metrics as its point of departure. This resulted in a disjunction between the discourse about poetry and the nature of poetry itself. One would search in vain for a discussion of, for instance, the syllabo-tonic characteristics of the dodecasyllable (Hörandner 1995; Lauxtermann 1998; Valiavitcharska 2013: 28–30). Instead, we are offered lengthy explanations about the names of ancient prosodical feet, or (on a more advanced level) endless tips and tricks on how to distinguish long and short feet.

Guidelines for practical metrical composition are rather to be found in brief didactic summaries, often themselves in the form of a poem. One such poem, transmitted under the name of Psellos (*Poem* 14), concisely enumerates the most important things a pupil should know about the dodecasyllable. It gives advice about which metrical feet should be used where in the verse line and it explicitly states that an iamb should count twelve syllables. Poems like this, now dispersed in various editions, provide a more realistic perspective on issues of literary composition and metrical technique than most texts in the commentary tradition do.

It took a perceptive mind such as that of Maximos Planoudes (c. 1255–1305; PLP 23308) to give an explicit account of this tension between the visuality of prosodical meter and the acoustics of accentual rhythm. In a section "about meter" in the *Dialogue on Grammar* (pp. 96–101) he lamented the pervasiveness of the iamb/dodecasyllable, which took on roles reserved for hexameter and elegiacs. He criticized the habit of his

contemporaries of taking stress accent as the only principle for meter and denounced political verse and purely accentual dodecasyllables as "verse without meter," stating that "μέτρον [by which he clearly meant prosodical meter] is the soul of a verse line." But despite this typically archaizing view of a Byzantine intellectual, Planoudes also acknowledged the role of accent, and advised writers to combine prosodical meter with accentual meter (in his words, to combine μέτρον with ῥυθμόν), thus confirming the remarkable cohabitation of both in Byzantine (dodecasyllable) poetry.

Byzantine authors of the learned tradition were not alone in artificially preserving metrical principles that were no longer truly alive to the ear of contemporary audiences (see Gasparov 1996: 189–192 for similar phenomena in the Renaissance). Still, it is remarkable how insistent they were in refraining from reflecting on, or defining, the components that were at the core of their own poetry.

Purely syllabo-tonic meters did develop in Byzantium. Most hymnographical poetry employed structures built on repeating accentual patterns, often very elaborate (Papaioannou "Sacred Song," Chapter 18 in this volume). These rhythmical structures, apart from a few exceptions, perhaps parodies (Mitsakis 1990), were strictly confined to liturgical purposes, that is, to sung performance. The most widely used purely syllabotonic meter was the fifteen-syllable verse or πολιτικὸς στίχος, starting to be used broadly from the eleventh century; it was stichic (line-by-line) instead of strophic.

Byzantine teachers generally did not consider these stichic and strophic accentual meters as the continuation of ancient meters, not even as proper meters. At best, the πολιτικὸς στίχος was an ἄμετρον μέτρον, a meter without meter (Hörandner 1995: 280–285; on accentual meters in Byzantium, see Lauxtermann 1999). Hymnographical poetry, in turn, was considered as a type of prose discourse (see also Grosdidier de Matons 1977: 121–122), regulated by melody (μέλος) and not by meter (μέτρον). Thus, when the *Suda* describes the hymnographical *kanones* of Ioannes Damaskenos, it distinguishes between those written in iambs, and those "in prose" (καταλογάδην; *Suda* ι 467). Gregorios Pardos makes the same distinction between the "metrical" iambic *kanones* of Damaskenos and the *kanones* of Kosmas, which are written in "prose discourse, that is to say, unmetrical" (πεζῷ λόγω, τῷ ἀμέτρῳ δηλαδή: unedited, cited after Stevenson 1876: 491).

Yet, hymnographical poetry is closer to "learned" poetry than we are accustomed to think. To name but one salient fact, some of the champions of "secular" verse either wrote hymnographical poetry themselves (Ioannes Mauropous, Christophoros Mitylenaios) or commented on earlier hymns (Theodoros Prodromos). A challenge for future scholarship is to bring together these genres and meters and to describe the entire verse system synchronically as well as diachronically.

Eurhythmics

While rhythm was undeniably the heartbeat of Byzantine poetry, the Byzantines did not associate it with metrics. They treated rhythm from the perspective of rhetoric, applying

it to poetry as well as to prose (Valiavitcharska 2013; and Hörandner and Rhoby, "Metrics and Prose Rhythm," Chapter 17 in this volume). The most accurate contemporary description of rhythm in the dodecasyllable is part of *On the Four Parts of the Perfect Speech* (mid-13th c.) (Hörandner 2012b), lines 123–165 (περὶ στίχων ἰαμβικῶν). "Rhythm" here certainly covers more than the accentual pattern: it refers to a fluent, rapid, compact style, without hiatus. The key word is εὔρυθμος (eurhythmic): the author remarks that "iambs too are some sort of eurhythmical prose," a statement that clearly demonstrates that, for the Byzantines, the boundaries between poetry and prose were largely irrelevant because they were governed by the same rhythmical principles. The author is very clear about a defining feature of the Byzantine dodecasyllable: each verse encompasses one grammatical and semantic unit, hence avoiding enjambment. It is important to compress one thought into one line. In this regard the isosyllaby of verse lines can be considered as an extreme application of the principle of the rhetorical technique of isocolon.

The "eurhythmics" of Byzantine literature are frequently evoked in contexts of aestheticized savorings of texts by intellectual friends. But only rarely do these evocations explicitly distinguish between prose and poetry when they speak about musical qualities (and even then, poetry and prose always stand on a par; for two examples, see Bernard 2014: 45–46). In the poems themselves, rhythm is sometimes mentioned in an elevated self-referential praise. In a poem to the nephew of the emperor, Manuel Philes (died c. 1340s; PLP 29817) describes how the sight and presence of his addressee induces him to write (*Poem* Escur. 91, vv. 25–27):

> Καὶ λαμβάνω πτέρωσιν εἰς λόγους νέαν.
> Κουφίζομαι δὲ πρὸς τὰ μέτρα τῶν στίχων,
> Ἐν οἷς περικροτῶ σε τὸν γίγαντά μου.
>
> I take new wings towards words,
> and I am lifted toward the meter of my lines,
> in which I applaud you, my giant.

Here Philes exploits the ambiguity of the word κρότος, which is frequently associated with the rhythmical qualities of the dodecasyllable (see also Lauxtermann 1998), but more literally refers to clapping hands. For Philes, the applause for the emperor and the beating rhythm of his verse are one and the same. Philes uses κρότος very often: for him it is almost a synonym for "verse," thus emphasizing its capacity to celebrate.

Poetry and *Λόγοι*

Perhaps we may call all types of verse texts "Byzantine poetry," but it is highly improbable that the Byzantines themselves would have used one all-encompassing term to define them. Their terminology drew other boundaries than ours.

The Byzantines used the words ποίησις and ποιητής sparingly for their own poetry and poets. The mention of ποιηταί in the *Book of Ceremonies* (738.15), for instance, probably refers to composers of deme songs. Also, although Byzantine theoreticians usually regarded hymnographical poetry as "prose" (see earlier discussion), the hymnographers are regularly (especially in liturgical texts) called "poets" and their poems are sometimes referred to as ποίημα, either in the acrostichs or in the headings of the manuscripts—even if the term is not any more frequent than indications such as ᾠδή, ψαλμός, and the like.

In school contexts, ποίησις and ποιητής were terms exclusively reserved for ancient poetry: ὁ ποιητής (when not referring, as is usually the case, to God as "Creator") was a standard term for Homer, the ancient poet *par excellence*. For instance, Michael Psellos, in a text to his pupils (*To Two of His Students Who Competed in Speechwriting with Each Other* = *Or. min.* 20.12), and Michael Choniates, in a public speech (*Funeral Oration for kyr Neophytos, Archimandrite of the Monasteries in Athens* = *Oration* 15: 265.21), introduce a Homeric quotation with the words "as in the Poet," assuming that their audience knows who "the Poet" is.

The same picture emerges from Byzantine theoretical literature, regardless of when such technical treatises were composed. Ποίησις was emphatically ancient poetry: poetry to be read, interpreted, and taught, but not poetry that was still composed. Such study of ποίησις (be it metrical analysis or interpretation of content) was integrated into the study of grammar, the first subject in the school curriculum, preceding the study of rhetoric, from which it differed in an essential way: unlike the study of poetry, the study of rhetoric focused on composition, rather than the passive study of texts.

This ποίησις was clearly seen as a school subject, with the connotation of playful juvenile trifles. In one of the extant biographies of Theodoros Stoudites (759–826; PmbZ 7574), it is stated that in his youth, Theodoros was a diligent student of poetry (ποιήματα), "of which he did not accept the mythical, but only the useful aspects" (*Life of Theodoros Stoudites* = *Vita A* §2, PG 99.117C–D; BHG 1754). This is probably a mere hagiographical *topos*, yet it indicates that Greek mythology was assumed to be a defining feature of the poetry learned at school. In the prologue to his rhetorical handbook, Ioannes Doxapatres (first half of the eleventh century) described the trepidation of students who could finally leave behind "poetry" and all its marvelous tales, and proceed to the more useful and formidable art of rhetoric (*Rhetorical Homilies on Aphthonios' Progymnasmata* 80.11–81.10; ed. Rabe). The same trepidation was felt by Psellos (*Funeral Oration for his Mother* 841–842). Ioannes Mauropous likewise asked a younger pupil whether he was finally freed from trivialities such as *schedos* and reading the tragedians and comedians (*Letter* 74).

If ποίησις and its cognates were avoided by Byzantines, how, then, did they refer to their own poetry? Andreas Rhoby has taken up this question in a contribution that considers the titles of poems in Byzantine usage (Rhoby 2015). Λόγος (discourse) is the word that came most logically to the Byzantine mind when referring to a text, metrical or not. Sometimes the adjective ἔμμετρος (metrical) was added to λόγος.

We may add some examples of this self-labeling in poems: Georgios Pisides wrote that he honored his patron "with little words" and asked him to benevolently accept his "words." In both cases he was referring to his own poems (*Poem* 1.68 and 2.36). Likewise, Psellos asked in a poem to the emperor Michael IV that his λόγος be accepted as a gift (*Poem* 16.15). Such examples could be multiplied.

The term στίχοι (lines) was even more widely used, both as a label in Byzantine manuscripts and sometimes in the poems themselves. But στίχος was a neutral technical term, which could also refer to a line in a prose text—a letter, for instance (Michael Psellos, *Letter* 35.8); it merely indicated that verse was laid out line by line. Occasionally, other terms were used as well, such as ἔπος (mostly dactylic hexameter, but also, metonymically, verse in general), but this term was decidedly antiquarian and normally was reserved for Homer's poetry (Rhoby 2015: 265).

In manuscripts, book epigrams are often the only metrical texts in an otherwise prose environment. They seldom have their own title, but when they do, στίχοι and (to a lesser degree) ἐπίγραμμα are the usual terms. For example, the frequently recurring epigram for the evangelist Mark that begins with Ὅσσα περὶ Χριστοῖο θεηγόρος ἔθνεα Πέτρος, is preserved in around 175 manuscripts. As far as we can tell, in eighteen cases it is headed by a lemma that contains the word στίχοι (mostly qualified as ἡρωικοί), and six times by ἐπίγραμμα (using data from DBBE 2019, consulted June 2020).

Byzantine scholarly discourse not only lacked a single specific term to denote verse production, but also had no concept of the "poet" fulfilling a role in society. Was he a wise man, a seer, a prophet, an entertainer, or a solitary artist? Rather none of them. Sometimes, Byzantine poets were called στιχοπλόκοι (cf. infra, p. 373), which again leads us to the technical, formal aspect of Byzantine poetry: the "verse line weaver" was nothing more than a "versificator."

The obvious conclusion is that the writing of poetry (apart from the purely technical metrical aspects) was at best considered a subfield of textual composition in general, and was thus closely connected with rhetorical technique. It is well known that already from antiquity, poetry came more and more to be discussed as a form of rhetoric (Walker 2000). Poems (especially Homer) were regularly quoted as models for rhetorical techniques and genres, and poetry itself was more and more patterned after rhetorical structures (cf. further Papaioannou 2013: 103–105, 116–127; Rhoby 2015: 275–278 for poem titles derived from προγυμνάσματα, the rhetorical school exercises). In a twelfth-century poem, an anonymous writer stated that "he has read many verse lines of rhetors" (Pseudo-Psellos, *Poem* 68.49–50). Poets, both ancient and Byzantine, were essentially "rhetors."

It is true that one can find many instances in which the Byzantines distinguished between poetry and prose. But how deep did this distinction go? In the introductory poem to the book presenting his "collected works," Ioannes Mauropous specified that the λόγοι he wrote throughout his life and from which he now made a selection, were ἔμμετροι, οὐκ ἔμμετροι, that is, "metrical and unmetrical" or "in verse and not in verse" (*Poem* 1, v. 27): again, a formal distinction. Elsewhere in this poem, Mauropous repeatedly

used the generic term λόγοι (without qualification) to refer to his works. Interestingly, Mauropous's secretary, a certain Isaias, returned to this feature when he attached a kind of poetic blurb to Mauropous's collected works. He observed that Mauropous excelled in three genres (σκέλη): poetry, orations, and letters, while Demosthenes, for example, never put one verse line on paper. Mauropous was thus praised because he had mastered all literary forms. Poetry mattered simply because it was another form of λόγοι, and someone mastering poetry was a versatile λόγιος—but not necessarily a "poet." Likewise, in an encomium for Mauropous (*Encomium for Ioannes, Metropolitan of Euchaita = Or. pan.* 17), Psellos praised his teacher and friend at length for his rhetorical abilities, but never singled out his poetry and never described him as a poet.

We see something similar in a remarkable poem by Theodoros Prodromos (*Poem* 56; ed. Hörandner). In this instance Theodoros congratulated Alexios Kamateros, an important official, who already held two titles, on his promotion to *orphanotrophos*. Theodoros had already praised this individual in prose form (as Hörandner notes, this must refer to a letter of his) and in the form of a *schedos*. Now, he also composed a poem for him. Among his arguments for doing so, Prodromos mentioned that all good things come in threes, and the number of three genres matches Alexios's three titles. Apart from an "iambic" poem, Theodoros also proceeded to write a praise in dactylic hexameters, elegiacs, and anacreontics.

Theodoros's choice to write in verse, and in different meters, appears to stem merely from a desire to be as exhaustive as possible. He wanted to make variations on his praise in all the forms acceptable to Byzantine learned writers (hence, not including fifteen-syllable verse). The plethora of meters displayed Theodoros's versatility and brought honor to the recipient, while his alternation between prose and verse was part of the formal experiments that became fashionable especially from the twelfth century onward (Zagklas 2017). Here again, poetry played a role because it was another form, but not for any reason beyond this form itself.

The Sense of Tradition

What place did the Byzantines reserve for their poetry in a wider chronological perspective? Did they have some notion of a "poetic tradition," where one poet influenced or emulated another? What were the models that shaped their ideas of what poetry should look like?

A poem transmitted under the name of Psellos, but written probably in the late twelfth century, is one of the very few texts that gives us something that resembles a "canon" of Byzantine poets (pseudo-Psellos, *Poem* 68; see also Hörandner and Paul 2011). The poem, in fifteen-syllable verse, is a polemic against a certain monk named Ioannes, who had written a pamphlet in verse against our poet. The poet states ironically that the works of this Ioannes seem to be superior to everything written previously; he then presents us with a quite disparate list of ancient philosophers, rhetors, poets, and church

fathers (even the apostle Paul). Among the more "modern" Byzantines, only poets are mentioned, namely Psellos, Pisides, Mitylenaios, Theophylaktos of Ochrid, and Leon (Choirosphaktes, or perhaps Leon Philosophos). As the poem makes clear, it was especially the technical aspect of versifying that was important: poetry as part of grammatical education. It was all about being a στιχοπλόκος, a "verse weaver" (vv. 28 and 85), and it seems that it was precisely in those domains that poets from past centuries stood as models. Respecting prosody and putting the right accents belonged to the same area of expertise for our poet: the art of versification is the art of applied grammar.

Another rare example of naming Byzantine authors along with ancient ones is to be found in *On the Four Parts of the Perfect Speech*, mentioned earlier, notably in the section on model authors for several rhetorical genres (ll. 73–110), but also in that on iambs (ll. 162–165: here we can find the names of Pisides, Kallikles, and Ptochoprodromos alongside those of Gregory the Theologian, Sophocles, and Lycophron).

These texts show us that we should not dismiss the idea that the Byzantines saw their own poetry in a historical perspective, and that their poets could make claim to a posthumous reputation based upon their poetical merits, even if these merits were primarily based on technical metrical skills.

One name appears on both lists: that of Georgios Pisides. This is hardly a coincidence. Pisides's approach to diction, rhythm, and genre was radically different from that of the sixth-century poets who worked just before him. His poetry sets the tone for the centuries to come and continued to provide inspiration for later poets.

Gregory, the Poetics of Restraint, and the Biblical Model

There is no Byzantine pamphlet or *ars poetica* declaring an aesthetic (or other) program for writing verse (cf. Conley 1995). One text, however, can be considered as a manifesto on poetry and its proper use: εἰς τὰ ἔμμετρα (*On His Own Verses*) written by one of the most influential authors in Byzantium, Gregory the Theologian. Gregory does not really discuss generic and metrical matters, or stylistic, intertextual, and aesthetic aspects of poetry. Therefore one cannot call *On His Own Verses* a proper *ars poetica* (despite Milovanović-Barham 1997). Yet it includes at least three issues that pertain to Byzantine poetry in general.

First, the poem advocates moderation in writing and in worldly ambitions—the two being closely connected. Gregory takes issue with people who write "without measure," adroitly profiting from the ambiguity inherent in the Greek word μέτρον, meaning both "meter" (in verse) and "measure," "balance" (also in a moral sense). He does not oppose poetry to prose, but rather corrects the unmeasured writing of poetry. Moreover, the metrical λόγοι (v. 63) for which the poem appears to have been a proem (McGuckin 2006: 205–210) deal with the same topics as Gregory's other writings—several were even versifications of his own prose (vv. 24 and 64).

Second, Gregory stresses the pedagogical characteristics of verse (cf. Simelidis 2009: 24–30 and 75–79 on the actual use of Gregory's poems in the Byzantine school curriculum). One main advantage of "bound speech" is said to be its mnemonic quality, an aspect that is surely important for didactic poetry. Moreover, meter is delightful and playful (τερπνόν and παίζω are used repeatedly), and hence a perfect vehicle for the didactic purposes.

Lastly, Gregory brings up an authoritative argument in favor of writing verse (vv. 82–89): the fact that the Bible also contains many poetical texts (πολλὰ μετρούμενα). If we want to identify an ultimate model for Byzantine poets, we would do better to turn our gaze to a work that does not belong to conventional lists of literary history: the psalms, ascribed to the poet-king David—perhaps the quintessentially poetic corpus to the Byzantine mind. In the dozens of Byzantine epigrams on David and the Psalter, preserved in hundreds of manuscripts (see Parpulov 2014: 216–244), David is typically called "our" (i.e., the Christian) Orpheus. The didactic aspects and the spiritual effectiveness of the psalms are often linked to their sweetness (τερπνότης, ἡδύτης), melodiousness, and, remarkably often, their rhythm (εὐρυθμία in at least six different poems). In a treatise on meter by the so-called *Anonymus Ambrosianus* (first appearing in a twelfth-century manuscript), the Jews are credited with the invention of meter, which the "Hellenes" learned from them, and the psalms are considered as the very first example of poetry (*On Meter* 230). The Byzantines may not have understood the formal principles behind Hebrew poetry; yet, for them, the psalms served as the model for accomplished metrical texts.

Uses of Poetry

We have up to this point looked at the intrinsic qualities of poetry. But another way of understanding the special character of poetry would be to focus on the uses of poetry in Byzantine society. Which were the cultural contexts and social occasions for which poetry was considered to be the fitting medium of communication, rather than prose? This question has received a full answer by Lauxtermann (2019); we give here a brief recapitulation with a slightly different emphasis, focusing on those contexts where the use of poetry seems to have been almost exclusive.

Poetry was the preferred medium for inscriptions, in a very broad sense (see Drpić, "Inscriptions," Chapter 16 in this volume). Verse (almost always dodecasyllables, see Rhoby 2009: 38 and 2011) was used for thousands of epigrams inscribed on buildings and objects (Rhoby 2009, 2010, 2014, and 2018). Paul Magdalino proposed the term "epigrammatical habit" to refer to the strong tendency in Byzantium to attach metrical verse to all kinds of objects (Magdalino 2012: 32). Several questions can be asked as to why poetry appealed so much to the Byzantines in this respect. Did poetry create a sense of value added to the inscribed object? Did its visual layout command the attention of the viewers? Did it enable them to give a rhythmical voice to the object when they read

these inscriptions aloud (see, e.g., Papalexandrou 2001)? The element of conspicuous display is also important: for instance, the iconoclasts chose to tattoo the foreheads of the Graptoi brothers with dodecasyllables as a form of public humiliation.

Book epigrams were also a kind of inscription: these epigrams treated the manuscript as an object, clarifying the roles of patron, scribe, and reader. They made clear to what degree the Byzantines thought verse fit for "paratexts." Often, the dedication of a book would mention specific details, such as the identity of the scribe, in a prose notice, but the "real" dedication, expressing the motivations for the patronage of the book, was put in verse (Bernard and Demoen 2019). Poetry was extremely well suited for prefaces (Antonopoulou 2010): Ioseph Rhakendytes (c. 1280–c. 1330; PLP 9078), for instance, had his treatise on rhetoric and philosophy preceded by an introductory poem of 140 dodecasyllables (titled, *Iambic Verses Preceding his Own Book*). Poetry, it can be tentatively concluded, was the privileged medium for fringes, borders, and façades.

The rhythm of verse made it very conducive to communal performance and hence to public opinion-making and propaganda. Accentual poetry has important roots in the ritual chanting of the demes cheering on emperors, and, conversely, in popular ditties deriding emperors or other public figures. Poetry (particularly πολιτικὸς στίχος) was the preferred medium for public celebrations and court ceremony. This is spectacularly in evidence in the twelfth century, when Theodoros Prodromos, "Manganeios" Prodromos, and others composed long celebratory pieces for weddings, funerals, or departures for military expeditions. Ebullient vocabulary, high emotional tension, repetitive rhythm, and frequent appeals to the audience all contributed to make poetry a particularly enrapturing communal experience.

Poetry was frequently used for paraphrasis, metaphrasis, and synopsis. Studying these textual genres can enrich our understanding of the distinction between poetry and prose (Efthymiadis, "Rewriting," Chapter 14 in this volume). It is a rewarding investigation to see how these derivative texts related to their "parent" text, and what role meter and rhythm played in that process (as in Demoen 2004). Transposing a prose text into a metrical form may have been a common exercise. The passage from the grammatical treatise quoted at the beginning of this chapter refers to versification as an operation performed upon a preexisting prose text. In the same vein, Niketas Stethatos describes how his hero Symeon the New Theologian first conceived of his hymns in prose, and only then applied a "poetic method" to compose the poems (which are called "unmetrical verses" because Symeon's poetry was unprosodical); Niketas makes clear that this poetic transposition enhanced the clarity of the text (Niketas Stethatos, *Life of Symeon the New Theologian*, ch. 37 and 77). Poetry makes things clearer as compared to prose.

Related to this is the fact that poetry was considered very appropriate for didactic purposes (Hörandner 2012a). Didactic poems in πολιτικὸς στίχος frequently flaunt their own clarity, simple vocabulary, and (perhaps surprisingly) conciseness (Jeffreys 1974). We may also recall that the linguistic register that dominated Byzantine dodecasyllables from Georgios Pisides onward was defined by simple syntax and a vocabulary that was rarely extravagant. Perhaps verse was also suitable for informative texts because of the visual appearance of verse texts, which effectively resembled reference lists of glossed

terms, easy to survey at a glance (Bernard 2014: 238–240). The mnemonic aspect may have been important here, as well as the practice of a classroom of students declaiming verse together with their teacher; Niketas of Herakleia (late eleventh century), notably, used hymnographical meters for his didactic texts on grammar.

Despite our statement in the beginning of this chapter that Byzantine poetry is not a place for individual emotional expression, it is true that personal introspection is almost exclusively voiced in verse. In Byzantium, self-speech almost naturally assumed the form of repentance. Katanyctic verse (the term is also used by Byzantines) was a preferred medium for the expression of remorse over sins and reflections about the vanity of this human life (Giannouli 2013). A related genre, the poetry εἰς ἑαυτόν (poetry to oneself) has a more intellectual character; here, the poems of Gregory the Theologian provided a model for others (Hinterberger 1999: 71–74).

Introspective poetry was also one of the main influences on the poetry of Symeon the New Theologian. His *Hymns*, written in various accentual meters, have otherwise no precedent, and few followers. This poetic project, mainly intended for his monastic community, exceptionally puts personal experience at the core of poetic inspiration (Koder 2011).

At the other end of the emotional spectrum, poetry was eminently suited for invective. Our earliest testimonies of the vernacular language are to be found in abusive satirical songs circulating on the streets of Constantinople. In the intellectual sphere, poets hurled invective to each other in a quick exchange of brief pamphlets (van Opstall 2016), or attacked enemies in dazzling displays of creative abuse (Psellos, *Poem* 21). This invective poetry allowed for topics that were otherwise avoided or even considered taboo, such as sex or scatology. And this happened well before the twelfth century, when irreverent speech came to the surface more emphatically, especially in vernacular poetry.

In all of these settings, it can be said that poetry was seen as a medium that engaged the ear, that was visually conspicuous, and that employed a more concise and clearer language. These features in turn can be related to the backbone of what constitutes verse: recurrence, both when spoken and when written. Poetry gained its force thanks to its quality of "bound speech."

Suggestions for Further Reading

Wolfram Hörandner's and Marc Lauxtermann's studies on meter and contexts of poetry are the starting point for anyone interested in Byzantine (primarily secular) poetry and poeticality. Hörandner (1995) discusses Byzantine perspectives on meter and rhythm; Hörandner (2008) is an excellent overview of poetic genres; Hörandner (2017) is the most recent contribution of a master in the field. Hörandner, Rhoby, and Zagklas (2019) is destined to become a standard guide. Lauxtermann (1998) considers the question of meter and rhythm in the dodecasyllable; Lauxtermann (1999) is an in-depth

study of rhythm in Byzantine verse; Lauxtermann (2009) is a shorter essay concerned with questions of poeticality and diverging definitions of "poetry"; Lauxtermann (2003, 2019), a must-read, considers contexts of poetry (among many other things), while Lauxtermann (2004) attempts a history. Livanos (2010) reassesses the most important poets, while Odorico, Agapitos, and Hinterberger (2009) contains several contributions that discuss and question the concept of poetry in Byzantium.

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CHAPTER 16

INSCRIPTIONS

IVAN DRPIĆ

The modern tendency to separate visual art and text, catalyzed by the invention of printing and enshrined in such classic works as Lessing's *Laocoon*, would have been alien in a pre-modern culture like Byzantium (cf. Squire 2009). Rather than operating as two distinct fields of expression and signification, the visual and the verbal overlapped. Physical artifacts and figural representations evoked and commonly incorporated texts, while writing partook of the materiality and sensorial immediacy of the visual object. Moreover, images, objects, and texts variously participated in a broader system of communication and social interaction, in which speech, gestures, and ritual action also played important roles. The aim of the present chapter is to introduce the reader to some aspects of the overlap and synergy of visual art and text in Byzantine culture. The brief survey that follows focuses on inscriptions, in particular those with literary aspirations.

The Byzantine Epigraphic Habit

When considered alongside the epigraphic practice of the ancient Roman world, Byzantium shows both continuity and change (Mango 1991; Roueché 2006; Toth 2016; Destephen 2020; see also Leatherbury 2020). As a result of the profound transformation of the traditional Mediterranean urban civilization in the course of the seventh and eighth centuries, publicly displayed lapidary inscriptions became considerably fewer in number and less diverse. After the early seventh century, honorific texts ceased to be set up along with the statuary to which they were attached, while imperial decrees only exceptionally received a more permanent form in stone. Funerary inscriptions experienced a similar decline as the inscribed grave became an almost exclusive prerogative of the elite. New forms of epigraphy, however, emerged. Most notably, the church interior became the principal locus of written display. To enter a medieval Byzantine church is to step into a space awash with inscriptions (Pallis 2020). Monumental ensembles of mosaic and fresco decoration regularly feature countless texts, ranging from identifying

labels to quotations from the Scriptures or the liturgy to texts placed upon unfurled scrolls and codices held by holy figures. Complementing such inscriptions exhibited on the walls are numerous texts—many of them dedicatory in nature—found on portable objects and church furnishings, including liturgical utensils, icons and icon veils, curtains, and *templon* screens. Moreover, reflecting changes in burial practices and the ritual remembrance of the dead, the focus of epigraphic commemoration migrated to church settings, whether this commemoration took the form of elegantly phrased aristocratic epitaphs or more humble graffiti. The church interior could now serve to give permanence to forms of official discourse of the state by publicizing, for instance, rescripts and legal documents (see, e.g., Justinian I's Novel 8 in *Novels*, 79.14–18; see also Mango 1963; Kalopissi-Verti 2003; Toth 2016: 25–29).

Verse inscriptions, also known as epigrams, comprise a special category within Byzantium's epigraphic production. Epigrammatic poetry enjoyed great popularity in the early Byzantine era (Galli Calderini 1987). In addition to poems designed to serve as actual inscriptions, contemporary writers produced a considerable number of purely literary epigrams devoted to Christian, but also erotic, satirical, and sympotic themes, among others (Smith 2019). Beginning in the seventh century, one observes a momentous change in the dominant meter, content, and function of the epigrammatic verse (Lauxtermann 2003: 26–34, 131–132). Whereas most ancient and early Byzantine epigrams employed the elegiac distich and hexameter, after the seventh century the dodecasyllable became the norm. Parallel to this development was the "Christianization" of the genre's thematic repertoire, as poets increasingly embraced religious subject matter. In part, this was a consequence of a change in function: the epigram came to be viewed first and foremost as a practical text—a poem written with a real or potential inscriptional use in mind.

The range of objects that could bear verse inscriptions in Byzantium is truly astonishing. Aside from religious artifacts, tombs, church buildings, and city walls, epigrams appeared on such diverse things as weights, swords, seals, and coins (Rhoby 2009, 2010a, 2014; Wassiliou-Seibt 2011–2016; for the early Byzantine period, see the relevant sections in Robert 1948; Bernard 1969; Merkelbach and Stauber 1998–2004). A separate class of epigrams is encountered in books, where they served a quasi-inscriptional role by being attached to other texts as introductions (see Figure 18.3 in Chapter 18 of this volume), dedications, colophons (for an example, see Figure 20.1 in Chapter 20 of this volume), and occasionally titles (Lauxtermann 2003: 197–212; Bianconi 2009; Rhoby 2018; see also DBBE = *Database of Byzantine Book Epigrams*, at http://www.dbbe.ugent.be). It has been estimated that some 1,200 epigrams have been preserved in situ from the period between 600 and 1500, without counting epigrams on seals and book epigrams (Rhoby 2009: 51; for the previous centuries, see Sironen 2003: 233, who gives an estimate of around 400 non-funerary epigrams dating from the period 260 to 600). In view of the major losses of Byzantine artistic and material culture, these figures must represent but a small portion of the plethora of metrical texts that once populated the physical environment in which the Byzantines lived, prayed, and conducted their business. Adding to the rich yet fragmentary inscriptional record are thousands of epigrams that have been

transmitted in manuscripts. This voluminous body of poetry indicates that, like letter-writing, the practice of composing epigrams was a common activity among Byzantine intellectuals. Noteworthy are the sizable corpora of authors such as Theodoros Stoudites (759–826; PmbZ 7574) (*Iambic Poems on Different Subjects*) and Manuel Philes (died c. 1340s; PLP 29817) (Miller 1855–1857; Martini 1900; Braounou-Pietsch 2010; Kubina 2020), as well as the vast collection of eleventh- and twelfth-century epigrams—most of them anonymous—copied in the so-called *Anthologia Marciana* in Venice (Venice, BN, Marc. gr. Z. 524; cf. Spingou 2012).

To be sure, the use of inscriptions in verse was never a matter of course in Byzantium, since prose remained a far more common medium of epigraphic communication. Nonetheless, the practice of furnishing artifacts and edifices with poetic texts did represent an important aspect of artistic patronage among the elite, especially in the period from the eleventh through the fourteenth century. How pervasive was the vogue for epigrams among the powerful and wealthy during this period may be gauged by considering the evidence of seals. Starting from the mid-eleventh century, seals with metrical legends became increasingly popular (Wassiliou-Seibt 2011: 33–35). The presence of poetry on these quintessential disseminators of personal identity is a measure of the degree to which inscribed verse was embraced as a form of display by the Byzantine upper classes. To adorn an object—be it a resplendent gold-clad icon or a serially struck lead seal—with an epigram was a gesture indicative of one's status, ambition, and cultural ascendancy.

The Visuality and Materiality of the Written Word

Beyond conveying linguistically coded information, writing is a medium of communication with an inherent and potentially powerful extra-linguistic dimension. For the Byzantines, as for their ancient predecessors, the visual appearance of writing clearly mattered. Since antiquity, visual aesthetics was a defining feature of literary book culture. Papyrus scrolls, and later parchment codices, presented ancient readers with literary texts written in a way that may appear strikingly impractical to us. Due to the lack of spaces between the words (*scriptio continua*) and the minimal use of punctuation, reading was not an easy task, but required considerable expertise, especially given the often demanding nature of such texts. The beauty of the script and the neat, elegant arrangement of writing were far more important than accessibility and comfort of use (Johnson 2010: esp. 17–31). A seminal aspect of this aesthetic was the predilection for an epigraphic look, as book hands strove to emulate the letterforms, regularity, and layout of lapidary inscriptions (Cavallo and Maehler 2008: 1–24). The prodigious persistence of the majuscule in Byzantine manuscripts into the eleventh century, after the introduction of the minuscule as a book script by the late eighth century, is a testament to, among

other things, the enduring cultural prestige associated with this epigraphic mode. (To be sure, the facility of certain readers in the earlier book script also may have contributed to its continued use.)

The extra-linguistic dimension of writing is particularly relevant in the case of inscriptions since they can be construed as material embodiments of verbal messages and considered as hybrid entities, both texts and objects. The message of a text, its impact on the reader, and the modalities of its reception are inseparable from the graphic, material, and spatial presentation of writing: the shape and size of letters; the disposition of words and lines on a surface or in a three-dimensional space; the material fabric of the lettering and their support, including aspects such as color, texture, and durability, as well as the value and symbolic connotations of the materials used; and finally, the text's physical context, its location and accessibility, the neighboring imagery, and the presence of ornaments and framing devices. In short, the inscription-as-object plays a fundamental role in how one approaches and comprehends the inscription-as-text.

The visual and material dimensions of the written word in Byzantium, and of epigraphic writing in particular, have only recently begun to receive the attention they deserve (Cavallo 1994: 54–62; James 2007b; Maayan-Fanar 2011; Orsini 2013: 59–79; the relevant essays in Eastmond 2015; Drpić 2016: esp. 186–243; Leatherbury 2020). This problematic, however, calls for a more systematic scrutiny. Consider, for instance, the celebrated epigram in the church of Saints Sergios and Bakchos (Küçük Ayasofya Camii) in Constantinople, erected in the mid-520s by the emperor Justinian I and his wife Theodora within the complex of the Palace of Hormisdas (Croke 2006; see also Bardill 2017) (Figures 16.1 and 16.2). Composed in hexameters, the poem extols the couple's piety and good works (Mercati 1925: 205; translation in Mango 1972: 190):

> Ἄλλοι μὲν βασιλῆες ἐτιμήσαντο θανόντας
> ἀνέρας, ὧν ἀνόνητος ἔην πόνος· ἡμέτερος δὲ
> εὐσεβίην σκηπτοῦχος Ἰουστινιανὸς ἀέξων
> Σέργιον αἰγλήεντι δόμωι θεράποντα γεραίρει
> Χριστοῦ παγγενέταο· τὸν οὐ πυρὸς ἀτμὸς ἀνάπτων,
> οὐ ξίφος, οὐχ ἑτέρη βασάνων ἐτάραξεν ἀνάγκη,
> ἀλλὰ Θεοῦ τέτληκεν ὑπὲρ Χριστοῖο δαμῆναι
> αἵματι κερδαίνων δόμον οὐρανόν. ἀλλ' ἐνὶ πᾶσιν
> κοιρανίην βασιλῆος ἀκοιμήτοιο φυλάξοι
> καὶ κράτος αὐξήσειε θεοστεφέος Θεοδώρης,
> ἧς νόος εὐσεβίηι φαιδρύνεται, ἧς πόνος αἰεὶ
> ἀκτεάνων θρεπτῆρες ἀφειδέες εἰσὶν ἀγῶνες.
>
> Other sovereigns have honored dead men
> whose labor was unprofitable, but our sceptered Justinian,
> fostering piety, honors with a splendid abode
> the servant of Christ, Begetter of all things,
> Sergios; whom not the burning breath of fire,
> nor the sword, nor any other constraint of torments disturbed;

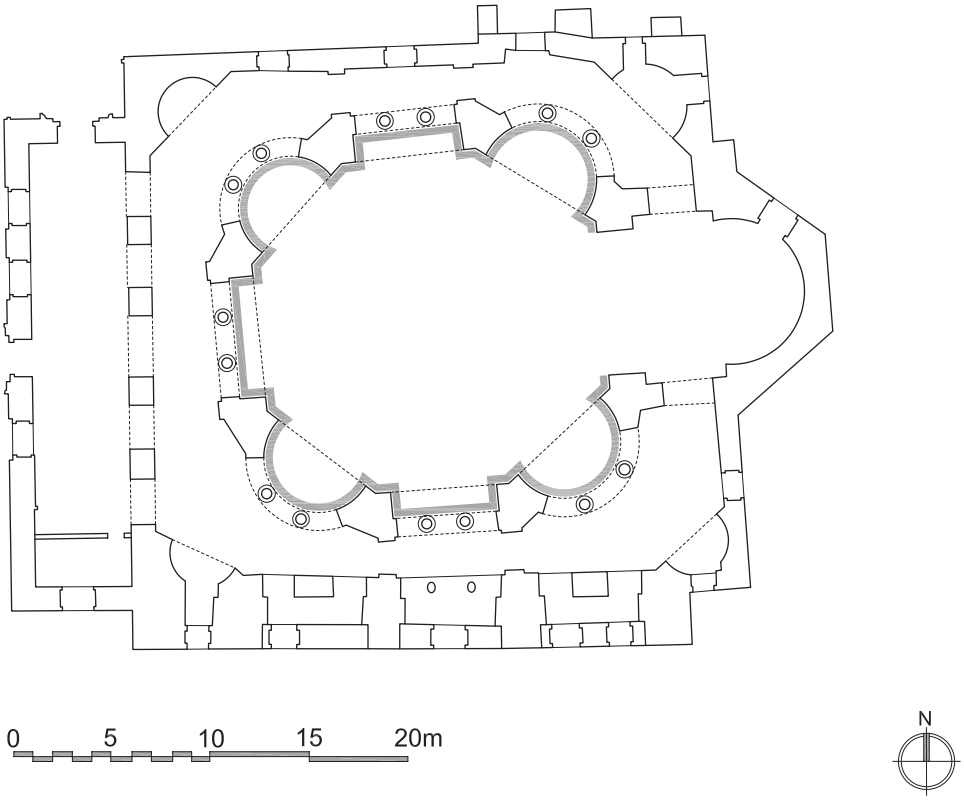

FIGURE 16.1 Plan showing the layout of the dedicatory epigram of Justinian I and Theodora (marked grey), mid-520s, church of Saints Sergios and Bakchos (Küçük Ayasofya Camii), Constantinople/Istanbul.

Drawing: Ljubinko Ranković.

> but who endured to be slain for the sake of Christ, the God,
> gaining by his blood heaven as his home.
> May he in all things guard the rule of the sleepless sovereign
> and increase the power of the God-crowned Theodora
> whose mind is adorned with piety, whose constant toil
> lies in unsparing efforts to nourish the destitute.

Arranged in linear fashion, the epigram runs along the marble entablature on the lower story, encircling the domed building's octagonal core. The train of words begins on the pier on the south side of the sanctuary, snakes around the interior following the spatial movement of alternating semicircular and rectangular exedras, and ends on the pier on the sanctuary's north side. Raised in relief and clearly legible, the large capital letters of the epigram have a forceful physical presence. The script is of a square module, characteristic of a number of contemporary inscriptions, and shows a predilection for round forms, evident in the shape of E, Θ, O, Σ, and also Ω. As was the norm at the

FIGURE 16.2 Detail of the dedicatory epigram of Justinian I and Theodora, mid-520s, church of Saints Sergios and Bakchos (Küçük Ayasofya Camii), Constantinople/Istanbul.

Photo: author.

time, the writing is continuous, without spaces separating individual words or punctuation marks, although verse ends are marked by leaf motives—a visual element signaling the poetic nature of the text to the reader. It is notable that the epigram is sculpted rather than incised in marble, which would have been a less time-consuming procedure. The sheer amount of labor that went into carving out the stone to give volume and form to each individual letter enhances in and of itself the dignity and solemnity of the text. The sculpted marble lettering is fully integrated into the decorative fabric of the interior. It contributes another element of ornamentation—an ornament made of words—analogous to horizontal bands with crisply carved acanthus leaves, dentils, and egg-and-dart and bead-and-reel motifs, which run in parallel to the inscription. Originally, the visual impact of the carved verses seems to have been amplified through polychromy. There is evidence to suggest that the letters were picked out in gold, while their background was painted blue (Dethier 1858: 6 [167]). The act of reading the epigram would have further enriched the sensorial experience of the displayed text. This act would have entailed not only bodily motion, with the reader circumambulating the interior, but also a performative "activation" of the text, since such inscriptions were normally read out loud by the Byzantines. Sight, speech, hearing, and movement were all involved in apprehending the message of the epigram (cf. Papalexandrou 2001, 2007).

Given the palatial setting of Saints Sergios and Bakchos, one may assume that many of those who frequented this shrine were sufficiently educated to read and appreciate the carved verses. Elsewhere, however, this kind of response cannot be taken for granted. Indeed, a low level of literacy, coupled with the cultural tendency to see text and image as analogous, ensured that the more common response to writing in Byzantium—and in particular publicly exhibited writing—was visual rather than literate (cf. James 2007b; Lauxtermann 2003: 272–273). The inscribed word was not exclusively, nor even primarily, a medium of verbal communication. Several additional factors contributed to this. The paramount importance attached to sacred texts in Christian worship, let alone the fact that this worship revolved around the mystery of the divine Word's assumption of human form, played a decisive part in imbuing writing with potency and numinosity (see, e.g., Kessler 2006; Rapp 2007; cf. Wenzel 2000). Besides, the role of written documents in the workings of the imperial bureaucratic machinery left a strong imprint on the Byzantine popular imagination, so that pens, ink, paper, and parchment carried associations with authority and the exercise of power (Hunger 1984; Déroche 2006). But writing, it should be pointed out, was also tied to magic. Byzantine magical practices often involved manipulations of written marks as a way to summon, bind, or avert supernatural forces. Thus spells, curses, invocations, and divine names, as well as mysterious graphic symbols known as *charaktēres*, commonly appear on Byzantine amulets, attesting to the widespread belief in the magical powers of writing, its ability to produce effects in the physical and spiritual world alike (Spier 1993; Frankfurter 1994; Kotansky 1994; Foskolou 2014). Closely aligned to this belief was the notion, rooted in various discursive traditions of the ancient world, that the letters of the Greek alphabet possess a deeper mystical significance. Far from being conventional signs, they harbor profound spiritual meanings encoded in their visual form, place in the alphabet, and numerical value (Bandt 2007; Kalvesmaki 2013; Lauritzen 2013).

The culturally specific attributes of writing that allowed it to operate beyond the narrow framework of verbal communication must have informed how inscriptions were perceived in Byzantium. To an illiterate audience, this nonverbal aspect was crucial. Those equipped with a modicum of literacy, on the other hand, were able to recognize at the very least names as well as certain key words, which would help them identify the character of the displayed text—whether, for instance, it was a dedicatory inscription or an epitaph (cf. Rhoby 2012: 737–738). It is no accident that in the epigram at Saints Sergios and Bakchos the names of Justinian and Theodora are prominently positioned across from each other, in the north and south exedras of the central octagon (Eastmond 2016: 224–225). They are not only visually balanced, thus intimating the couple's joint involvement in the erection of the church, but also very visible. The sections of the inscribed entablature with the two names were the first to meet the visitor's eyes, as he or she entered the church through the doors that once opened on the north and south sides of the building. It should be stressed that such strategic placement of names was by no means unusual in Byzantine epigraphy (Drpić 2016: 213–214, 285; Eastmond 2016: 222–226; Hostetler 2020).

A major change in the style of Byzantine epigraphic writing took place in the tenth and eleventh centuries (Mango 1991: esp. 246; Karagianne 2008; Rhoby 2014: 75–79). The use of generally uniform capital letters, with few ligatures and typically no accents and breathing marks—a tradition exemplified by the epigram at Saints Sergios and Bakchos—was abandoned in favor of a more ornate script. While still based on the hegemony of the majuscule, the new style allowed for a greater variety and freedom in graphic expression. Minuscule forms now frequently mingle with the dominant capitals, letters are less uniform and may appear in different sizes, often ascending or descending into interlinear spaces, while the presence of accents and breathings is all but the norm. Particularly notable is the proliferation of ligatures, many of which now turn into visually exuberant combinations of letters that merge or grow out of each other. The result is a graphic idiom that, in its most accomplished instantiations, transforms the written word into a visual ornament.

Beyond ornamentation, the visual force and materiality of the written word came to the fore in different types of what we may call iconic writing, that is, in those instances where letters and images are fused or where words literally become images. Monograms and figural or historiated initials, common in Byzantine manuscripts after the ninth century, constitute two notable categories of such writing (Fink 1971; Feind 2010; Eastmond 2016; Franc-Sgourdeou 1967; Brubaker 1991; Maayan-Fanar 2011; Garipzanov 2018). Most examples of iconic writing are to be found in manuscripts, where entire texts or sections of texts may be turned into figures, shapes, or patterns. In cruciform lectionaries, for instance, Gospel pericopes are copied in the shape of a cross, page after page—a visual strategy that not only highlights the sanctity of the written text, but also calls attention to the essential unity of the four Gospels (Anderson 1992). Similar or more complex forms of visual elaboration were occasionally applied to various kinds of paratexts, including prefaces, commentaries, and marginal scholia, which often accompany the main text in a manuscript. These supplementary materials could be arranged on the page in the shape of triangles, circles, rhomboids, and crosses, or different combinations of these elements. Alternatively, they could resemble birds, cypress trees, columns, arches, and chalices, among other things (Ernst 1991: 739–743; Hutter 2010; Linardou 2013, 2017). Looking at such figured paratexts, one is reminded of the so-called *technopaignia*, Hellenistic poems that, through the physical layout of their lines, represent the object to which they refer. These picture-poems, six of which are preserved in the *Greek Anthology* (15.21–22, 24–27; for this collection of poetry, see Figure 4.3 in Chapter 4), were known to educated Byzantines. As a matter of fact, in the early Palaiologan period, Manuel Holobolos (died c. 1310/1314; PLP 21047) prepared an illustrated edition of *technopaignia* furnished with a commentary (Strodel 2002: esp. 108–156; Ferreri 2006; see also Bernabò and Magnelli 2011). The extant Byzantine examples of visual poetry are of a different kind, however. They are typically structured as grids consisting of letters (Hörandner 1990, 2009; Diamantopoulou 2016: 63–105; see also Ernst 1991: 746–747, 756–765). In the case of labyrinth poems, these grids can be read in multiple directions, starting from the letter placed in the center. In a different variety, the grid is to be read in linear

fashion, from left to right, line after line, but it also incorporates an intext that can be read independently of the main textual block. Usually highlighted through the use of a different color or material, this text within a text can assume a recognizable visual form. For example, in the grid poem inserted in the celebrated *Uspensky Psalter* of 862/863 (St Petersburg, National Library of Russia, gr. 216, f. 346v), the intext is in the shape of a cross combined with a Chi-Rho, the monogram of Christ (Follieri 1974: 150–154; Hörandner 1990: 8–13).

It seems that *carmina figurata* of this kind were largely limited to manuscripts. One instance of their use in the realm of monumental epigraphy deserves to be mentioned, not least because it concerns inscriptions installed in the most public and politically charged of spaces. Following the iconoclast council of 815, the emperor Leo V set up a cross surrounded by five iambic poems above the Chalke Gate of the Great Palace. Four of these poems were structured as textual grids with intexts that featured crosses, most probably rendered in gold (Speck 1974; Bakos 1992: esp. 107–134; Speck 1995; Lauxtermann 2003: 274–284; Diamantopoulou 2016: 87–98). The vast majority of those who would have seen these poetic inscriptions would have been unable to read them, let alone comprehend their theological subtleties. Yet the crosses made of letters spoke louder than the words. What they pronounced through visual means was evident to everyone: the opponents of image veneration were in power again (Lauxtermann 2003: 284).

Inscriptions in Visual Art

It is characteristic of the new conceptualization of visual art in the early modern era that Giorgio Vasari in his *Vite*, one of art history's foundational texts, described the presence of inscriptions in painting as *gofferia*, something awkward or clumsy (*Le vite*, 2:171, in Bettarini 1966–1987). Vasari's harsh judgment of the *maniera greca* aside, on this view, much of Byzantine art would qualify as *goffo*, given that the cohabitation of visual object and inscribed text is one of its defining features. Indeed, so widespread was the practice of inscribing works of art that one gets the impression that, without some sort of textual accompaniment, a work was never entirely complete. When dealing with such creations that blur the boundary between visual and verbal media, modern scholars tend to focus on only one aspect of the composite whole, so that art historians analyze visual forms and iconographies, while philologists and paleographers attend to inscribed words. Yet the symbiotic existence in which art and text are interlocked in Byzantine culture calls for a different, more integrative methodology akin to what Stefano Riccioni has termed *epiconography*—a coinage that combines "epigraphy" with "iconography" (Riccioni 2008). To pursue this mode of analysis is to acknowledge the multiple ways in which the visual object and the text placed upon it may interact and work in concert, whether this synergy takes places on the material, visual, semantic, representational, or functional level.

One of the basic roles of inscriptions in Byzantine art is to provide "anchorage," to borrow Roland Barthes's term (Barthes 1977). This means that the inscribed text serves to transpose the general into the particular, to anchor the object's meaning, and more broadly, to create a hermeneutic framework within which the viewer/reader may approach the object. Names and identifying labels placed upon countless Byzantine images perform precisely this function. Epigrams, too, often serve as textual anchors. A characteristic example is provided by a poem in hexameters that graces the exquisite, if partially damaged, sixth-century mosaic pavement in the north wing of the transept of Basilica A at Nikopolis in Epiros (Kitzinger 1951: 93–108; Maguire 1987: 21–24; Leatherbury 2020: 141–145) (Figure 16.3). The central, nearly square field of the

FIGURE 16.3 Mosaic pavement in the north wing of the transept, sixth century, Basilica A, Nikopolis, Epirus.

Photo: Αρχείο Εφορείας Αρχαιοτήτων Πρέβεζας, Preveza.

pavement shows an abbreviated landscape with birds and trees. Framing this image is a series of borders, the broadest of which depicts water with fish, water birds, and two fishermen. The poem, which records the name of the bishop Doumetios, the commissioner of the pavement, is displayed below the landscape. Visually emphasized by being placed in a large *tabula ansata*, it reads as follows (text and translation, the latter slightly modified here, in Kitzinger 1951: 100–101):

> Ὠκεανὸν περίφαντον ἀπείριτον ἔνθα δέδορκας
> γαῖαν μέσσον ἔχοντα σοφοῖς ἰνδάλμασι τέχνης
> πάντα πέριξ φορέουσαν ὅσα πνίει τε καὶ ἕρπει.[1]
> Δουμετίου κτέανον μεγαθύμου ἀρχιερῆος.
>
> Here you see the all-encompassing, boundless ocean,
> containing in its midst the earth bearing round about
> in the skilled images of art everything that breathes and creeps.
> The foundation of Doumetios, the greathearted archpriest.

Couched in a Homeric language, the hexameters spell out for the viewer the meaning of the mosaic pavement. Lest he or she assume that the landscape in the center represents, say, the Garden of Paradise, the inscription insists that the pavement is meant to be seen as an image of the terrestrial world: the central field stands for the earth and the maritime border for the ocean. To all those who took the trouble to read the inscription, this interpretation would have significantly enhanced the experience of the pavement. To walk across the north wing of the transept was to traverse the entire world in miniature form. Encouraging an imaginative and interactive response, the verses "opened up" the mosaic imagery for the viewer, even as they limited its range of associations.

A different kind of synergy between the inscribed text and the image or object it accompanies is achieved in those instances where the text complements and, indeed, completes the image/object by furnishing it with a voice (Brubaker 1996; Ševčenko 2015). In one of the enamel plaques mounted on the celebrated Khakhuli triptych in Tbilisi, the scene of the divine investiture of Michael VII Doukas and his Georgian wife Maria is animated by the addition of a dodecasyllable monostich spoken by no other than Christ himself: "Στέφω Μιχαὴλ σὺν Μαριὰμ χερσί μου" ("I crown Michael along with Maria with my hands") (Rhoby 2010a: no. Me30) (Figure 16.4). Comparable to a speech bubble, the verse enlivens the static ceremonial image, simultaneously intensifying the ritual gesture of crowning with the added force of a performative utterance (Austin 1962). Elsewhere, the incorporation of speech in a picture through the medium of writing can be much more extensive, allowing the depicted figures, for instance, to engage in a dialogue (see, e.g., Papamastorakis 2013: esp. 377–378).

[1] Cf. *Iliad* 17.447; *Odyssey* 18.131.

FIGURE 16.4 Enamel plaque with the divine investiture of Michael VII Doukas and Maria "of Alania," 1070s, Khakhuli Triptych, Georgian National Museum, Tbilisi.

Photo: George Chubinashvili National Research Center for Georgian Art History and Heritage Preservation, Tbilisi.

While virtually any inscribed text could inform how the viewer perceives and responds to the object that bears it, some inscriptions were expressly designed to frame, inflect, and mediate the viewer's response. This is especially the case with epigrams, the purpose of which was often to create a poetic mise en scène for the act of viewing. Depending on the context and the nature of the object involved, a number of tactics could be deployed. The verses could variously describe the object; dwell upon its imagery, material fabric, function, and meaning; dramatize the experience of seeing it; or trigger an emotional reaction. Notably, the epigram could invite the viewer to ponder the very cohabitation of the object and the inscribed text and to consider, more generally,

how the visual relates to the verbal. This was often accomplished by confronting the two media in an implicit *paragone*. Numerous poems that call attention to the lack of speech in an image, even as they applaud its lifelike quality, are typical examples of this strategy (Pietsch-Braounou 2007). Such poetic compositions are inherently self-referential; to a student of Byzantine literature, they offer glimpses of an authorial self-consciousness. Writing about visual art, Byzantine epigrammatists probed the parameters of their own art—the art of *logoi*. No doubt, autopoietic statements and allusions that pepper Byzantine inscriptional poetry owed much to the ancient tradition of comparing and contrasting the verbal and the visual in epigrammatic verse (cf. Männlein-Robert 2007). Yet they also reflected contemporary concerns, giving voice to the contemporary understanding of the writer's work, its status and effects.

Taken as a whole, the corpus of Byzantine epigrams constitutes a fertile field of aesthetic discourse that can be profitably analyzed to reconstruct how the Byzantines, and especially members of the elite, viewed and thought of visual art. While scholars have explored different aspects of this discourse, the subject deserves a more sustained and comprehensive treatment (see especially: Maguire 1996; Pentcheva 2007; Pietsch-Braounou 2008; Braounou-Pietsch 2010; Pentcheva 2010: esp. 155–182; Pizzone 2013; Drpić 2016, 2020; see also Agosti 2004–2005). To be sure, in an effort to understand better the Byzantine aesthetic experience and thought, epigrammatic poetry should not be considered in isolation, but rather in dialogue with other sources. In their pronouncements and musings on art-making, sensory perception, visual and literary representation, materiality, and the like, epigrams show affinities with other categories of Byzantine *Kunstliteratur*, most notably *ekphraseis* of works of art. Yet there are certain values and attitudes that are characteristic of, though by no means unique to, the discourse on art encoded in and disseminated through epigrams. This discourse reveals an aesthetic sensibility that values playfulness, elegance, and intricacy; celebrates paradox; delights in miniature and the telling detail; attends to the sensorial and the material; engages with emotions; and ultimately places less emphasis on static meaning than on response and interaction. There is hardly a better way to define what an elite "culture of viewing" in Byzantium might have been than to map the rich discursive landscape of Byzantine epigrammatic verse (cf. Goldhill 1994).

Memory and Self-Representation: The Agency of the Inscribed Object

As a medium of public display, the inscribed word has a pronounced social dimension. Lending permanence and visibility to acts of verbal communication, inscriptions can help forge social bonds and shape individual and communal identities. Focusing upon dedicatory epigrams and other related texts, the final section of this chapter examines the social uses and effects of epigraphic writing in Byzantine culture. More specifically,

these brief remarks engage with the inscribed object as a vehicle of memory and self-representation, an efficacious site where past and present, self and other, meet.

On a most basic level, a dedicatory epigram personalizes an artifact or monument by tying it to a particular individual, the person responsible for its creation (Rhoby 2009: no. 232; translation in Ševčenko 2012: 82, with modifications):

> Ἵππων ἀκεστὴρ εὐσεβὴς Νικηφόρος
> θερμῷ κινηθεὶς ἐνδιαθέτῳ πόθῳ
> ἀνιστόρησεν ἐμφερῶς τὴν εἰκόνα
> τοῦ παμμεγίστου μάρτυρος Γεωργίου
> κἀν τῇδε σεπτῶς τῇ μονῇ τῶν Φορβίων
> ποθῶν ἐφευρεῖν ἀντίληψιν ἐν κρίσει
> τὸν ὑπεραυγῆ μάρτυρα στεφανίτην
> καὶ τὰς προσευχὰς τῶν μενόντων ἐνθάδε.
>
> A healer of horses, the pious Nikephoros,
> moved by warm heartfelt desire,
> with like feeling painted the image
> of the greatest of martyrs, George,
> in this monastery *tōn Phorbiōn* with reverence,
> longing to find help at the [Last] Judgment
> from that most brilliant crowned martyr
> and the prayers of those dwelling here.

This set of verses accompanies a late-twelfth-century fresco-icon of Saint George on horseback in the narthex of the church at Asinou on Cyprus (Nicolaïdès 2012; Winfield 2012) (Figure 16.5). The epigram presents the donor of the mural, an otherwise unattested veterinary doctor, and explains what motivated him to sponsor this work. The verses tell us that in exchange for setting up the mural, Nikephoros hoped to obtain spiritual rewards not only through the assistance of Saint George, but also through the prayers offered on his behalf by "those dwelling here," that is, the monks of the monastery *tōn Phorbiōn*, a religious house that the church at Asinou served for centuries. This appeal to monastic intercession, coupled with the prominent placement of the mural in the south apse of the narthex, highlights a crucial role assigned to Nikephoros's pious dedication. The inscribed painting was meant to preserve the donor's memory and perpetuate his presence, if only vicariously, within the monastic community.

The concern with the preservation of memory, especially the memory of the dead, was a pervasive phenomenon in Byzantine society at all levels. Different forms of cultural expression, from orally transmitted narratives to images and rituals, were mobilized to manage the past and maintain the presence of the dead among the living (Steindorff 1994: 119–135; Papalexandrou 2010; Schreiner 2011; Grünbart 2012; Papaioannou 2014; Messis and Papaioannou, "Memory," Chapter 6 in this volume). Epigraphic writing in its various manifestations was among the more potent weapons for combating oblivion. Anyone who took the trouble to read the verses painted next to the mounted

FIGURE 16.5 Fresco-icon of Saint George on horseback, late twelfth century, church of the Virgin *Phorbiōtissa*, Asinou, Cyprus.

Photo: Gerald L. Carr.

saint at Asinou was, in essence, engaging in the work of remembrance. It appears that such acts of reading could occasionally be staged as ceremonial events with an explicit commemorative purpose. This was almost certainly the case with a dedicatory epigram once displayed at the monastery of Christ *Pantokratōr* in Constantinople (Rhoby 2009: no. 214; Vassis 2013: 203–220). This lengthy poem, which runs to no fewer than 145 dodecasyllable lines, describes the monastic complex and celebrates its founders, the emperor John II Komnenos and his wife Piroska-Eirene. The title attached to the poem

in the manuscript record indicates that the inscribed verses were recited every year on August 4, the day in which the monastery's inauguration was commemorated. The performance of the epigram was probably staged for an audience of monks and visitors assembled to honor the memory of the imperial founders. It is conceivable that similar ceremonial recitations of dedicatory epigrams were held elsewhere, for instance, in conjunction with the annual commemoration of donors and founders.

A dedicatory epigram, however, did not have to be performed to fulfill its memorial purpose. The very inclusion of the dedicator's name in the epigram—itself a means of making the absent present—was sufficient to engage the viewer and prompt him or her to offer a prayer on the dedicator's behalf. This fact alone would explain why names, as noted earlier, were often visually emphasized through their conspicuous placement in Byzantine inscriptions. Naming, as Otto Gerhard Oexle and others have taught us, was central to the work of remembrance, especially in the context of liturgical commemorations, at the heart of which was the chanting of names (Oexle 1976: 79–87; Oexle 1983). On patens, chalices, crosses, and other objects intended for liturgical use, the presence of names carried particular significance insofar as it encouraged the officiating clergy handling these objects to include the named individuals in their prayers. Prose inscriptions found on early Byzantine ecclesiastical silver plate typically consist of little more than one or several names introduced by dedicatory formulae such as "ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς" ("in fulfillment of a vow") or "ὑπὲρ μνήμης καὶ ἀναπαύσεως" ("for the memory and repose"). The formula "οὗ ὁ Θεὸς οἶδεν τὸ ὄνομα" ("whose name God knows"), less commonly employed in the same context, posits a kind of conspicuous anonymity that is itself predicated upon the power of naming. In addition to connoting humility, the formula implies a hopeful belief that the name of the unnamed will be inscribed in the Book of Life (Mundell Mango 1986; Ševčenko 1992; cf. also Roueché 2007: 225–230).

By studying dedicatory epigrams, one can learn a great deal about different facets of Byzantine art and culture, including the conditions of artistic production, the use and circulation of objects, religious practices and trends in personal piety, education and learning, and the material settings and accoutrements of aristocratic and courtly life. One aspect that deserves to be singled out concerns the intimate link between artistic patronage and elite self-representation. Dedicatory epigrams documented and publicized individual acts of munificence and—in the case of religious dedications—personal piety. In doing so, they projected an image of the patron. Even relatively short poems could delineate compelling discursive portraits. Two dodecasyllables placed in a medallion in the center of a sixth-century mosaic pavement uncovered in the southeast room of the East Cathedral at Apamea on the Orontes celebrate the patronage of the bishop Paul in the following manner (text and translation in Agosti 1997: 31):

> Τὴν ποικίλην ψηφῖδα Παῦλος εἰσάγει
> ὁ ποικιλόφρων τῶν ἄνωθεν δογμάτων.
>
> It is Paul who is introducing this variegated mosaic,
> since he has variegated knowledge of the doctrines from on high.

The distich portrays the patron in the creative act of embellishing the cathedral with a tessellated floor and also praises his mastery of the dogmas of the faith, an attribute uniquely fitting for a bishop (see also Balty 1976; Leatherbury 2020: 60–63). The verses intimate that the imagery of the mosaic pavement, which features a variety of animals and vessels, is to be understood allegorically, as a manifestation of higher, spiritual truths known to Paul. As Gianfranco Agosti has convincingly argued, the choice of the extremely rare adjective *poikilophrōn* to characterize the bishop serves to establish an implicit comparison between him and Odysseus, a figure of proverbially "variegated" manners and mental capacities, whom Neoplatonic and Christian readers of Homer transformed into a moral and spiritual exemplar (Agosti 1997: 32–34). The verses pair the *poikilophrōn* Odysseus-like bishop with the *poikilia* of the mosaic, composed of a multitude of variegated tesserae, in a pointed wordplay that, aside from adding charm to the poetic message, further personalizes the dedicated pavement. The work of art, in a sense, becomes a mirror of its patron.

The element of self-representation is particularly strong in those dedicatory epigrams that take the form of a prayer uttered in the patron's voice. Such dedicatory prayers became increasingly popular with the advent of the Komnenian era, when they often turn into dramatic, emotionally suffused speeches that could even include autobiographical elements (Drpić 2016: esp. 67–117). Dedicatory epigrams of this kind present us with an entire gallery of idealized portraits of Byzantine notables in which religious devotion and self-representation intersect and intertwine. Largely neglected by scholars due to their perceived conventionality, these texts deserve to be studied as a literature of the self in its own right and to be read alongside other types of writing in the first-person singular, including letters, autobiographical accounts, and liturgical poetry.

Concluding Remarks

Byzantium may not have been "une civilisation d'épigraphie," as Louis Robert famously described the ancient Greco-Roman world (Robert 2007: 88), but its epigraphic production was, nonetheless, rich, complex, and often highly sophisticated. One notable characteristic of this production was the prominence and nearly ubiquitous presence of inscriptions with literary ambitions, epigrams in particular. In the past, much of the scholarly engagement with Byzantine epigrammatic poetry was guided by a positivist concern with "hard" information, a search for factual data about historical individuals and events. Moving away from this kind of *Quellenforschung*, recent scholarship has made significant advances in understanding the forms, functions, and meanings of the Byzantine epigram. Yet we still lack robust accounts of many facets of the epigram's embeddedness in diverse sociocultural discourses and practices. The present chapter has sketched some avenues for future investigation. Other topics that await further scrutiny include the rhetoricity of poetic inscriptions; the intersection of performance—the activation of epigrams through voice, hearing, gesture, and bodily movement—and

ritual (Spingou 2012 shows the way forward); the questions of patronage, authorship, and authorial agency; and the relationship between epigrammatic poetry and other genres, especially hymnography.

To a student of Byzantine literature, inscriptions provide a useful point of reference for thinking through the issues surrounding the materiality of texts in general. Considerations of the visual presentation and material embodiment of writing, which, as indicated earlier, are so central to the study of epigraphy, can be extended to other contexts, including the composition and circulation of literary texts in manuscript format. A greater sensitivity to the physical component of textual production and consumption seems particularly welcome in light of the recent reorientation in the field of medieval textual criticism that challenges the privileging of the original or the archetype—the *Urtext*—and understands each manuscript variant as a unique cultural artifact operating within a specific historical context (see Chastang 2008 for a useful overview; cf. also Bredehoft 2014). Manuscripts, like inscriptions, are singular handcrafted entities, and their material conditions and histories of circulation must be taken into account when studying the texts they contain.

Suggestions for Further Reading

Rhoby (2015) offers a useful introduction to the discipline of Byzantine epigraphy, including references to the published corpora of inscriptions; see also various contributions in Stavrakos (2016), Bolle, Machado, and Witschel (2017), and Lauxtermann and Toth (2020), as well as the bibliographies gathered and annotated in Feissel (2006) and his "Bulletin épigraphique 2006–2016: Inscriptions chrétiennes et byzantines," available at https://orient-mediterranee.academia.edu/DenisFeissel.

On the relationship between the verbal and the visual in Byzantine culture, see Maguire (1981), Metse and Agapetos (1990–1991), Cavallo (1994), Sansterre (1994), Dagron (2007), James (2007a), and Rhoby (2017); see also Krause and Schellewald (2011). On script as a visual medium and material presence within a broad historical and theoretical perspective, see Greber, Ehlich, and Müller (2002), Kiening and Stercken (2008), Hilgert (2010), and Meier, Ott, and Sauer (2015). On the subject of writing in Byzantium, Hunger (1989) remains fundamental; see also the studies cited in Ronconi and Papaioannou, "Book Culture," Chapter 3 in this volume; for a brief introduction to the related concept of public textual cultures, see Safran (2011). For different aspects of Byzantine epigrammatic poetry, in addition to the studies cited earlier, see Komines (1966), Talbot (1999), Hörandner and Rhoby (2008), De Gregorio (2010), Rhoby (2011), Agosti (2011–2012 and 2016), Hörandner (2017: 57–91), Drpić and Rhoby (2019), and the relevant essays in Bernard and Demoen (2012). On dedicatory epigrams in particular, see also Papamastorakis (2002), Hörandner (2007), Rhoby (2010b), and Bernard (2014: esp. 311–322).

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CHAPTER 17

METRICS AND PROSE RHYTHM

WOLFRAM HÖRANDNER† AND ANDREAS RHOBY

"Very well then, what would you begin learning now, of the subjects you were never taught anything about? Tell me, would it be measures (μέτρα), or rhythms, or words?" With this question, Socrates addresses the farmer Strepsiades in Aristophanes's famous Clouds (vv. 636–637); Strepsiades answers, "I'll take the measures (περὶ τῶν μέτρων ἔγωγ'): the other day a corn dealer shorted me two quarts." The response effects an absurd turnaround in the dialogue (a typical feature in Aristophanes's comedies), but also demonstrates nicely the variety of meanings of the Greek word μέτρον.[1] Almost 1,500 years later, Ioannes Mauropous (c. 990–1092?) makes similar use of this ambiguous word, thus activating further strands of the Greek poetic tradition. More specifically, in his poetry, μέτρον can mean "metrical measure" but also "moral measure" or "moderation," and the latter two are often stressed as the main goal of his existence and work. At that, Mauropous alludes to similar concerns and relevant word-plays in an early Byzantine poem entitled *On his Own Verses* (εἰς τὰ ἔμμετρα), written by the Byzantine model of versification, Gregory the Theologian (329/330–c. 390; Bernard 2014: 196–198; and Bernard and Demoen, "Poetry?," Chapter 15 in this volume).

What is μέτρον then? In his *Clouds* (vv. 641–642), Aristophanes, still eager to teach Strepsiades, asks which measure his counterpart considers the most beautiful: "the trimeter or the tetrameter?" Trimeter and tetrameter are only two of the metrical patterns that were employed in classical Greek poetry (West 1982). Both meters were used in ancient Greek lyrics, comedies, and tragedies. To these, we must add the hexameter which, being the meter of Homeric epic, marked the beginnings of Greek poetry and was later to flourish in the Roman and early Byzantine periods when it was specifically employed for inscriptional poems ("epigrams"). The elegiac couplet, consisting of a hexameter followed by a pentameter, was quite common as well. A considerable number

[1] English translation of both passages after Henderson (1998).

of epigrams composed in distichs—poems in two verses—testify to its popularity (Baumbach, Petrovic, and Petrovic 2010; Livingstone and Nisbet 2010). Both meters were also used by Christian poets for whom Gregory the Theologian may have served as an important model (Simelidis 2009). Finally, in early Byzantium, the iambic trimeter, a popular meter in classical Greek tragedy, came into more general usage for hymns, encomia, and narrative poems (West 1982: 183). Gregory, who employed this meter in the 1949 verses of his poem *On His Own Life*, can be regarded as a forerunner of later developments, which resulted in what we call the Byzantine dodecasyllable.

Beyond these ancient meters, Byzantine writers inherited from Antiquity patterns of rhythm that regulated the writing of rhetorical prose. To these they added several more meters and, most importantly, a series of rhythmical patterns and meters in the context of the versification in lower registers of Greek as well as, more importantly, Christian hymnography—the metrics of the latter, though an integral part of a larger whole, are discussed separately in the next chapter (Papaioannou, "Sacred Song," Chapter 18 in this volume). In what follows, we present the main characteristics of Byzantine hexameters, dodecasyllables, and other meters—the most important being the so-called political verse—as well as of Byzantine prose rhythm in rhetorical writing. The hope is to offer a comprehensive overview of the different forms of μέτρον and ῥυθμός practiced during the Byzantine millennium.[2]

Hexameters

The hexameter dates back to the origins of Greek literature. It was the meter of the Homeric epics, and it remained the usual medium of narrative, didactic, and oracular verse, besides being used for hymns, in the later classical and Hellenistic periods (West 1982: 152–157). The production of hexameters increased in the Roman and Early Byzantine periods as many poems for the purpose of inscription, i.e., epigrams, were composed in this meter. A vital role in this development was played, as already mentioned, by the hexameters and elegiac couplets of Gregory the Theologian, as well as the poetry of the third- to sixth-century authors from the Egyptian Thebaid (Miguélez Cavero 2008), especially that of the fifth-century author Nonnos of Panopolis (modern-day Akhmim).[3]

The versification of Nonnos, author of two epic poems, the *Dionysiaka* and the *Paraphrase of the Gospel of John*, and his followers reflects the importance of accentuations since there was a strong tendency to mark off the end of the verse with a stress on the penultimate syllable (Lauxtermann 2019: 325). This is also observed in the trimeters of the early Byzantine period, as we shall see (Lauxtermann 1999a: 69–77;

[2] Thanks are due to our colleague and friend Dr. Nikos Zagklas (Vienna) for his valuable comments.

[3] Wifstrand (1933); West (1982: 177–180); Agosti and Gonnelli (1995); Miguélez Cavero (2008: 106–114).

2019: 286–287). The verse was uniform concerning rhythm and length, and usually comprised sixteen or seventeen syllables. Examples show that the dactyl (a long syllable followed by two short syllables) predominated, while the presence of spondees (a metrical foot consisting of two long syllables) was minimal. After Georgios Pisides in the first half of the seventh century (on whom see later discussion in this chapter), hexameters based purely on Nonnos's standards are rarely found—the tenth-century hexameters, inscribed on the so-called sarcophagus from Galakrenai and now exhibited in the courtyard of Hagia Sophia in Istanbul, constitute an exception (Rhoby 2014: no. TR64); the first verse of this epigram, a line of seventeen syllables, equipped with a stress on the penultimate syllable, runs as follows:

> Τύμβος ἐγὼ προλέγω βιοτήν, τρόπον, οὔνομα τοῦδε.
>
> — ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ×[4]
>
> I, the tomb, announce the life, manners, and name of this person.

Two further poets of late antique Thebaid should be mentioned: Triphiodoros, author of an epic poem on the sack of Troy (Miguélez Cavero 2008: 12–15), and Mousaios, who composed the hexametric poem *Hero and Leander* (Miguélez Cavero 2008: 25–27). Interestingly enough, both poets were mentioned as model authors for the composition of hexameters in *On the Four Parts of the Perfect Speech*, attributed to Gregorios Pardos but dated to the mid-thirteenth century (Hörandner 2012b).

The production of hexameters increased again during the so-called Macedonian Renaissance and in the following period. Ioannes Geometres, active in the second half of the tenth century (PmbZ 23092), composed a considerable number of poems in hexameters and elegiac distichs—in total, 473 hexameters and 237 pentameters. In a short poem, composed in dodecasyllables and accompanying the transmission of his hymns, Geometres described the hexameter as the perfect, divine meter (van Opstall 2008: 70–71). His hexameters were a mixture of ancient Homeric traditions and elements of Nonnian and Gregorian verses. For example, he respected the quantity of vowels, but not that of dichrona (α, ι, υ); he showed a tendency toward isosyllaby (the same number of syllables for each verse) that was effected by reducing the presence of spondees (for a full account of his metrics, see van Opstall 2008: 69–88; Lauxtermann 2019: 292–293).

In the eleventh century, Christophoros Mytilenaios employed hexameters in his poetry. However, it can be observed that the use of the hexameter decreased in his verse collection as the dodecasyllable became more and more prominent (Bernard 2014: 149). This was certainly due to practical reasons: it must have been much easier to reach a wider audience with verses composed in a stable rhythm and in a language closer to

[4] – means long syllable, ◡ means short syllable, and × indicates a syllable that can be either long or short.

the spoken idiom—as employed in dodecasyllables and, as we shall see, political verses—than by Homeric hexameters, which could be regarded as artificial and overtly sophisticated.

Nevertheless, the production of hexameters continued, even if to a rather limited extent. In the mid-twelfth century, Theodoros Prodromos brought about a revival of the hexameter. His poetic corpus consists of more than 2,800 hexameters and almost 120 pentameters (Zagklas 2014: 90). As has been recently argued (Zagklas 2014: 91), the comeback of the hexameter can be explained by a strong interest in Homer in this period (as demonstrated also by the writings of Prodromos's contemporary Ioannes Tzetzes; e.g., his *Carmina Iliaca*), as well as (if not more so) by the great influence of Gregory the Theologian (Zagklas 2016). The metrical rules followed by Prodromos are those of early Byzantine poets such as Nonnos and, of course, Gregory (Lauxtermann 1999b; Zagklas 2014: 92–99), while the latter's influence can be observed in the motifs of Prodromos's poetry as well.

Since the use of the hexameter in Byzantium was a feature of deliberate antiquarianism, it is no surprise that this meter was employed by one of the prime representatives of the so-called Palaiologan Renaissance, Theodoros Metochites (1270–1332; PLP 17982), who acted as a sort of "prime minister" during the reign of the emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos. His oeuvre encompasses almost 10,000 verses, an enormous amount when compared to the production of his predecessors and successors (Ševčenko and Featherstone 1981: 3; Polemis 2015: xvii). Metochites has often been criticized for having composed "bad" hexameters. This judgment, however, has been made too hastily since his metric system has not yet received the attention it deserves, despite some recent research (Polemis 2015: lxxiii–lxxv). What is certain is that Metochites did not adhere to the standard rules, and that he created an epic language of his own by caricaturing established patterns. He was, for example, familiar with the concept of epic lengthening (the lengthening of vowels which are etymologically short; for this phenomenon, see Wyatt 1969), but he made general and unnecessary use of the concept, and employed it in instances where it would not occur in Homer.[5]

The Byzantine Dodecasyllable

As already mentioned, over the course of the early Byzantine period, the iambic trimeter began to be used more widely, for a variety of different purposes and in different

[5] Verse 163 of Metochites's poem to Gregory the archbishop of Bulgaria may serve as example: κοῦφον, ἀνενδεές, ὡς τύχε βιόον, ἀφρούντιστον. The epic lengthening ἀφρο<u>ού</u>ντιστον is normally not necessary since the basic form ἀφρ<u>όν</u>τιστον would also create a long syllable caused by the consonant letters ν and τ which follow ο (Ševčenko and Featherstone 1981: 5, 20; Polemis 2015: 79).

genres, including inscriptional verses. Simultaneously, some of the meter's formal features evolved. The iambic poetry of Gregory the Theologian signaled some of these changes. Gregory avoided resolutions (the replacement of a long syllable by two short ones; a practice attested also earlier), and measured *dichrona* (α, ι, υ) both as long and as short (Simelides 2009: 57). Similar phenomena occur in inscriptional poetry. In many epigrams composed between the third and the sixth century we encounter the tendency to avoid resolutions and to put a stress on the penultimate syllable of the verse (Rhoby 2011).

The first author in whose poetry this development can be seen clearly is Georgios Pisides, court poet of the emperor Herakleios I. Metrical resolutions diminished in his verses, as did the numbers of oxytone and proparoxytone endings, namely endings accentuated on either the last syllable or on the antepenult (Lauxtermann 2003b; 2019: 320–323). The Byzantine "dodecasyllable" was born. This meter, which became the most common and most popular in Byzantine poetry, was defined by a stable number of twelve syllables, an internal verse pause, i.e., a caesura, either after the fifth (= B5) or (less frequently) after the seventh syllable (= B7)—this is the so-called "Binnenschluss"—and a paroxytone ending, an accentuated penult (Maas 1903). A good example is *Poem* no. 28 by Theodoros Prodromos, an inscription for the tomb of emperor John Komnenos (1118–1143), v. 1 (with B5) and v. 5 (with B7):

Ὁρᾷς, θεατά, τὴν προκειμένην πλάκα;
× — ⏑ — × | — ⏑ — — × — ⏑ ×

. . .
αὕτη τὸ κατάντημα τῶν ἐμῶν ἄθλων.
× — ⏑ — × — ⏑ | — × — ⏑ ×

Do you see, o viewer, the tomb before you?

. . .
that's where my feats have ended up.

While the term "dodecasyllable" has been widely used in scholarship since Paul Maas's pioneering article at the beginning of the twentieth century (Maas 1903), it is hardly attested in Byzantine texts. There are only a few instances where dodecasyllabic trimeters are indeed called δωδεκασύλλαβοι, and they all date to the late period. We find them in a probably fourteenth-century addition to the so-called Hippiatrika, where a dodecasyllable verse is introduced by the statement στίχος διὰ ἰάμβων δωδεκασύλλαβος (Rhoby 2011: 119); the term is also used in the title of a Psalter epigram in the ms. Jerusalem, Taphou 45 (fourteenth c.), f. 11v (Parpulov 2014: 228, no. 29), and in a fifteenth-century marginal note of a hymn by Symeon the New Theologian (Hörandner 1995: 285). As Marc Lauxtermann has demonstrated, the Byzantine term for the dodecasyllable is ἴαμβοι (and/or τρίμετροι, στίχοι) καθαροί (Lauxtermann 1998);

the label "pure" is based on the fact that these verses are characterized by the absence of any metrical resolutions and could thus count only twelve syllables (Lauxtermann 1998; Bernard 2014: 219). Still, the term is not attested very often. On occasion it was used in metrical treatises and, to our knowledge, it appears only once in a literary work, namely in the title of the early tenth-century *Theology in a Thousand Verses* by Leon Choirosphaktes (Vassis 2002), even if—surprisingly enough—four of the 1,159 verses of the poem are not "dodecasyllables" but ancient-like trimeters with resolutions (Vassis 2002: 44–48; Lauxtermann 2019: 288). This is truly exceptional because after Pisides there are hardly any verses preserved with resolutions, anapests, and proparoxytone or oxytone endings—Ioannes Tzetzes's trimeters of classical character (with a sequence of long and short syllables reminiscent of ancient authors such as Euripides) were certainly motivated by a deliberate antiquarianism (Rhoby 2011: 123–127; Lauxtermann 2019: 289–290).

The same is true for the dodecasyllables used in inscriptions. There are a couple of trimeters with resolutions dating to the seventh century (e.g., the tomb verses of the famous Isaak, exarch of Ravenna; Rhoby 2014: no. IT14), but afterward we can find them in only one instance (if indeed it is an instance at all): an epigram attached to the sea walls of Constantinople contains one verse with one redundant syllable (Rhoby 2014: no. TR87: ἄναξ Θεόφιλος εὐσεβὴς αὐτοκράτωρ [ruler Theophilos pious autokratôr])—the surplus syllable is caused by the mention of the emperor Theophilos I (829–843); it would have been possible to exchange the second long syllable in the verse by two short ones, but it is doubtful if this was intended by the author of the epigram, who rather did not manage to adjust the name of the emperor to the pattern of the dodecasyllable (Rhoby 2014: 88).

Byzantine dodecasyllables were of different types. There were verses which paid close attention to prosody (i.e., long and short syllables) and verses that took prosodic quantities into consideration, at least optically (the so-called Augenpoesie; Hunger 1978: II: 90–91). However, dodecasyllables that showed no regard for prosody whatsoever are also many. This is especially true for some inscriptional verses composed by semi-professional poets, who only managed to apply the most basic rules of the dodecasyllable, i.e., the number of twelve syllables, a correct "Binnenschluss," and a paroxytone ending (Rhoby 2009: 60–62; 2014: 84–88).

Moreover, there were also dodecasyllables that did not follow the prosodic rules intentionally. For instance, some such inscriptional verses date sometime between the seventh and ninth centuries (Lauxtermann 2003a: 271–272), and similar are also the twelve-syllable hymns of Symeon the New Theologian, for whom apparently content was more important than prosodic correctness. The same is true for the unprosodic dodecasyllables that are transmitted under the name of Kassia, the famous ninth-century hymnographer (Lauxtermann 2003a: 241–270; cf. Messis and Papaioannou, "Memory," Chapter 6, and Valiavitcharska, "Rhetorical Figures," Chapter 12 in this volume). The following example, taken from her collection of gnomic epigrams, the *Maxims*, testifies to this method (*Maxims* A 1–2):

Δύο φιλούντων τὴν ἐν Χριστῷ φιλίαν
ἰσασμὸς οὐκ ἔνεστιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἔρις μᾶλλον.

When two share Christ's friendship
there is no equality, but rather competition.

In the first verse, the seventh syllable (εν) is metrically long, as is the penultimate syllable in the second verse (μα); however, both positions would require a short syllable according to the rules of the prosodic dodecasyllable.

There are many indications to suggest that the use of unprosodic verses was not a sign of poor quality. As most Byzantine poetry was performed orally in public, it did not matter whether a verse was prosodic or not, since the prosodic differentiation between long and short syllables could no longer be heard (Lauxtermann 1999a: 42). This explains why purely unprosodic meters, such as political and octosyllable verses (on both, see later discussion), were composed for and by the learned and the imperial elite.

Nevertheless, for several Byzantines the absence of prosody was a matter to be remarked upon. In the eleventh century, Symeon the New Theologian's metrical system was described as μέτρον ἄμετρον ("meter which is no meter") by his student and biographer Niketas Stethatos (Jeffreys 1974: 166; Bernard 2014: 244 and 273), a description that refers to Symeon's merely accentual dodecasyllables, political verses, and other meters; slightly later, in the mid-eleventh century, Michael Psellos complained about the production of unprosodic trimeters in his time (Bernard 2014: 44), while Ioannes Mauropous criticized those who did not write according to the proper μέτρον (Bernard 2014: 140) and described ἀμετρία as a great evil because it destroys the nature of μέτρον (Bernard 2014: 272).

The Political Verse

The popularity of the dodecasyllable in Byzantium was certainly due to the stable rhythmical pattern of this verse. This pattern made the dodecasyllable much easier to compose and to comprehend than, for example, the hexameter, which was far removed from the everyday language. In this regard, one should not forget Aristotle, who described the iambic trimeter as the meter closest to the spoken language (*Poetics* 1449a 24–29; cf. Rhoby 2011: 122). In addition to the dodecasyllable, there was another meter in Byzantium that was described as being akin to prose (Hörandner 1995: 285; Bernard 2014: 232). This was the fifteen-syllable verse, which was primarily called πολιτικὸς στίχος by the Byzantines. Unlike the dodecasyllable, which was based on the iambic trimeter, the fifteen-syllable verse was a Byzantine "invention." The origin of the political verse seems to lie in early hymnography: in the hymns of Romanos Melodos one encounters two hemistichs (i.e., half verses) of eight and seven syllables, which later

unite in one verse (Lauxtermann 1999a: 55). Coincidence or not, the structure of some of David's psalms and parts of his psalms also remind us of the pattern of fifteen syllables (Stickler 1992: 157–158).

The verse was characterized by two parts, one consisting of eight syllables, and the other of seven syllables; as with the dodecasyllable, the verse ended with a stress on the penultimate syllable. Additionally, the stress before the caesura was regularized, as was the case in the dodecasyllable. The two most common forms of the political verse look as follows (Hunger 1978: II 95; Lauxtermann 2019: 336–338):

⏑ – × × × – ⏑ ⏑ | ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑
– ⏑ × × × ⏑ ⏑ – | – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑

The features of the meter can be observed in the first verse of Theodoros Prodromos's *Verses on the Coronation of Alexios Komnenos,* dated to 1122 (*Poem* 1):

Ἥλιε Ῥώμης νεαρᾶς, αἴγλη φωτὸς μεγάλου!

Sun of the new Rome, radiance of great light!

The earliest preserved examples (rather than mere antecedents) of the political verse date to the tenth century, in poems written for and by members of the imperial court (Lauxtermann 1999a: 35–37 and 43; Jeffreys 1974; Rhoby 2009: 64). Symeon the New Theologian was the first author who used this meter extensively. It subsequently became very popular in the eleventh century; Michael Psellos's and Niketas of Herakleia's didactic poetry are notable cases. In fact, one of Niketas's didactic poems, mainly dealing with the syntax of the four types of words, consists of 1,087 political verses and is addressed to a noble youth, probably Konstantinos Doukas, son of the emperor Michael VII (Hörandner 2012a: 64–66). In the context of didactic poetry, one might also mention the lengthy and popular verse chronicle of the mid-twelfth-century author Konstantinos Manasses, which consists of more than 6,600 political verses. In this chronicle, which covers universal history from the creation of the world until the advent of the Komnenian dynasty to power in 1081, Manasses instructs his addressee, the *sebastokratorissa* Eirene, in "Greek"/"Byzantine" history (Lauxtermann 2009; Paul and Rhoby 2019: 1–61; Hörandner 2019: 466; Nilsson 2019: 518–524).

The popularity of the political verse in "highbrow" poetry was continued by distinguished court poets such as Theodoros Prodromos and by the anonymous "Manganeios" Prodromos, the principal poets on commission in the mid-twelfth century. These examples, often directly connected with the imperial court, clearly demonstrate that the political verse was not a mere meter of vernacular, "low-register" poetry (Koder 1972). However, it was recently suggested by Michael Jeffreys that the fifteen-syllable verse poetry of Theodoros Prodromos and "Manganeios" Prodromos might have been influenced by the rhythm of popular songs, which were heard widely in the streets of Constantinople (Jeffreys 2014).

Vernacular poetry of the late and post-Byzantine periods makes exclusive use of the political verse, as seen in Palaiologan love romances, verse chronicles, animal fables, moral poems, and dirges on the fall of Constantinople (Beck 1971: 115–179; Hörandner 2008: 900–902). The earliest preserved examples of fifteen-syllable poetry composed in a mixed style of "highbrow" and "lowbrow" register of Greek date to the twelfth century. These are Michael Glykas's poem from prison and the so-called *Ptochoprodromika* (Eideneier and Eideneier 1979; for this text by Theodoros Prodromos, see Hinterberger, "Language," Chapter 2 in this volume).

The close coexistence of "highbrow" and "lowbrow" verses can best be observed in the ptochoprodromic *Poem* 3; whereas the beginning of the poem is comparable to topic verses of other highbrow poets of the Komnenian era, the passage from v. 56 onward reminds one of vernacular poetry:

> Τολμήσας μόλις, βασιλεῦ, δέσποτα στεφηφόρε,
> σκηπτοῦχε κομνηνόβλαστε, κράτιστε κοσμοκράτορ
> . . .
> Ἀπὸ μικροῦ μὲ ἔλεγεν ὁ γέρων ὁ πατήρ μου,
> τέκνον μου, μάθε γράμματα, καὶ ὡσὰν ἐσέναν ἔχει
>
> I hardly dare, emperor, crowned master,
> scepter bearing offspring of the Komnenoi, strongest master of the world
> . . .
> From an early age my old father used to tell me:
> my child, learn letters, and honor will await you.

Despite its wide dissemination and usage in learned poetry, Byzantine scholars were very reluctant to discuss the fifteen-syllable verse (Jeffreys 1974: 144–166; Hörandner 1995: 280–285; Jeffreys 2019) simply because it was not regarded as a "proper" meter (Bernard 2014: 244). For this reason, the composition of political verses and other accentual meters were apparently not taught in Byzantine classrooms (Bernard 2014: 220).

In a fifteenth-century marginal note on a hymn of Symeon the New Theologian preserved in ms. 76 of the Vlatadon Monastery in Thessalonike, we encounter a relevant observation. Both the πεντεκαιδεκασύλλαβοι and the δωδεκασύλλαβοι are labeled as πολιτικοὶ στίχοι. As is explained in the note, πολιτικοὶ στίχοι are verses in which it is not necessary to count spondees, iambic, or pyrrhic feet (Hörandner 1995: 285). Therefore, one may agree with Marc Lauxtermann, who interpreted the term πολιτικὸς as "unprosodic," that is, purely accentual (verse) (Lauxtermann 1999a: 41).

Occasionally—but in fact very rarely in comparison to the whole epigrammatic corpus—political verses are also attested in inscriptions (Rhoby 2009: 63–65; 2010: 40–41; 2014: 89–90), sometimes inserted in dodecasyllabic epigrams. This is, for example, the case with an epigram preserved in the cell of Saint Neophytos the Hermit near Paphos in Cyprus. The intrusion of two political verses into this dodecasyllabic

epigram is most likely to be explained by the imitation of a passage in Konstantinos Manasses's fifteen-syllable verse chronicle (Rhoby 2009: 354–356). Some Byzantine poets are very fond of mixing meters (usually dodecasyllables and political verses), such as Symeon the New Theologian and John Tzetzes (Zagklas 2018; Lauxtermann 2019: 374–375).

The connection of political verses with the imperial court is attested in the late twelfth century also epigraphically: an epigram dating to the year 1186/1187 and preserved at a tower of the Blachernai walls of Constantinople consists of two political verses, which inform us that the fortification was erected at the command of Isaak II Angelos (Rhoby 2014: 683–685). This epigram is exceptional also from the perspective of paleography, since unlike other inscriptional epigrams it is incised with mainly minuscule letters.

Other Meters

Though a considerable number of hexameters and elegiac distichs were produced, especially in the early period, dodecasyllables and political verses were the most common meters in Byzantine poetry. Other meters do occur, but only very rarely, at least in "high-brow" literature.

Anacreontics or Octosyllables

A meter common in later vernacular poetry, for instance, but comparatively rarely attested in standard Byzantine poetry, is the "Anacreontic" or octosyllable verse (Lauxtermann 1999a: 43). Anacreontics, named after Anacreon in the sixth century BCE, have a fairly long tradition in Greek. In the early Byzantine period, Gregory the Theologian and Synesios of Kyrene employed anacreontics in their religious hymns (Nissen 1940: 3–13; Seng 1996). The first two verses of Gregory's long anacreontic poem on his soul read as follows (Christ and Paranikas 1871: 26):

> "Τί σοι θέλεις γενέσθαι";
> ψυχὴν ἐμὴν ἐρωτῶ.
>
> "What do you want to become?"
> I ask my soul.

As is the case with the iambic trimeter, the anacreontic gradually ceased to be a meter of quantities of long and short syllables (Nissen 1940; Hunger 1978: II: 93–94; West 1982: 167–169; Lauxtermann 2019: 269); for instance, unprosodic anacreontics are attested in the works of Sophronios of Jerusalem in the seventh century (Gigante 1957),

while octosyllables were widely used in the *kontakia*-hymns of Romanos Melodos and can be viewed as an early form of the first part of the political verse (Koder 1983).

Apart from the indifference to prosody, most Byzantine anacreontics were equipped with a paroxytone verse ending, just like contemporary dodecasyllables and later political verses. By the ninth century, this "byzantinization" was complete, as is demonstrated, for example, by the 148 unprosodic paroxytone octosyllables composed by a certain Arsenios and most probably dated to the first half of the ninth century (Lauxtermann 1999a: 88–90; Kaltsogianni 2010; Lauxtermann 2019: 63–66). His poem entitled *Verses on the Holy Sunday* celebrates the Resurrection of Christ and the arrival of spring; this is how it begins:

> Ἴτε μοι ξύμπαντες παῖδες,
> ἴτε φιλτάτη χορεία,
> ἴτε μουσόθρεπτα τέκνα.
>
> Come all of my children,
> come my dearest chorus,
> come my progeny, raised by the Muses.

The verses follow the following metrical pattern: ××××× ⏑ – ⏑ (Lauxtermann 1999a: 45; Lauxtermann 2019: 333–336). As was the case with the early attestations of the political verse, so also unprosodic octosyllables were composed by, or for, members of the Byzantine ruling elite. Mention can be made of an encomiastic hymn composed for Basil I, of a catanyctic alphabet created by Leo VI (Lauxtermann 1999a: 43; 2019: 177), as well as of an anonymous poem on Helen, the daughter of Romanos I Lakapenos, written on the occasion of her marriage to Constantine VII in 919 (Ciccolella 2000: 109–115). This octosyllabic *epithalamium* was transmitted in the cod. Vatican, BAV, Barb. gr. 310, a poetic collection known under the name *Anthologia Barberina*; though not preserved in its entirety, the collection is full of anacreontics and alphabets in accentual meters, and is therefore the most important witness of Byzantine octosyllabic poetry (Lauxtermann 2003a: 123–128).

Octosyllabic verses were occasionally composed almost until the fall of the Byzantine Empire (Hunger 1978: II 94–95) and, surprisingly enough, octosyllabic poetry is also attested epigraphically: an inscription consisting of two octosyllables is preserved in the narthex of Yılanlı Kilisesi in Cappadocia (Rhoby 2009: 65 and 294–295). Theodoros Prodromos is the author of two octosyllabic poems; one is inserted into the prose dialogue "*Amarantos* or the old man's love" (Migliorini 2007), an interesting case of *prosimetrum*, while the other is addressed to the nobleman Alexios Aristenos (Hörandner 1974: no. 56d).[6] Ioannes Katrares (first half of the fourteenth century),

[6] For the phenomenon of *prosimetrum*, the combination, that is, of prose with poetry in texts, see Zagklas (2017).

composed a satirical poem in octosyllables, in a mixed style of "high-" and "lowbrow" Greek (Trapp 1997), while apparently the emperor Manuel II Palaiologos was the last Byzantine author to compose "highbrow" octosyllables (Nissen 1940: 80–81).

Heptasyllables

Apart from octosyllables, there existed also heptasyllables in Byzantium, and these remained somewhat popular at least until the end of the ninth century. Following the period of iconoclasm, this meter became connected to the imperial court, and was employed, for example, in the four hymns written for Basil I (with the metrical pattern ××××× ⏑ – ⏑) (Lauxtermann 1999a: 44–45; 2019: 269). In addition, there is one instance where heptasyllabic verses were used as inscription: an epigram, which was preserved as part of Christ's baptism cycle in several Cappadocian churches, consisted of a dodecasyllable followed by a heptasyllable. In one chapel, the epigram was made up of two heptasyllables that ran as follows (Rhoby 2009: 65 and 284–285):

Ἔξελθε, Ἰωάννη,
ζητεῖ σε τὸ βάφτισμα.

Come out, John,
you are needed for the baptism.

Acclamations in the *Book of Ceremonies* from the mid-tenth century are in heptasyllables and octosyllables (Maas 1912a). At about the same period, heptasyllables also occur in pairs, as do octosyllables (Lauxtermann 1999a: 45–51). The same phenomenon is occasionally attested in legends on Byzantine lead seals (Wassiliou-Seibt 2011: 56).

Polymetric Poems

Prodromos's second octosyllabic poem needs to be mentioned again. The poem is in fact one in a series of four poems addressed to Alexios Aristenos (Hörandner 1974: no. 56) and written in dodecasyllables (56a), hexameters (56b), pentameters (56c), and octosyllables (56d). The pentameter part is unusual insofar as it is one of the very few independent poems produced in this meter in the middle and late Byzantine periods. The second such independent pentameter poem was penned by Euthymios Tornikes, who was influenced by the Prodromic corpus on various occasions (Zagklas 2014: 209; 2018: 52–55). Like Prodromos, he composed a series of verses with various meters. His long poem on the nine Muses employed a different meter for each Muse: hexameters, pentameters, paired heptasyllables, anacreontics/octosyllables, dodecasyllables, and other ancient meters (ionics *a minore* and *a maiore*, choriambs, paionics) (Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1913: 188–198; cf. Hörandner 2017b). The poem is introduced by political verses addressed to Isaak II Angelos.

Rhyme

The so-called *homoioteleuta*, consisting of the repetition of endings in words or the parallel structure of similarly composed lines, and often attested in prose, are occasionally present in Byzantine poetry as well. An example is offered by five verses of a fifteen-syllable poem of Theodoros Prodromos, a lament (Hörandner 1974: no. 54, vv. 56–60), which end with τῆς ἐξουσίας (56), τῆς σκηπτουχίας (57), τῆς μοναρχίας (58) and κατεθλάσθη σου δόρυ (59) and τέθλασται σπάθη (60). Early examples of this kind can be found in the hymns of Romanos Melodos (Jeffreys, "Rhyme," entry in Kazhdan et al. 1991).

Systematic rhyme, however, is restricted to vernacular fifteen-syllable poetry and hardly appears before the fifteenth century. An early example is the rhymed paraenetic poem of the Cretan author Stephanos Sachlikes, who was active in the second half of the fourteenth century. This poem consists of more than 400 verses, where in most of the cases the endings of two verses are rhymed (ἐσένα - ξένα, ἐκαταπιάσες - ἐπιάσες, etc.) (Vitti 1960). Rhymes in Byzantine and post-Byzantine poetry may have been influenced by French and Italian vernacular literature, where rhyme is a prominent feature (Jeffreys, "Rhyme," entry in Kazhdan et al. 1991). However, the so-called *Rhimades*, which result from the transformation of unrhymed originals, are not attested before the end of the fifteenth century (Bakker 1986); one such ῥιμάδα was created from a prose version of the famous story of Alexander the Great (Beck 1971: 133–135).

Prose Rhythm

The variety of the meanings of μέτρον has already been mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. In a poem written by the so-called Anonymous of Sola (named after his first editor Giuseppe Sola), an author who lived c. 1000, the following scene is described: a company of friends on a boat trip along the Bosporos recite to one another "flowers of words" (τῶν λόγων ἄνθη). These flowers consist of, among other things, the "meters of tragedians, rhetors, and speech writers" (μέτρα τραγῳδῶν, ῥητόρων, λογογράφων) (Bernard 2014: 45 and 100); occasionally, that is, meter may refer not simply to verse, but also to prose, what Byzantine rhetoricians usually call "rhythm."

"Rhythm" is a rather wide term, and the Byzantines had much to say on the subject (Hörandner 1981: 20–26; Valiavitcharska 2009, 2013). Unlike "meter" (in the usual sense) or "verse," it can apply to both poetry and prose and can encompass various means of shaping texts that were created primarily for oral presentation—which was the case for the majority of the literature produced in Byzantium (Messis and Papaioannou, "Orality and Textuality," Chapter 9 in this volume). Modern scholarship on *prose* rhythm has focused primarily on the tendency in Greek (and Latin) prose to end clauses in a rhythmically patterned way, a habit that is coextensive with ancient Greek (and Latin) rhetoric and has been well studied

(see, e.g., Norden 1915; de Groot 1919; Schmid 1959; Dräger 1998; in Latin the phenomenon is termed *cursus*; see further: Havet 1892; Nicolau 1930; Pennacini and Odelman 1994).

As one might expect, the crucial criterion in patterning cadences in antiquity was quantity: the regulated sequence of long and short syllables—even if certain accent regulations occur as well. Moreover, as has been demonstrated, some forms of cadences common in poetry were avoided in prose (for this phenomenon, mentioned also in ancient theoretical treatises, see particularly Dräger 1998). Decisive changes came to the foreground during Late Antiquity. As people had lost the ability to *hear* the differences between long and short syllables (a development partly influenced by the increasing number of Greek-speaking foreigners), accent in Greek came to replace quantity as the main criterion of rhythm. Thus, purely accentual models came into being (for Greek, see Meyer 1905 and Grosdidier de Matons 1977) and elements of accent regulation appeared in traditional ancient meters. Indeed, a good argument can be made that the rhythm of rhetorical prose in homiletic literature influenced the development of accentual poetry (Valiavitcharska 2013: 76–89).

In prose, as in poetry, Byzantine theoreticians hardly ever took into account this new linguistic development, i.e., the shift from quantitative to accentual patterns (some rare examples are cited in Hörandner 1995). They confined themselves—with few exceptions—to discussing traditional meters.[7] This means that in order to reach an understanding of Byzantine reality, we can only rely on a study of the practices of the authors themselves.

Both types of rhythmical patterns, those based on quantity and those based on accent, were obviously taught in the classroom. Though there is no direct evidence for the teaching of accentual cadences, it has to be kept in mind that in Byzantine schools the teachers used oral examples—much more than school books—for demonstrating rules and norms. Perhaps the most instructive example is that of the fourth-century rhetor Aphthonios. In his popular *progymnasmata* (preliminary exercises) Aphthonios offers not only rules for each type of speech, but also examples; in these examples he uses rhythmical cadences in a model fashion (Hörandner 1981: 61–68).

Byzantine Cadences

Generally speaking, the position most suitable for rhythmical regulation in a text is at the end of the clause or of the period, as very clearly pointed out by Ps.-Gregorios Korinthios in reference to poetry (Walz 1834: 560.8–11; see Hörandner 2012b):

[7] Notably, Hermogenes's influential *On the Forms of Discourse* includes cola (κῶλα, semantic units of about 7 to 10 syllables), cadence (ἀνάπαυσις), and rhythm (ῥυθμός) within the basic set of criteria which he employs in order to define various virtues of rhetorical style; his terminology derives from earlier discussions of ancient poetry.

πολλὴν γὰρ εὐρυθμίαν ἐμποιεῖ τῷ ὅλῳ στίχῳ ἡ κατάληξις εὔηχος οὖσα, ὡς ἂν καὶ τοῖς ᾄδουσι τὸ τελευταῖον ἀπήχημα κοσμεῖ τὴν ᾠδὴν, καὶ τὸ φθάσαν ἴσως ἐκμελὲς ὑποκλέπτει.

For if the end is melodious, it provides eurhythmy for the whole verse, just as, in singing, the final reverberation adorns the chant and may mask any preceding unmelodious parts.

From the fourth century CE onward, a certain norm, named "Meyer's law" after its modern discoverer, became valid (Meyer 1891). It consisted of placing at least two unstressed syllables between the last two accents of a clause. Meyer's observation was accepted and soon complemented by the discovery made by Paul Maas and others, that in addition to the interval 2, the interval 4 (sometimes also 6) was also preferred, whereas the odd intervals 0, 1, 3, and 5 were, as a rule, avoided (Maas 1902; Dewing 1910; Skimina 1930; Hörandner 1981). In addition, already before Meyer, Edmond Bouvy noticed a strong tendency—if not a law in the strict sense—toward placing two unstressed syllables *after* the last accent and thus creating what may be regarded a "dactylic" rhythm at the end of the clause (Bouvy 1886). This was an interesting observation insofar as it worked in opposition to the norms of poetry, where, from early Byzantium onward, the end of the verse was, as a rule, marked by a stress on the penultimate syllable (see the earlier section on metrics). Meyer considered his own observation to be in strong opposition to that of Bouvy—wrongly, since it has been demonstrated that more often than not Byzantine authors followed both rules, viz. lex Meyer *and* lex Bouvy, so that a double dactyl became the most widely used cadence (Skimina 1930; Hörandner 1981).[8] Here are some examples of cadences with interval 2 and 4, respectively (Hörandner 1981: 46, where more examples are provided):

ἀρετῆς κατιδεῖν (2)
πρᾶξιν σημαίνων (2)
παίδων μετέρχονται (2 = double dactyl, the common type)
ἀλόγου καὶ λογικοῦ (4)
πέφυκε τεκμαιρόμενον (4)

Rhythmic analysis, to a certain degree, can furnish arguments when questions of authenticity arise since there are some minor differences from author to author, and different rhythmic "profiles" or "signatures" may be discerned. Yet rarely are the

[8] Similarly, the following main types of accentually based *cursus* have been identified in Medieval Latin prose rhythmics:

(a) *cursus planus:* retributiónem merétur
(b) *cursus tardus:* felicitátis percípient
(c) *cursus velox:* exhíbitum reputábo

Since the new accentual patterns of cadences that emerged in Greek resemble partly these models, some scholars use the term *cursus* for the medieval Greek system of cadences as well, thus drawing a strict distinction between this phenomenon and other rhythmically relevant elements (Valiavitcharska 2013).

differences serious enough to result in the secure attribution of a given text to a certain author. An exceptional case is Prokopios of Caesarea with his predilection for the interval 0 (Dewing 1910a; Maas 1912b), as seen for instance, in phrases from the initial part of the *Anekdota* (*Secret History,* chapt. 1): θαρρεῖν εἶχον . . . ζηλωτὰ γίνεσθαι . . . ἀεὶ τρέπονται . . . ἀπεικὸς εἴη . . . ἀκοὴ ἔσται . . . ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι, etc.

In rhetorically refined texts, the cadences that prevail are those of the interval 2 or 4 combined with a dactylic ending, while there are cases where cadences of this kind are used without exception, at least before strong breaks, that is, at the end of a period (examples in Hörandner 1981). Therefore we may be justified in speaking of a "law," although the question remains why certain "correct" authors sometimes deviate from this rule. A prominent example is the late twelfth-century scholar Eustathios of Thessalonike, one of the most learned Byzantine authors, who it seems did not care for cadences. The resolution to this problem may have to do with the fact that rhythmical cadences are not the *only* (if often prevailing) element of rhythm. Other elements played a role, for example, the deliberate division of a period into a series of very short colons of approximately equal length and rhythm, a heritage of the so-called Asianic style (Norden 1915; Cichocka 1985; Klock 1987; Valiavitcharska 2009, 2013, and "Rhetorical Figures," Chapter 12 in this volume).

What makes cadences a fruitful subject for research is the fact that they can be measured with exact numbers (intervals 2 and 4 "good"; 0, 1, 3, 5 "bad") (see, e.g., the results in the analysis of the letters of Theodoros of Kyzikos and Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos [Tziatzi-Papagianni 2012: 56*–58*]), whereas short colons are often not of exact identity, but of similar shape. Still, it would be methodologically incorrect to "heal" deviations merely on grounds of rhythm. To quote just one significant example, the famous beginning of Gregory the Theologian's Nativity sermon (*On the Theophany* = Or. 38.1) "Χριστὸς γεννᾶται, δοξάσατε· Χριστὸς ἐξ οὐρανῶν, ἀπαντήσατε· Χριστὸς ἐπὶ γῆς, ὑψώθητε = Christ is born, glorify Him; Christ from heavens, meet Him; Christ on Earth, you have been exalted," while corresponding partly with Meyer's law, is full of other rhythmically relevant elements, namely choice of length of words, short corresponding colons, *epanaphora*, and *homoioteleuton* (on these, see Valiavitcharska, "Rhetorical Figures," Chapter 12 in this volume).

Most scholars agree that a distinction has to be made between strong and weak breaks (some postulate a three-step model "strong–weaker–weak") and that we can consider that a cadence is preferred if its use is significantly more frequent before strong breaks than before weak ones. But how is a break defined?

Defining strong breaks does not pose great problems. They mark the end of the period and correspond *grosso modo* with the full stop in modern editions—even if also here exceptions are possible, due to different interpretations of syntax and the relevant use of punctuation on the part of editors.

The decision concerning weaker breaks is far more delicate. On this point the practice of modern editors concerning punctuation is much more varied, partly due to the editors' national traditions. Therefore it is not possible to use commas in printed texts as reliable criteria for rhythmic analysis. Neither has a strict interrelationship between

syntactic structure and the position of weaker breaks, as postulated for Latin (Primmer 1968), proven feasible in Byzantine texts.

Another problem is that of short words. As a rule, short words like articles (and conjunctions such as καί, etc.), though spelled with an accent in editions (often also in manuscripts) may not be regarded as rhythmically relevant; this pertains to enclitics as well, whose accentuation is often normalized by editors, in disregard of Byzantine practice.

Furthermore, some scholars have postulated that the beginning of the relevant word should be regarded as the beginning of the cadence, rather than the penultimate syllable (Sideras 2002; similarly Angelou 1991). It is difficult to decide whether this idea holds promise. There are important studies that attempt to trace elements of structure beyond cadences in order to show by which means the author arrived, consciously or unconsciously, at a suitable rhythm (Angelou 1991).

Recently, editors of Byzantine texts have begun more and more to take into account the punctuation practice of the manuscripts (see the contributions and particularly the introduction in Giannouli and Schiffer 2011); in the edition of Michael Psellos's letters, for instance, the editor often gave precedence to Psellos's favorite cadence in cases of varying manuscript readings (Papaioannou 2019: CLVI). Furthemore, the relationship between punctuation and rhythm has also been taken into account (Giannouli 2011; see further Macé, "Textual Criticism," Chapter 24 in this volume); through various examples it has been demonstrated that for Byzantine authors the guiding principle for punctuation was oral delivery, often departing from what we may understand as the proper syntactical structure.

Yet the question of whether and, if so, how rhythmical cadences should be made visual in the modern editions of texts has yet to be answered in a way that is generally accepted, and as it stands, decisions will have to be made on a case-by-case basis. In this respect, it may be worth finishing with a classic. Shortly after the publication of Meyer's groundbreaking study, Karl Krumbacher made an interesting attempt in this direction (Krumbacher 1897). He followed strictly the punctuation marks of the manuscript, rendering periods in the manuscript with a double asterisk and commas with a single. In addition, he provided periods and commas where these marks, though lacking in the manuscript, would have their place in a modern edition based on the principle of syntax. He was well aware of the fact that the practice of the manuscript concerning the position and placement of punctuation marks cannot always be defined with absolute certainty and is not totally consistent. Moreover, while a certain connection between punctuation and rhythm may exist, no rule can be observed. Therefore Krumbacher himself did not regard his approach as a binding rule, but rather as a contribution to the discussion. A short passage from his work may illustrate this point (Krumbacher 1897: 608):

Ἐπαινετόν τι χρῆμα καὶ θεῖον ἡ ἀρετὴ ** καὶ τοὺς ταύτην μετιόντας * ἐπαινετοὺς καὶ θείους καθίστησιν, ** ὥστε δίκαιον μὲν ἂν εἴη αὐτὴν καθ᾽ ἑαυτὴν ἐπαινεῖσθαι, ** οὐκ ἄδικον δὲ καὶ τοὺς ὅσοι ταύτην ἀπαράθραυστον διατετηρήκασι * τῆς προσηκούσης μεταλαγχάνειν τιμῆς. **

Virtue is a laudable and holy thing, ** and it makes those who follow it * laudable and holy, ** so that it would be right if it were praised for itself, ** yet not wrong that those who have preserved it undamaged * receive the proper honor.

In this respect, Krumbacher did not find many successors (though Giannouli 2011 follows a similar path).

Suggestions for Further Reading

Questions regarding Byzantine metrics are best treated in the publications of Marc Lauxtermann (1998, 1999a, 2003a, 2019)—see also the relevant parts in Hunger (1978, esp. II: 50–54 and 89–97) and, now, Hörandner (2017a) and Jeffreys (2019). Maas (1903) deals with the characteristics of the Byzantine dodecasyllable as well as with the emergence of the political verse. Chapters on the metrics of specific authors can be very useful: see, for instance, Hörandner (1974: 123–133), Ciccolella (2000: xxxiii–xlix), van Opstall (2008: 67–88), and Simelidis (2009: 54–57). See also the relevant sections in Rhoby (2009, 2010a, 2014, and 2018) as well as Wassiliou-Seibt (2011–2016). Vassis (2005) catalogs the *Initia* of Byzantine non-liturgical poems; see also Vassis (2011).

The phenomenon of Byzantine prose rhythm was first analyzed comprehensively by Wolfram Hörandner (1981; where also the earlier bibliography), and subsequently by Vessela Valiavitcharska (2013); whereas Hörandner concentrates mainly on the key-feature of cadences, Valiavitcharska's work treats a variety of aspects that pertain to Byzantine theory and practice or rhetorical rhythm. Useful are again studies of prose rhythm in specific authors; see, e.g., Perria (1982) or Duffy (2014).

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CHAPTER 18

SACRED SONG

STRATIS PAPAIOANNOU

The tenth-century dictionary known as the *Suda* glosses the archaic word "ἀοιδός"—meaning singer/soloist, as well as song-writer/composer—with its Byzantine equivalent "μελῳδός" (*Suda* α 4402).[1] Then, almost as an afterthought, the entry explains ἀοιδός further as "καὶ ὁ ποιητής = and also a poet." This afterthought echoes a long tradition in pre-modern literatures, according to which poetry was associated with singing and performance, just as rhythmical speech was linked with music. Though it is not the place here to survey this centuries-old placement of poetry within musical and performative culture, a topic about which much has been written (for the Greek variety see, e.g., Ford 2002), such habits of thought and the practices which inspired them offer us an important starting point as we approach Byzantine poetry.

As may be apparent from the preceding chapters, much Byzantine versification was created and consumed without any ties to music. Indeed, a great many Byzantine poems were not even intended for performance, but rather served other needs, such as inscription, display, or memorization. Thus much poetry was often primarily a matter of seeing or internalizing and only secondarily (if at all) a matter of listening.

What happens to the Greek tradition of poetry as song, however? That tradition seems to bifurcate. The classical Greek genres—originally genres of song and performance (such as *epic*, *iamb*, and *elegy*: the recital of heroic poetry, songs of abuse, and songs of lament, respectively)—were quickly ossified into non-musical literary, written, or, one might say, "textualized" types of versification. For these post-classical types, it was textual form (i.e., specific types of meter such as the hexameter, iambic trimeter, the elegiac couplet, etc.) rather than performative occasion that defined each genre.

[1] I am indebted to Wolfram Hörandner and Andreas Rhoby who, early in the writing of this chapter, provided material regarding hymnographical metrics; I am also indebted to Sandra Martani who did the same regarding musicological matters. Thanks are furthermore owed to Susan Harvey for commenting on several aspects of the chapter, Dimitris Skrekas for bibliographical suggestions, and Céline Grassien for sharing her dissertation on early hymnography before publication. The chapter is dedicated to my son Αλέξη, who kept me company during the long nights of researching for this piece.

The process was already well underway during the Hellenistic period. Byzantine poets simply continued and eventually transformed it. The Byzantine transformation lay in the introduction of new formal patterns, namely stress regulation and verses with equal number of syllables—or, to use Byzantine terms, *homotony* and *isosyllaby*. These new patterns came to prevail over ancient prosody, the sequence, that is, of metrically long and short syllables; yet these genres of poetry continued to be primarily *textual* types of versification, sometimes used for performative pieces, but rarely as songs, accompanied by music.

Simultaneously, however, new poetry associated with singing developed as well. This was what one, probably middle Byzantine, text calls "ᾄσματικὰ ποιήματα," namely "song poetry" (*Scholia on the Prolegomena of the Art of Grammar* 569.40). Such poetry usually disregarded ancient formal requirements and tapped into new resources of form, such as rhythmical and melodic patterns of non-Greek religious discourse and, apparently, folk songs. Two primary types of this new musical poetry are discernible:

(a) Non-ecclesiastical songs whose characteristic (though by no means exclusive) metrical form, at least since the middle Byzantine period, seems to have been the fifteen-syllable, i.e. "political," verse.
(b) Sacred songs, especially Christian chants, what we usually refer to as Byzantine hymnography.

With few exceptions, the lyrics and, without exception, the melodies of actual Byzantine secular songs in fifteen-syllable or other accentual meters are lost to us.[2] We find traces of this kind of poetry in texts that reflect its adoption in either socially or discursively higher registers from the middle Byzantine period onward—I am referring to some court poetry from the tenth century, much didactic poetry of the eleventh century, and in the many so-called vernacular poems that survive from the late period, all written in "political" verse (Lauxtermann 1999). Though formally related to musical poetry, most of the fifteen-syllable poetry copied in Byzantine manuscripts was nevertheless actually unrelated to song; that is, we know these kinds of secular song-originating poetic forms primarily through their non-musical variety.

By contrast, sacred songs, linked as they were with the ritual life of Byzantine Christianity, have been preserved in impressive numbers. Over 60,000 hymns are available in print, an estimate based on Follieri's six-volume *Initia hymnorum ecclesiae graecae* (IHEG),[3] and several thousand more are preserved in manuscripts that remain unpublished. Admittedly, liturgical poetry too was to some extent textualized; it often

[2] On Byzantine secular songs and on the fifteen-syllable and other accentual meters, see, respectively, Messis and Papaioannou, "Orality and Textuality," Chapter 9, and Hörandner and Rhoby, "Metrics and Prose Rhythm," Chapter 17, in this volume. For the particular case of hymns in fifteen-syllable, see later discussion in this chapter.

[3] Though the number is somewhat misleading as the IHEG counts stanzas of polystrophic hymns as individual hymns.

adopted, that is, the rhetorical aesthetics of Byzantine prose as well as non-liturgical verse, and it was even cast occasionally in the meters of the latter. Nevertheless, liturgical poetry always retained its indissoluble connection with singing. Byzantine hymns were in essence lyrics linked to specific melodies and intended for performance in the context of Christian ritual.

This new poetry and, for the first time in the history of Greek literature, the musical notation that recorded the accompanying melodies have been preserved in substantial amounts. About 1200 to 1500 (especially late) Byzantine and several more thousand post-Byzantine liturgical manuscripts with musical notation—or, to use again the Byzantine terms, with τόνους and σημάδια—have survived (Levy and Troelsgård, "Byzantine Chant" n.d., with Alexandru 2017: 43–51, where also a typology of Byzantine musical manuscripts is offered). These manuscripts archive a musical tradition whose continuation extends to the present in contemporary *monophonic* (unison plainsong) *chant*, without recourse to instrumental accompaniment. Such chants are employed in many of the Christian churches that follow some variety of the Byzantine Orthodox rite in the eastern Mediterranean, the Balkans, and worldwide. After all, of all types of Byzantine literature, hymnography is the only one that remains a living tradition as new hymns for new saints continue to be written in the traditional Byzantine idiom and style.

The song literature of Byzantium that we can reconstruct with some detail is the poetry of religious devotion and communal worship. Or, to put it from a different perspective: for the average Byzantines, especially those without much exposure to advanced education, poetry was, first and foremost, the chants heard in various liturgical services.

The present chapter surveys the primary forms that Christian sacred song took in Byzantium. The purpose is not to merely replicate the concise surveys that have appeared recently on the subject (see the Suggestions for Further Reading at the end of the chapter)—though much information will naturally overlap with these surveys. Nor is it to provide a comprehensive history of Byzantine hymnography—though some chronological frame will emerge as we proceed from earlier to later forms. Rather, the primary intention is to approach hymnography as a literary *form*, presented in relation to the relevant manuscript evidence, liturgical practice, and music, thus aiming as much as possible toward a view of Byzantine sacred songs from within. Along the way, we shall identify problems and questions, as well as areas for further investigation within the field of Byzantine hymnography. Let us begin with some such problems.

The Challenges

We catch the development of Greek Christian hymnography *in medias res*. The overwhelming majority of the thousands hymns that have been preserved (published and unpublished) date *after* the early eighth century. Tracing the melody of these hymns begins even later for us. Until the mid-twelfth century, different kinds of musical,

mnemotechnic notation exist in rather isolated examples (cf. Martani, "Recitation and Chant," Chapter 19 in this volume, with Gertsman 2001), from the third-/fourth-century papyrus of a Christian hymn, to the relatively few manuscripts with the so-called Palaeobyzantine notation (e.g., Athos, Lavra Γ 67 from about the mid-tenth century; cf. also Figure 18.3 later in this chapter). The bulk of the manuscript evidence with recoverable melodies begins to grow only after the mid-twelfth century. This is when a new notation was introduced, the so-called Middle Byzantine notation (e.g., Sinai gr. 756, dated to 1205; cf. also Figure 19.2 in Chapter 19 of this volume), that remained in use until the beginning of the nineteenth century. In fact, the majority of the examples of this notation are post-Byzantine—for instance, 90 percent of musical manuscripts in libraries of the Athonite monasteries date from after the year 1500 (they are cataloged in Stathis 1975–).

Late evidence is just one of the problems that we face, however. Another obstacle arises from a long and still evolving liturgical practice that tends to obscure its early history. Byzantine hymns are rarely available in critical editions. Most are still accessible only through the early printed liturgical books and their successors currently in use in the Greek Orthodox church. These books naturally organize and present hymnographical material according to the demands of ritual practices as these were developed over the course of centuries. They are thus not so much concerned, in any consistent or detailed manner at least, with identifying or recording the original text or original melodies of hymns, or the historical details of their creation, nor, of course, do they preserve Byzantine hymnography in its totality. Byzantine liturgical and musical manuscripts, which also usually post-date by many centuries the texts and the melodies they preserve, usually filter hymnography in a similar fashion—after all, the printed liturgical books were based on few specific late Byzantine manuscripts.

It is no surprise that the history of Byzantine sacred songs is, from many perspectives, a story as yet untold, full of gaps and questions, still awaiting their answers, and challenges that burden related research. To the often poorly preserved and studied evidence, we must add: (a) the immensity of this literary production; (b) the need to engage with medieval hymnography in other languages—especially Syriac, Armenian, Georgian, and Church Slavonic—that often retain forms and practices that were adopted/translated from Greek but then disappeared from the Greek tradition (D'Aiuto 2004: 294–297); (c) the frequency of local variation and regional traditions in liturgical practice; and, of course, (d) the fragmentation of this research field among philologists, musicologists, and liturgiologists since the history of Byzantine hymnography shares its gaps with the histories of Byzantine music and the Byzantine rite with both of which it forms an indissoluble whole.

Leaving such a history and its challenges to future work, it may suffice to highlight here this last aspect of Byzantine hymnography. Hymns, that is, are not simply "texts." Rather, they are part of a universe of devotional activity that also included music and a multisensory performative, ritual as well as communal, setting. Merely reading liturgical poems is comparable to reading the librettos of opera without the music, the

staging, the acting, the gestures, the voice, all of which were part of the Byzantine experience of chant. With this in mind, let us proceed.

Early Byzantine Hymnic Forms

The realities of the creation and performance of Byzantine hymns before the eighth century are clouded in obscurity. Most early Byzantine texts and melodies have been lost to us since the later liturgical books preserved only a tiny fraction of them. Nevertheless, both earlier and recent research have retraced what was apparently a vibrant culture of sacred songs in Christian communities across the empire—see especially Mitsakis (1986) with Detorakis (1997: 29–45) and recent work on texts preserved in c. 250 early Byzantine papyrus fragments (Grassien 2011 and "Greek Hymns, Archaeology," n.d.; cf. also Mihálykó 2019; we may note here that a remarkable sixth-/seventh-century example is preserved on paper [cf. Agati 2017: 80]), the Sinai finds (Géhin and Frøyshov 2000), and Greek hymns and liturgical practices recoverable through their medieval translations (Syriac: Cody 1982, Cassigena-Trévedy 2006, and Tannous 2017; Georgian: Renoux 2000, and Frøyshov 2003 and 2012).

Naturally for Christian worship, what constituted the core of liturgical prayer was biblical hymnody: the *Psalms* of David (McKinnon 1987; Taft 2003) and the fourteen *Canticles*, poetic excerpts known as "ᾠδαί = Odes" in Byzantine Greek (Mearns 1914; Schneider 1949). Indeed, as early as the probably fifth-century *Codex Alexandrinus* (London, BL, MS Royal 1 D V–VIII), the Psalms are followed by the Odes in Byzantine Bible manuscripts, while middle and late Byzantine Psalters regularly include the first nine Odes (Parpulov 2014: 49 and 57–58; for an example, see Figure 18.1).[4] Based thematically and formally on these hymns, as well as on the Hebrew ritual discourse from which Greek biblical hymnody itself originated, a new chant was created. As the Christian church expanded its power over the course of the fourth century and beyond, its poetry grew quickly in formal experimentation and diversity and was inspired further by rhythmical patterns, performative strategies, and rhetorical tropes of contemporary Syriac Christian literature (see Chapter 8, "Translations I: From Other Languages into Greek," Ubierna, "Section II. Syriac," in this volume), as well as contemporary Greek prose, especially as evident in Christian sermons (Valiavitcharska, "Rhetorical Figures," Chapter 12 in this volume).

Some of this new hymnody, all in non-prosodic meters, has survived outside the context of later Byzantine liturgy. Notable cases are Greek hymns misattributed to Ephrem the Syrian (Lauxtermann 1999: 60–61 and 78–80; Suh 2000; and Hemmerdinger-Iliadou

[4] Patmos, Μονὴ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου 269; parchment; twelfth century; *Psalter* with the nine Odes, with marginal commentary in *Catena* form (unpublished); f. 71r: Ode 1,8–12 (= *Exodus* 15:8–12) with commentary. For the first nine Odes, see the Appendix to this chapter; for further hymnic passages in the New Testament, see Hörandner 2017: 9–10.

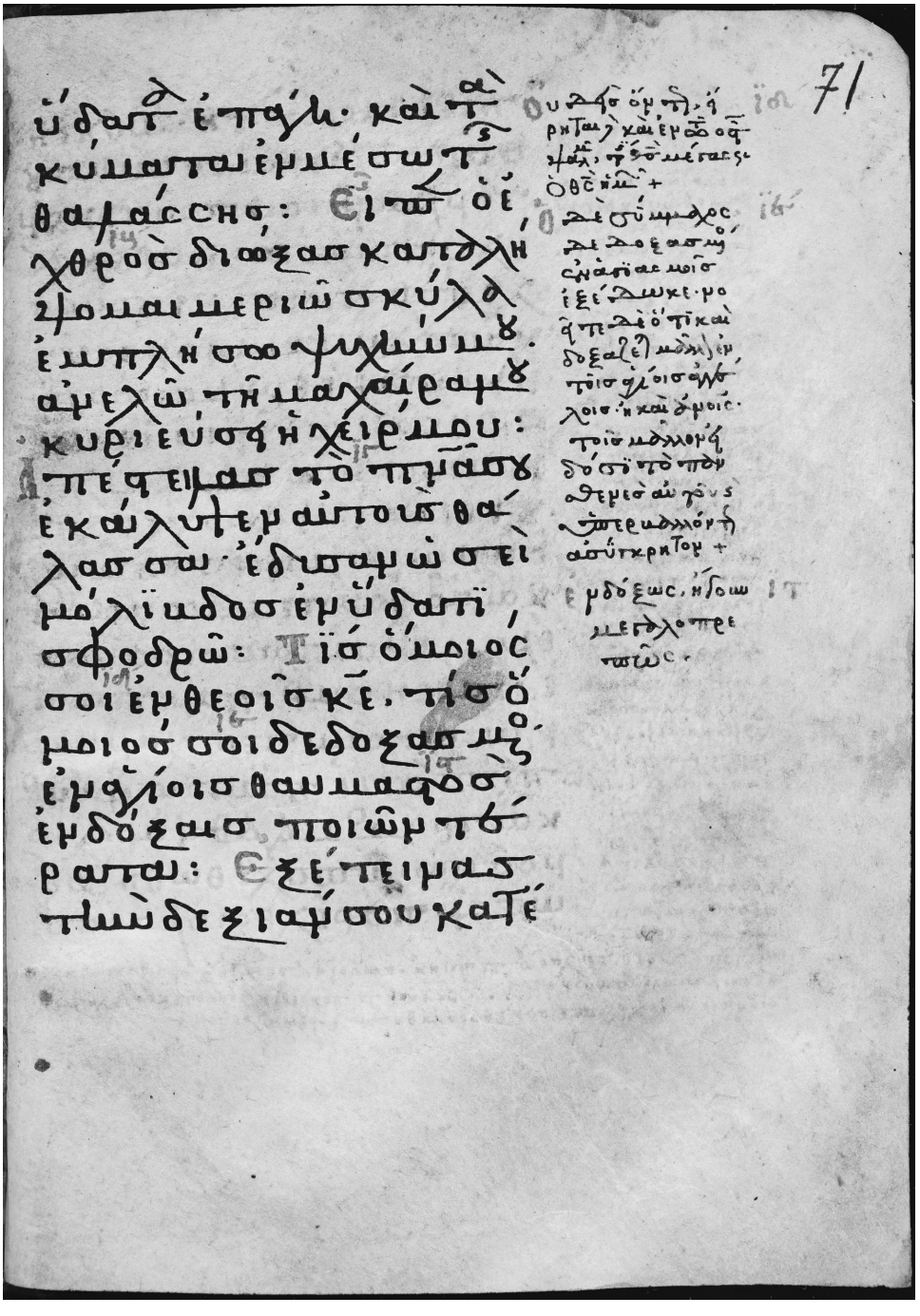

FIGURE 18.1 Patmos, Μονὴ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου 269; parchment; twelfth century; *Psalter* with the nine *Odes*, with marginal commentary in catena (unpublished); f. 71r: Ode 1,8–12 (= *Exodus* 15:8–12) with commentary.

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1959: col. 804–806 with a list of the metrical texts of the Greek Ephrem; there is a case of at least one genuine translation from the Syriac, a Sermon on Niniveh and Jonah [CPG 4082—cf. Zimbardi forthcoming]) and an early Byzantine Resurrection hymn discovered recently in a manuscript fragment (D'Aiuto 2008, 2019); the latter poem is "polystrophic," namely composed of several (in this case, six) stanzas, or "strophes."

Other early chants have remained in use until today, such as three well-known monostrophic hymns. The first is the *Φῶς ἱλαρόν*, *O Gladsome Light* (IHEG V:30), already attested in the fourth century and chanted during *Vespers*/*Hesperinos* (Taft 1986: 38 and 286; Jung, "Phos hilaron," n.d.; see van Haelst 1976: nr. 942 for a sixth-/seventh-century papyrus testimony). The others are the first two non-biblical chants to enter the celebration of the Eucharist: the so-called *Χερουβικὸς ὕμνος*, *The Song of the Cherubim* (IHEG III:64) and *Ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός*, *The Only-Begotten Son* (IHEG III:111), a hymn attributed to the emperor Justinian or to Severos (c. 465–538), patriarch of Antioch in Justinian's time (Grumel 1923). Here is the text of *Φῶς ἱλαρόν*:

> Φῶς ἱλαρὸν ἁγίας δόξης ἀθανάτου Πατρός,
> οὐρανίου, ἁγίου, μάκαρος,Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ,
> ἐλθόντες ἐπὶ τὴν ἡλίου δύσιν, ἰδόντες φῶς ἑσπερινόν,
> ὑμνοῦμεν Πατέρα, Υἱόν, καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, Θεόν.
> Ἄξιόν σε ἐν πᾶσι καιροῖς ὑμνεῖσθαι φωναῖς αἰσίαις,
> Υἱὲ Θεοῦ, ζωὴν ὁ διδούς· διὸ ὁ κόσμος σὲ δοξάζει.
>
> O gladsome light of holy glory, of the immortal Father,
> the heavenly, holy, and blessed, O Jesus Christ,
> having reached the sun's setting, having seen the evening light,
> we sing and honor God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.
> It is right for You to be sung and honored at all times in auspicious voices,
> O Son of God, You who gave life; thence the world glorifies You.

Also still in use are few of the so-called hymns *κατὰ στίχον* ("stichic," arranged by verse) which seem to have been popular in the early period. Metrically, they are based on a binary juxtaposition of "colons," which should be understood here as syntactical *as well as* musical units. Here are the first two two-verse colons of one of these hymns (Maas, Mercati, and Gassisi 1909: 311; IHEG II:7):

> Ἡ ἀσώματος φύσις τῶν Χερουβίμ
> ἀσιγήτοις σε ὕμνοις δοξολογεῖ·
> ἐξαπτέρυγα ζῷα, τὰ Σεραφίμ,
> ταῖς ἀπαύστοις φωναῖς σε ὑπερυψοῖ . . .
>
> The incorporeal nature of the Cherubim
> glorifies You with songs that are never silenced;
> the six-winged creatures, the Seraphim,
> exalts You with voices that never cease . . . etc.

Most remarkable for its endurance and influence within as well as outside the Greek tradition is the so-called Ἀκάθιστος hymn, which has been dated variously and as early as the fifth century but is most probably later (perhaps sixth or seventh century?) (text in Trypanis 1968: 29–39; discussion and bibliography in Hörandner 2017: 22–24; see also Peltomaa 2001 for the early dating; the text, we might add, was translated early on into Latin, sometime between 750 and 850 [Huglo 1951][5]). The Greek title means literally "without sitting," namely chanted with everyone standing up. In the Constantinopolitan cathedral rite, the *Akathistos* was placed liturgically during Lent and linked with the celebration of the liberation of Constantinople from the siege by Persians, Avars, and Slavs in 626 (cf. *Typikon of the Great Church* II 52–55), while in later monastic *typika* its placement varies (Velkovska 2000: 161 and 168).

The *Akathistos* contains twenty-four strophes, where every odd strophe includes a long list of salutations addressed to the Theotokos, hymnic utterances attested also in other papyrus hymns. Its first two strophes thus read as follows (IHEG I:18 and 232–233):

(1) Ἄγγελος πρωτοστάτης οὐρανόθεν ἐπέμφθη
εἰπεῖν τῇ θεοτόκῳ τὸ "χαῖρε"·
καὶ σὺν τῇ ἀσωμάτῳ φωνῇ
σωματούμενόν σε θεωρῶν, κύριε,
ἐξίστατο καὶ ἵστατο κραυγάζων πρὸς αὐτὴν τοιαῦτα· (5)
"Χαῖρε, δι' ἧς ἡ χαρὰ ἐκλάμψει·
χαῖρε, δι' ἧς ἡ ἀρὰ ἐκλείψει·
χαῖρε, τοῦ πεσόντος Ἀδὰμ ἡ ἀνάκλησις·
χαῖρε, τῶν δακρύων τῆς Εὔας ἡ λύτρωσις·
χαῖρε, ὕψος δυσανάβατον ἀνθρωπίνοις λογισμοῖς· (10)
χαῖρε, βάθος δυσθεώρητον καὶ ἀγγέλων ὀφθαλμοῖς·
χαῖρε, ὅτι ὑπάρχεις βασιλέως καθέδρα·
χαῖρε, ὅτι βαστάζεις τὸν βαστάζοντα πάντα·
χαῖρε, ἀστὴρ ἐμφαίνων τὸν ἥλιον·
χαῖρε, γαστὴρ ἐνθέου σαρκώσεως· (15)
χαῖρε, δι' ἧς νεουργεῖται ἡ κτίσις·
χαῖρε, δι' ἧς προσκυνεῖται ὁ πλάστης·
|: χαῖρε, νύμφη ἀνύμφευτε.":|

(2) Βλέπουσα ἡ ἁγία ἑαυτὴν ἐν ἁγνείᾳ
φησὶ τῷ Γαβριὴλ θαρσαλέως·
"Τὸ παράδοξόν σου τῆς φωνῆς
δυσπαράδεκτόν μου τῇ ψυχῇ φαίνεται·
ἀσπόρου γὰρ συλλήψεως τὴν κύησιν προλέγεις κράζων· (5)
|: «Ἀλληλούϊα».":|

[5] For other early Byzantine Greek hymnody in Latin, see Wanek (2013); cf. also http://www.gruene-eule.at/index.html.

An angel of the first rank was sent from heaven
to say to the Theotokos: "Hail!";
with his incorporeal voice,
as he witnessed You, O Lord, become embodied,
excited he stood, crying out loud to her such words: (5)
"Hail, through whom joy shall shine forth;
Hail, through whom the curse shall disappear;
Hail, recall of Adam who had fallen;
Hail, redemption of Eve's tears;
Hail, height that human thought can hardly ascend; (10)
Hail, depth that angels' eyes can hardly gaze;
Hail, since you are the throne of the King;
Hail, since you hold Him who holds everything;
Hail, star showing the Sun;
Hail, womb of God's incarnation; (15)
Hail, through whom creation is renewed;
Hail, through whom the Maker can be venerated;
|: Hail, O bride unwedded.":|

(2) Seeing that she is pure, the holy woman
says to Gabriel boldly:
"Your strange words
seem impossible for my soul to accept;
it is a conception without insemination that you foretell,
as you utter in loud voice:
|: 'Hallelujah!' ":|

Troparion

From these early hymnic forms, different in length and metrical (i.e., musical) complexity, and a few more not surveyed here (the best recent review in Grassien 2011), a basic type of hymn was to emerge and prevail as the principal unit for the composition of later Byzantine hymnody: the τροπάριον.[6] The *troparion* is a relatively short monostrophic chant, like the *Φῶς ἱλαρὸν* cited earlier. It was written in free rhythmic prose, a concatenation of a series of colons, and short phrases that usually corresponded with relatively autonomous syntactical units that avoided what is called "enjambment" (the continuation of a phrase without a pause beyond the end of a colon).

For us, "prose" is the key word in the preceding definition as, at first glance, the *troparion* does not look like traditional Greek poetry, whose core unit by the fourth century was the verse. Byzantine manuscripts (and printed liturgical books) perpetuate this

[6] In what follows, Greek technical terms are simply transliterated, and placed in the plural when necessary.

impression as they copy *troparia* as unmetrical prose. In the manuscripts, punctuation marks (usually a raised dot) indicate the end of *all* colons and are more frequent than the punctuation marks used for the copying of prose texts, but there is no other visual element that suggests poetry.

Yet for the Byzantines, the key word in our definition would be "chant." As its name suggests, the *troparion* constituted the lyrics for a *melody*—which is how one would translate τροπάριον literally, a notion reflected in the medieval Latin translation "*modulatio*" (Sophocles 1914: 1096). It was precisely this melody which defined the length of the poem, regulated the position of its main accents, and in essence produced its rhythm. And it was the melody to which early Byzantine papyri occasionally (Grassien 2011: 369–374), and later liturgical manuscripts consistently (cf., e.g., Figure 18.2 later in this chapter), alerted the reader, most importantly by indicating the musical scale in which the hymn was to be sung. This scale was one of the eight "ἦχοι," in the system of eight "modes" of Byzantine as well as Syrian, Armenian, Georgian, medieval Latin, and Slavonic chant—the musical ὀκτώηχος, which corresponded to an eight-week cyclical arrangement of the liturgical year and is attested since at least the sixth century (Troelsgård 2011: 22 and 60), though the evidence becomes substantial only after the eighth century (see further Alygizakis 1985; on the liturgical *Oktoêchos*, see Frøyshov 2007 with Jeffery 2001).

We might rightly assume that the melodies of the early Byzantine *troparia* were relatively simple, without intricate elaboration and following a finite set of melodic movements and formulas appropriate to each ἦχος. Simplicity and formulaic structures were necessitated by function: these hymns were chanted not only by professional chanters, soloists or choirs, but often also by the congregation. However this might be, they were transmitted from generation to generation primarily (if not exclusively) *orally*—melodies of early Byzantine troparia are in fact recorded several centuries later in musical notation (the *Φῶς ἱλαρὸν*, for instance, is first notated musically in post-Byzantine manuscripts). Such oral transmission served well the devotional needs of generations of faithful, but naturally limits our ability to reconstruct early Byzantine sacred songs.

As Byzantine church ritual became more and more elaborate, with new feast days added to its calendar (for the liturgical year, see Velkovska 2000), it invited more creativity in terms of prayers, music, and, of course, hymns. Middle and late Byzantine liturgical manuscripts contain thousands of different individual *troparia*. These carry numerous designations, pertaining to their position within a service, their content, their origin, and so on (such as κάθισμα = sessional, ἀπολυτίκιον = dismissal, θεοτοκίον = dedicated to the Theotokos, ἀνατολικόν = eastern, etc.).

Designations in reference to melody are important for us here. A *troparion* may be ἰδιόμελον, namely with its own unique melody and thus rhythmical pattern, chanted usually once a year. The most common type of *idiomela* are the so-called στιχηρά (to which we shall return later), of which the most famous is certainly the *Κύριε, ἡ ἐν πολλαῖς ἁμαρτίαις* (*Lord, the Woman of Many Sins*; IHEG II:305) composed by Kassia,

a remarkable early ninth-century female hymnographer (one of the very few Byzantine women writers) (PmbZ 3636–3637; Rochow 1967; Maltese 1991 and 2001; cf. Figure 19.2 in Chapter 19 of this volume). Another type is the αὐτόμελον *troparion* with its own melodic and rhythmical structure that simultaneously served as model, a familiar tune we might say, for other *troparia*. The latter are called προσόμοια, contrafacta, sung and patterned after the *automela* (for such *prosomoia* e.g. for the Lenten period, see Husmann 1972 and Schidlovsky 1983).

Prosomoia Troparia

How were the *prosomoia troparia* composed? Musically, they followed the same melody as the *automelon*. Rhythmically, they also replicated the *automelon* by following the principles already mentioned: colon structure, homotony, and isosyllaby (Lauxtermann 1999: 69–86). Namely, each new contrafactum replicated:

(a) the colon arrangement;
(b) the position of the main accents within each colon (homotony);
(c) the same number of syllables of the *automelon* (isosyllaby).

The following is an example. The *automelon* is cited first—in this case a *stichêron* sung in the first mode (ἦχος α') for the *Vespers* of the feast of the Virgin's Dormition, celebrated on August 15 (IHEG V:233)—and is followed by the *prosomoion*—another *Vespers stichêron* in the same mode for the *Vespers* of the feast of the Presentation of the Virgin, celebrated on November 21 (IHEG III:493); it should be noted that in the manuscripts the *automela* would be regularly preceded by the indication of the mode (and possibly the term αὐτόμελον), while *prosomoia* would be also prefaced by the beginning words of the model hymn (in our case: ὦ τοῦ παραδόξου—cf., e.g., London, BL Add MS 24378, a fourteenth-century *Mênaion* of the first six months of the Byzantine calendar, September through February, f. 147r):

Automelon:

Ὦ τοῦ παραδόξου θαύματος!
῾Η πηγὴ τῆς ζωῆς, ἐν μνημείῳ τίθεται,
καὶ κλίμαξ πρὸς οὐρανόν, ὁ τάφος γίνεται.
Εὐφραίνου Γεθσημανῆ, τῆς Θεοτόκου τὸ ἅγιον τέμενος.
Βοήσωμεν οἱ πιστοί, τὸν Γαβριὴλ κεκτημένοι ταξίαρχον:
"Κεχαριτωμένη χαῖρε, μετὰ σοῦ ὁ Κύριος,
ὁ παρέχων τῷ κόσμῳ διὰ σοῦ τὸ μέγα ἔλεος."

Prosomoion:

Σήμερον πιστοὶ χορεύσωμεν,
ἐν ψαλμοῖς καὶ ὕμνοις, τῷ Κυρίῳ ἄδοντες,
τιμῶντες καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ, ἡγιασμένην σκηνήν,
τὴν ἔμψυχον κιβωτόν, τὴν τὸν ἀχώρητον Λόγον χωρήσασαν·
προσφέρεται γὰρ Θεῷ, ὑπερφυῶς τῇ σαρκὶ νηπιάζουσα,
καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς ὁ μέγας, Ζαχαρίας δέχεται,
εὐφραινόμενος ταύτην, ὡς Θεοῦ κατοικητήριον.

What a strange miracle!
The fountain of life, is placed in a memorial tomb,
and the tomb becomes a ladder to heaven.
Rejoice Gethsemane, the holy shrine of the Theotokos.
Let us, faithful, shout, having Gabriel as our leader:
"Hail you full of grace, the Lord is with you,
the one who through you provides great mercy to the world.

Today, faithful, let us dance,
in psalms and hymns, singing to the Lord,
and honoring also His holy tabernacle,
the living arc, who contained the uncontainable Word;
for she is being presented to God in a supernatural fashion,
being still an infant with respect to her body,
and the great Archpriest, Zachariah receives her,
delighted, as she is a dwelling of God.

The second *troparion* replicates the number of colons, as well as the accentual and syllabic pattern and, thus, the melody of the model *troparion*. Or, to be more precise, the second hymn *follows closely* the first, but the two are *not* identical in their form. For instance, the third colon, "καὶ κλίμαξ πρὸς οὐρανόν, ὁ τάφος γίνεται," is not reproduced exactly in the *prosomoion* that reads: "τιμῶντες καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ, ἡγιασμένην σκηνήν"; the former has thirteen syllables, while the latter fourteen; and while the former ends with an accent on the antepenult, the latter has an accent on the last syllable. How are we to explain such a minor discrepancy, a "fault" which is indeed the norm in Byzantine *prosomoia*? The answer lies in the flexibility afforded by the performance of hymns. With some small modulation, the chanter could easily adapt the "ἡγιασμένην σκηνήν" to the melody required by "ὁ τάφος γίνεται."[7]

[7] There are other interesting features to this specific example that are not discussed here, such as the consistent use of a proparoxytone ending in each colon, the most characteristic cadence in Byzantine prose rhythm.

Polystrophic Hymns

Using a limited set of familiar melodies and producing *prosomoia*, which comprise the majority of surviving monostrophic hymns, was only one way of expanding the hymnographic corpus. The other was to turn *troparia* into stanzas of a longer polystrophic hymn and thus create more complex structures.

We have already encountered two polystrophic hymns, the Resurrection hymn and the *Akathistos*, yet these are, according to our available evidence, unique in the way they combine different *troparia*/strophes. Two other types, which seem to come into being around the same time—as early as the fifth century—were to dominate Byzantine hymnographic production: the κοντάκιον and the κανών. We shall look at each type closely in the following, but the basic principles of their composition are the same as those of *prosomoia*. Each cluster of strophes is patterned by the same melody and rhythm; the first stanza within a series functions as the model tune/text (later called εἱρμός), while the stanzas that follow are produced as contrafacta—with ample space for small deviations that are very frequent also in polystrophic hymns.

Two further elements defined the morphology of polystrophic hymns from early Byzantium onward. The first is the presence of an ἀκροστιχίς, an acrostic that usually linked the first letter of each strophe, forming either the letters of the alphabet (as is the case of the *Akathistos*), or, more frequently, a short phrase, which may contain the name of the hymn's composer/poet. The acrostic is regularly cited at the beginning of a polystrophic hymn in manuscripts, while the first letters of strophes may be visually distinct, written in red (as opposed to brown) ink. In some rare cases, the acrostic may be formed by the first syllable or even first word of strophes. Also, rarely the acrostic may link colons from each strophe (as is in the case of the Resurrection hymn that displays an alphabetic acrostic) or the beginning letters of each verse (as in the case of the iambic *kanones*, attributed to Ioannes Damaskenos, on which see later discussion).[8]

The second feature is the refrain (ἀνακλώμενον or ἐφύμνιον in Greek), namely the repetition of the same word or phrase at the end of each strophe, often a biblical phrase or some locution inspired by biblical discourse—such as the "Hallelujah" or the "Hail, O bride unwedded" in the *Akathistos*.[9] The refrain preserves the echoes of the origins of Christian sacred song, which in its purest and earliest forms consisted of the repetition of short concluding phrases from the Psalms or the Odes—a practice that persisted in certain contexts (Strunk 1977: 112–150; Hanke 2002). These short verses, often embellished with simple melodies, could be chanted by the entire congregation.

[8] It should be noted that alphabetic acrostics or "abecedaries" are an ancient device (found for instance in the Hebrew Old Testament) and became very popular in medieval hymnody and other types of poetry across many languages. They were used also in the context of occult discourse and may have functioned as a mnemonic technique. Many abecedary poems in accentual meters are known from Byzantium (such as the so-called catanyctic alphabets; Lauxtermann 1999: 31–35), though such poems are comparatively less present in Greek hymnography proper. For acrostic hymns in the Slavonic tradition with useful bibliography, see Marti (1997). For an early Byzantine acrostic hymn, see Łajtar (2014).

[9] This famous hymn notably employs two refrains, which is an unusual device.

Kontakion

Of the early Byzantine polystrophic hymns that apparently had come to existence by the fifth century, the *kontakion* (κοντάκιον/κονδάκιον) was to reach its peak first. Its form developed under the influence of contemporary metrical sermons, subject to musical setting, written in Syriac (especially by Ephrem the Syrian [c. 306–373]; cf. Petersen 1985; Brock 1989, 2008). The relevant genres are the *maḏrāšā* (instruction), a strophic sung hymn with isosyllaby, refrain, and often acrostic; the *soghitha*, a subcategory of the *maḏrāšā,* often in dramatic dialogue form and with an acrostic; and the *mēmrā* (discourse), a recited verse homily in isosyllabic couplets. Notably, none of these forms displays homotony, which is a typical feature in Greek chant.[10]

By the sixth century, the *kontakion* seems to have become a standard feature of the Constantinopolitan rite—whose performative potential was maximized by the construction of a new impressive liturgical space, Justinian's Hagia Sophia. From the perspective of later Byzantine tradition, this was the time of the most important poet of *kontakia*: Romanos Melodos (c. 485–after 555). Fifty-nine compositions are securely attributed to him (according to the edition of Maas and Trypanis 1963), some 13,000 lines of poetry, inspiring much later homiletics and hymnody (Cunningham 2008), including many new *kontakia* which were often falsely, though in my view intentionally, attributed to him.[11] *Kontakia*, often in a shorter, truncated form of fewer strophes, were composed until the tenth century[12]; these include the several compositions under the pseudonym of Romanos and many more that followed metrically his hymns. After the year 1000 or so, new *kontakia* continued to be regularly composed, but their overwhelming majority consisted only of a prelude and one *oikos* (a development to which we will return later; see Figure 18.2[13]).

A typical *kontakion* by Romanos normally contained eighteen to twenty-four strophes, termed οἶκοι (lit. "houses"; from the Syriac *baithó*?), all of which followed the melodic/rhythmical pattern of the first strophe, the εἱρμός. The strophes, that is, replicated the *heirmos*' number of colons and, within each colon, the number of syllables and position of the main accents; they were also linked by an acrostic. Additionally, within each *oikos*, colons may be rhythmically identical, creating further patterns of correspondence and repetition. Finally, one more *troparion*, the prelude (προοίμιον or

[10] To the three Syriac genres, we may add another late antique stanzaic hymn from the contemporary Hebrew hymnography, the *piyyut*; see Münz-Manor (2010).

[11] Romanos's *dubia* are collected in Maas and Trypanis (1970); for Romanos, see also Papaioannou, "Authors," Chapter 20 in this volume.

[12] A recent estimate suggests that about 740 *kontakia* have been preserved (Arentzen and Krueger 2016: 2); for an edition of many of them, see Pitra (1876: 242–661).

[13] Patmos 212 (cf. next note), f. 86r: anonymously transmitted *kontakia*—the end of a twelve-stanza *kontakion* on Saint Andrew (with the acrostic: "τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ") and the truncated *kontakia* (prelude and *oikos*) for December 1 and 2 on Prophets Nahum and Habakkuk (these are edited in Naoumides 1954: πη΄-πθ΄).

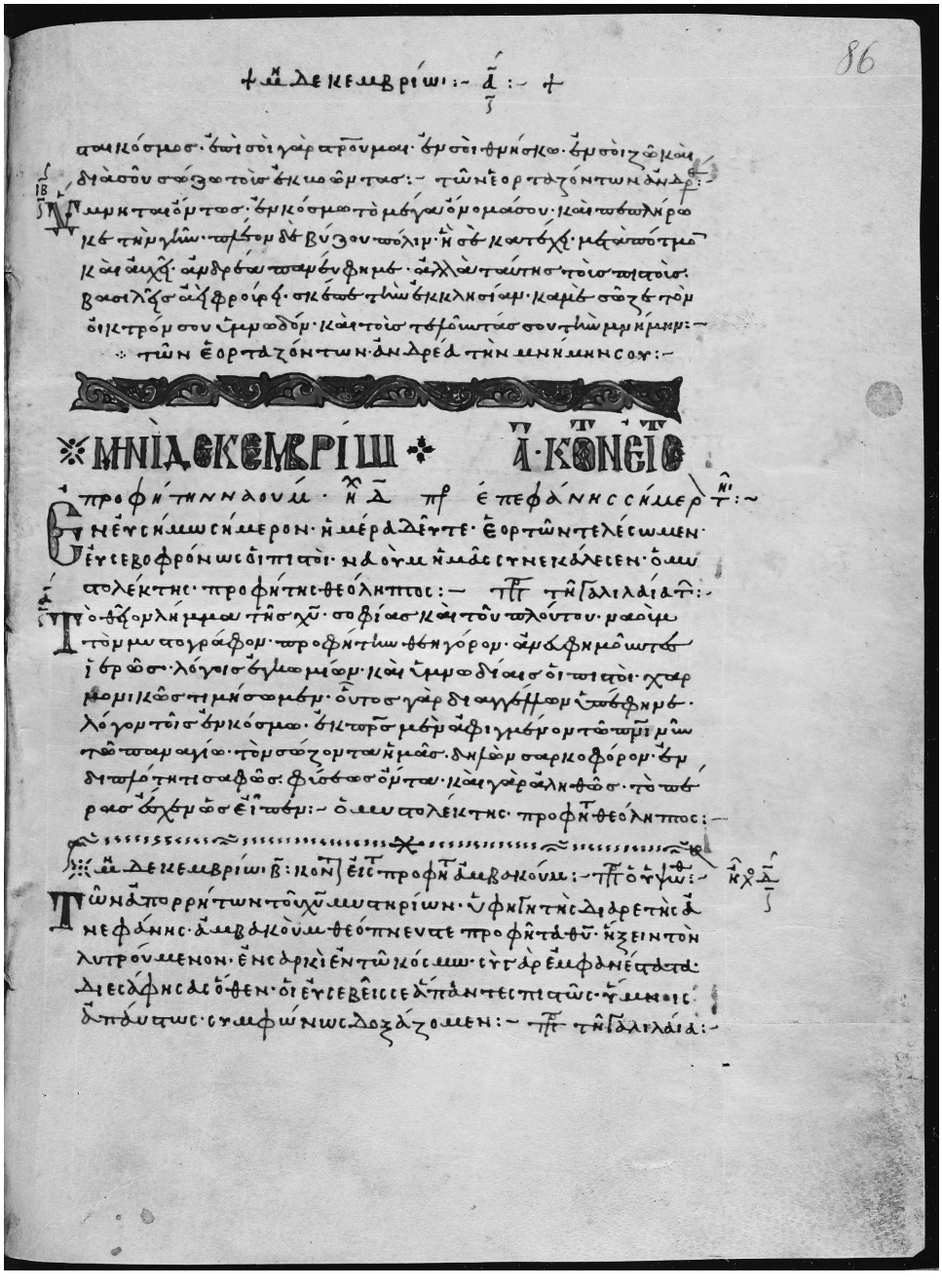

FIGURE 18.2 Patmos, Μονὴ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου 212; parchment; tenth century (2/2); *Kontakarion*; f. 86r: anonymously transmitted *kontakia*.

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κουκούλιον) prefaced the poem, and we sometimes encounter two or three preludes. The prelude displays an independent metrical and musical structure, but is linked with the rest of the *kontakion* through the refrain (for these features, see Grosdidier de Matons 1977: 119–156; Hannick 1984).

The first three *troparia,* namely the *prooimion* and the first two *oikoi* (IHEG II:58–60, IV:63, and III:134) of Romanos's most popular Byzantine hymn, dedicated to the Nativity of Christ, can serve as an example for the metrical patterns of *kontakia* in general (text from Grosdidier de Matons 1965: *kontakion* 10; English translation from Lash 1995: 3–12):

Μηνὶ δεκεμβρίῳ κε′, κοντάκιον τῆς Χριστοῦ γεννήσεως, ἦχος γ′, φέρον ἀκροστιχίδα·
τοῦ ταπεινοῦ Ῥωμανοῦ ὕμνος (acrostic)

Προοίμιον (prelude)
Ἡ παρθένος σήμερον τὸν ὑπερούσιον τίκτει,
καὶ ἡ γῆ τὸ σπήλαιον τῷ ἀπροσίτῳ προσάγει·
ἄγγελοι μετὰ ποιμένων δοξολογοῦσι,
μάγοι δὲ μετὰ ἀστέρος ὁδοιποροῦσι·
δι᾽ ἡμᾶς γὰρ ἐγεννήθη (5)
|: *παιδίον νέον, ὁ πρὸ αἰώνων Θεός*.:| (refrain)

(1) ***T***ὴν Ἐδὲμ Βηθλεὲμ ἤνοιξε, δεῦτε ἴδωμεν· (first *oikos* and *heirmos* for the rest of the poem)
τὴν τρυφὴν ἐν κρυφῇ ηὕραμεν, δεῦτε λάβωμεν
τὰ τοῦ παραδείσου ἐντὸς τοῦ σπηλαίου·
ἐκεῖ ἐφάνη ῥίζα ἀπότιστος βλαστάνουσα ἄφεσιν,
ἐκεῖ ηὑρέθη φρέαρ ἀνόρυκτον, (5)
οὗ πιεῖν Δαυὶδ πρὶν ἐπεθύμησεν·
ἐκεῖ παρθένος τεκοῦσα βρέφος
τὴν δίψαν ἔπαυσεν εὐθὺς τὴν τοῦ Ἀδὰμ καὶ τοῦ Δαυίδ·
διὰ τοῦτο πρὸς τοῦτο ἐπειχθῶμεν ποῦ ἐτέχθη
|: *παιδίον νέον, ὁ πρὸ αἰώνων Θεός*.:| (10) (refrain)

(2) ***Ὁ*** πατὴρ τῆς μητρὸς γνώμῃ υἱὸς ἐγένετο, (second *oikos*)
ὁ σωτὴρ τῶν βρεφῶν βρέφος ἐν φάτνῃ ἔκειτο·
ὃν κατανοοῦσα φησὶν ἡ τεκοῦσα·
«Εἰπέ μοι, τέκνον, πῶς ἐνεσπάρης μοι ἢ πῶς ἐνεφύης μοι·
ὁρῶ σε, σπλάγχνον, καὶ καταπλήττομαι, (5)
ὅτι γαλουχῶ καὶ οὐ νενύμφευμαι·
καὶ σὲ μὲν βλέπω μετὰ σπαργάνων,
τὴν παρθενίαν δὲ ἀκμὴν ἐσφραγισμένην θεωρῶ·
σὺ γὰρ ταύτην φυλάξας ἐγεννήθης εὐδοκήσας
|: *παιδίον νέον, ὁ πρὸ αἰώνων Θεός*».:| (10) (refrain)

Month of December, 25, Kontakion of Christ's Nativity, Third Mode, with the following acrostic:
Hymn by the humble Romanos

Prelude
Today the Virgin gives birth to him who is above all being,
and the earth offers a cave to him whom no one can approach.
Angels with shepherds give glory,
and magi journey with a star,
for to us there has been born
|: *a little Child, God before the ages.*:|

(1) Bethlehem has opened Eden, come, let us see;
we have found delight in secret, come, let us receive
the joys of Paradise within the cave.
There the unwatered root whose blossom is forgiveness has appeared.
There has been found the undug well
from which David once longed to drink.
There a virgin has borne a babe
and has quenched at once Adam's and David's thirst.
For this, let us hasten to this place where there has been born
|: *a little Child, God before the ages.*:|

(2) The mother's Father has willingly become her Son,
the infants' savior is laid as an infant in a manger.
As she who bore him contemplates him, she says,
"Tell me, my Child, how were you sown, or how were you planted in me?
I see you, my flesh and blood, and I am amazed,
because I give suck and yet I am not married.
And though I see you in swaddling clothes,
I know that the flower of my virginity is sealed,
for you preserved it when, in your good pleasure, you were born
|: *a little Child, God before the ages.*:|

We know virtually nothing about the original melody of this and similar early Byzantine *kontakia* and frustratingly little about the method and ritual setting of their performance; the urban lay night vigil was certainly one of the contexts (Koder 2003; Frank 2006). The earliest manuscripts that contain collections of *kontakia* in musical notation, the so-called *Psaltika* for the use of the soloist (ψάλτης; Troelsgård 2011: 85–86), date to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and derive mainly from southern Italian monasteries of the Studite tradition (Floros 1960; Thodberg 1960; see Raasted 1989 for Romanos's Nativity *kontakion* specifically); five more or less contemporary Slavonic *Kontakars* contain *kontakia* with musical notation in the so-called *Asmatikon* tradition, which preserve the repertory of Byzantine choral chant (Floros 2011). Both the *Psaltikon* and the *Asmatikon-Kontakars* are thought to record earlier (tenth-, eleventh-century?)

melodies and to reflect the musical performance of *kontakia* in the Constantinopolitan cathedral rite (Lingas 1995 and 1996: 57–61).

These melodies apparently have little to do with the original simple tunes in which Romanos's and other *kontakia* were sung (cf. Raasted 2001), since the *Psaltikon* and *Asmatikon* represent the beginning of a florid, elaborate tradition of chanting in the history of Byzantine music (cf. Martani, "Recitation and Chant," Chapter 19 in this volume). Nevertheless, these liturgical books are also representative of what happened to the *kontakion* by the eleventh century: they set into music only the prelude and the first *oikos* of the kontakion and thus preserve an abbreviated version of the hymn. Other contemporary liturgical books without musical notation (which are, after all, the majority) contain only the first two troparia of earlier *kontakia* and position them in the middle of the *Matins* (the Ὄρθρος). Finally, as already mentioned, new compositions of *kontakia*, took the new, abbreviated form.[14]

This gradual shortening of the *kontakion* has been usually interpreted as the decline of this early Byzantine hymnic form, which was superseded by the new polystrophic genre, the *κανών* (to be discussed later). However, we may rather regard the transformation of the *kontakion* during the middle Byzantine period as a process of monumentalization by which the *kontakion* grew—rather than diminished—in stature. In my view, what the evidence suggests is that this type of hymn, which by the tenth century was identified with Romanos, the συγγραφεύς τῶν κοντακίων around whom a significant cult grew in Constantinople, became the centerpiece for the display of musical virtuosity during the Morning Service and/or vigils. At that, the *kontakion* became the first and, for some time (with few exceptions), the *only* type of non-biblical hymn to enjoy such ornate musical elaboration—the florid style of the *Psaltikon* and the *Asmatikon* focused otherwise in the melismatic embellishment of the Psalter.

That hymnographers stopped writing Romanos-like *kontakia* after the end of the tenth century is thus not the symptom of a genre that has exhausted its life span. Shifts in taste and ideology of liturgical discourse promoted the composition of other kinds of hymnography, such as the more rhetorical *kanôn*. Yet the cessation of production and simultaneous transformation of the *kontakion* are another matter. These changes were the result of great reverence for a hymn and a hymnode that had by then become inimitable classics. In a "post-classical" world, composition gave way to performance.

[14] Though they do not alter the general picture, exceptions do exist with respect to all aspects described previously. Namely: (a) some of the original, simple and syllabic, melodies of the *kontakia* may be preserved in a few post-thirteenth-century musical manuscripts that treat the *kontakion* as another monostrophic hymn; see Levy (1961) and Raasted (1989); (b) a relatively small number of *kontakaria* manuscripts contain fuller versions of *kontakia*—the earliest and most important is the two-volume Patmos parchment *kontakarion* (Patmos 212 and 213; Figure 18.2 in this chapter), dating to the second half of the tenth century, with 379 compositions (Naoumides 1954; Arentzen and Krueger 2016); and (c) some post-1000 *kontakia* contain several strophes; see Gassisi (1906) with *kontakia* from eleventh-century Grottaferrata.

Stichêra

But we have gone too far into the history of later sacred songs. Let us return to the formative first centuries, the period from the fourth into the early ninth century. In terms of its content, the early Byzantine *kontakion* was essentially a sermon in verse. Its primary function was to explicate and, through dialogical exchanges, re-perform important events originally recounted in the Old and, especially, the New Testament. In other words, the early *kontakion* was a form of exegesis comparable with much contemporary homiletic literature. Like sermons, it was consequently linked closely with the biblical narrative, whose reading it was meant to accompany and illustrate during liturgical services.

Other early Byzantine hymnography was not attached to the narrative readings from the Gospels or the Old Testament, but rather accompanied biblical hymnodic literature, namely the Psalms and the Odes. The hymn known later as the *kanôn* came into existence in relation to the Odes, while in relation to the Psalms, the so-called *stichêra troparia* were created. Both types were in existence by the sixth century (Frøyshov 2000) and thus came about more or less at the same time as the *kontakion.*

The *stichêra* (στιχηρά), examples of which were presented earlier in the section on *prosomoia*, were groups of *troparia*, i.e. monostrophic hymns, each following a Psalmic verse (στίχος). Originally, it seems that the *stichêra* were subordinate to the Psalms and were probably very short in form—perhaps they comprised simply a short phrase that responded or commented on the Psalmic verse and were thus, in essence, slightly more elaborate refrains. However this might be, in its mature form, the one we can trace from the eighth century onward, the *stichêron* was a typical troparion, with a melodic and metrical structure that was either unique (*stichêron idiomelon*), chanted once a year, or that followed an earlier model (*stichêron prosomoion*).

Such *stichêra* found a standard place in the evening and morning services, toward the beginning of the *Vespers*/*Hesperinos* and toward the end of the *Matins*/*Orthros*. Usually, they were grouped together in sequences of four or more *troparia*, concluded by another *troparion* called *doxastikon*.[15] Though aligned in this way, the *stichêra* did not become a fully developed polystrophic hymn like the *kontakion* or the *kanôn*.[16] Nevertheless, like the early *kontakia* and the later (as we shall see) *kanones*, the melodies of *stichêra* were originally and, for most of the Byzantine period, relatively simple. Notation before the fourteenth century tended to be "syllabic" (approximately one note per syllable) rather

[15] This usually longer hymn is introduced with the ancient formula "Δόξα Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ καὶ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι· καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεί καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰώνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν [Glory to the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit; both now and forever and unto the ages of ages, amen]"; occasionally the introductory phrase is split in half, and a second (also usually long) hymn follows the "καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεί . . .."

[16] There are, however, exceptions to this, such as the twenty-four *Aposticha* (a type of *stichêra*) *troparia*, joined by an alphabetical acrostic, attributed to Ioannes Damaskenos; these are chanted in groups of three in eight consecutive Great *Vespers* of Sundays included in the *Oktoêchos*, while each group is followed by a *Theotokion* whose first letters spell out the name Ἰωάννης (cf. Guillaume 1977: 6).

than "melismatic" (many notes per syllable). This is attested by the surviving *Stichêraria,* musical books which date from the tenth century onward (e.g., the Athos, Lavra Γ 67 mentioned earlier), and which collect *stichêra idiomela* (see Wolfram, "Stichērarion"; for an example with "Middle Byzantine" notation, see the thirteenth-century British Library, Add MS 27865; cf. also Figure 19.2 in Chapter 19 of this volume).

Kanôn

While *stichêra* (cor-)respond to the Psalms, the *kanôn* (κανών) is connected with the nine biblical Odes (on which see the Appendix to this chapter). The *kanôn*, at least in some shorter form, seems to be as ancient as the *kontakion* and the *stichêra* (Petrynko 2010: 21–50, esp. 40–48; Nikiforova 2012: 17–93 and 2013: 173–178; Frøyshov, "Greek Hymnody" and "Byzantine Rite," n.d.; cf. also Kujumdzieva 2018). Moreover, the evidence points to Palestinian origins, most probably in the context of the Jerusalemite rite, what middle Byzantine sources refer to as the Ἁγιοπολίτης, "the tradition of the Holy City."

During the eighth century, an impressive and most influential corpus of *kanôn* poetry was created by four masters of the genre:

- Germanos (c. 655–c. 732; PmbZ 2298), a eunuch, first enrolled in the clergy of *Hagia Sophia*, then bishop of Kyzikos, and later patriarch of Constantinople (715–730);
- Andreas (c. 660–740), born in Damascus, enrolled in the clergy of the patriarchate in Jerusalem, and then with a career in the church of Constantinople (685–711) and in Crete (archbishop: 711–730; PmbZ 362);
- Ioannes Damaskenos (c. 675–c. 745), who became secretary to the caliph of Damascus and then (sometime between 705 and 726) a priest at the church of the *Anastasis* (Resurrection) in Jerusalem (PmbZ 2969; Petrynko 2010: 51–84);

and

- Kosmas Melodos, bishop of Maiuma (near Gaza in Palestine, c. 675–c. 752/754; PmbZ 4089).

After Germanos, Andreas, Damaskenos, and Kosmas, the *kanôn* became the lengthiest and, liturgically, the most conspicuous hymnographic genre, occupying a large part of the *Matins* of every feast. It is no surprise that the biggest number of surviving (published or unpublished) *troparia* belong to various *kanones*—a few thousands alone are by the most prolific poet in this genre, Ioseph Hymnographos (c. 812/818–c. 886), a Sicilian with a monastic and ecclesiastical career in Constantinople (from 867, Ioseph was *skeuophylax* of Hagia Sophia; PmbZ 23510 and Toma 2016).

As with the *kontakion*, namely the other polystrophic hymn, isosyllaby and homotony were constitutive elements of the *kanôn* (Grosdidier de Matons 1980/1981). The *kanôn* differed, however, insofar as it did not follow a single melody. Rather, it consisted of originally nine and eventually eight groups of *troparia*, with each group following a distinct

melodic/metrical structure (Wellesz 1962: 198–239).[17] In the classical form of the *kanôn*, these groups typically consisted of four *troparia*, the last of which was usually dedicated to the Theotokos and was, accordingly, termed "θεοτοκίον" (often indicated simply with a "θ" in the manuscripts).[18]

The groups of *troparia* are termed "odes" (ᾠδαί), since they originally complemented and eventually replaced (Harris 2004 with Troelsgård 2003) the relevant biblical Odes. The theme of the latter is often reflected in the odes of the *kanôn*, especially in the refrains of individual *troparia*. For instance, the seventh and eighth odes resonate the prayer and song of the Three Holy Children in the Furnace (Daniel 3:26–88: Εὐλογητὸς εἶ, κύριε [. . .] and εὐλογεῖτε, πάντα τὰ ἔργα τοῦ κυρίου, etc.), while the ninth ode invokes the Ode of the Theotokos from the Gospel of Luke (the *Magnificat* in Lk 1:46–55: Μεγαλύνει ἡ ψυχή μου τὸν κύριον, etc.).

As in the *kontakion*, all the *troparia* of the *kanôn* were frequently connected by an acrostic. This usually preserves the name of the poet of the hymn, is normally cited also at the beginning of the *kanôn* in the manuscripts, and is very often in verse, usually in Byzantine twelve syllable—this occurs especially in the hymns of Ioseph Hymnographos (Weyh 1908). The pattern for each ode of a *kanôn* was provided, in original compositions, by its first stanza or, as in the majority of *kanones* after the ninth century, an *heirmos* taken from an earlier model *kanôn*; in this case, the *heirmos* was indicated in an abbreviated form at the beginning of each ode.[19]

Around forty manuscripts with anthologies of the most important *heirmoi* annotated with musical notation survive from the tenth to the fifteenth century. These so-called *Heirmologia* contain anywhere from 800 to 3,200 *heirmoi*; the larger number pertains to earlier manuscripts, while the smaller to the later ones, since a process of abridging the collection by focusing on the most common *heirmoi* occurred over the course of the centuries (Velimirović, "Heirmologion"; Harris 2004; Papathanasiou 2008)—for examples with the "Palaeobyzantine" notation, see the eleventh-century Paris, BNF, Coislin 220 (available online) and the twelfth-century Patmos 54 (Figure 18.3 in this chapter with Komines 1988: 133–140[20]). The melodies recorded in these anthologies are again rather simple (Martani 2008; Makris 2008), with a noticeably formulaic character.

[17] After the eighth century, the second group of *troparia*, namely the second Ode, was gradually omitted (a process completed over the course of the middle Byzantine period; see Kollyropoulou 2012), with the exception of *kanones* chanted during the period of Lent; these latter *kanones* (often consisting of fewer groups of odes anyhow) were essentially remnants of earlier types of *kanôn*-writing attested primarily in Georgian (cf. Nikiforova 2013: 174–176; cf. also Chapter 22, "Translations II: Greek Texts into Other Languages," Aleksidze, "Section V. Georgian" in this volume).

[18] The example of Romanos's Nativity *kontakion* cited earlier may serve as an example for the structure for an ode of a *kanôn*, minus the presence of a proem.

[19] A relatively comprehensive list of such *heirmoi* that have been published can be found in Eustratiades 1932, though this work should be used with caution as far as the attributions of *heirmoi* are concerned; see Frøyshov, "Byzantine Rite," n.d.

[20] F. 94v: the end of *heirmoi* for the third mode and the beginning of the fourth mode (prefaced by an epigram on the mode in twelve-syllable verse), where the first text bears the title (in red ink) "ἀκο(λουθία) ἀνα(στάσιμος)Ἰω(άννου) (μον)αχ(οῦ) α΄ ἤχ(ος) δ΄."

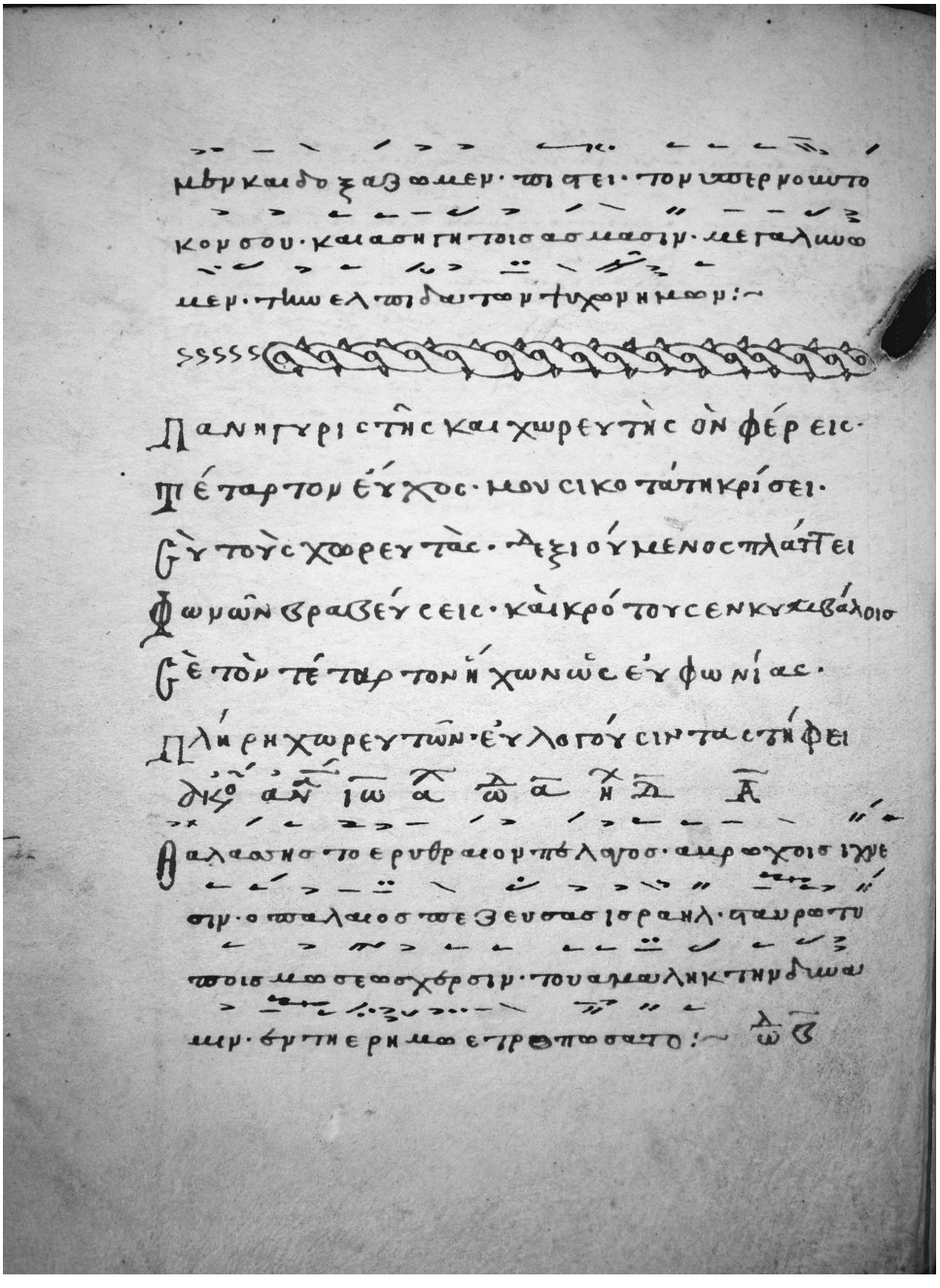

FIGURE 18.3 Patmos, Μονὴ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου 54; parchment; twelfth century; *Heirmologion*; f. 94v: *heirmoi* for the third and fourth mode.

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This may be the result of a hymnographic genre which, like the *stichêra*, required comprehension on the part of its audience and thus the content of the hymn seems to have usually taken precedence over its musical elaboration.

Though simplicity was the norm melodically, the *kanôn* was not immune to rhetorical elaboration and, occasionally, the display of high learnedness. From all types of Byzantine hymnography, it is in the *kanôn* that we encounter some exceptional cases of joining archaizing meters with chant. The earliest and most famous examples are three *kanones* on the feasts of Christmas, Theophany, and the Pentecost, attributed to Ioannes Damaskenos. These *kanones* made use of the iambic trimeter and employed all sorts of rhetorical figures and unusual diction (Christ and Paranikas 1871: 205–217; Nauck 1894; Lauxtermann 2003: 135–136; Afentoulidou 2004; new edition of the three hymns and discussion in Skrekas 2008; new edition and commentary of the Christmas *kanôn* in Petrynko 2010). Already from the ninth century, these *kanones* were very popular in Byzantium, becoming the object of imitation as well as school study.

The Challenges II

From a certain perspective, hymnographical creativity seems to have reached its peak by the end of the ninth century. At that time, the main genres of sacred song as described earlier had been established, and a sufficient body of texts as well as melodies had appeared which acquired the status of a hymnographical norm. The usual narratives of Byzantine hymnography thus end with the growth of the *kanôn* during iconoclasm and its immediate aftermath. What followed in later centuries gives the impression, at first glance, of mere preservation of old hymnography and, when it came to composition, mere imitation. New *troparia*, *kontakia*, and *kanones* were written; yet they were based on the metrical/melodic patterns of earlier hymns. These were, that is, the centuries of *prosomoia*.

Nevertheless, much innovation and development lie behind these centuries as well. Though significant work has been done also on this period of hymnography, the current state of our research does not yet allow a comprehensive overview. Unable to survey the history of sacred song as well as, more generally, liturgical literature in Byzantium from c. 900 to 1453 and beyond, we shall conclude as we began, with a list of challenges, and thus identify certain areas of creativity which require further study:

- The creation and standardization of liturgical books, which went hand in hand with developments in Byzantine ritual from the tenth century onward;[21]

[21] For brief overviews see: Levy and Conomos, "Liturgy and Liturgical Books IV. Byzantine Rite" (n.d.); Unterburger 1994; Velkovska (1997); Nin (1997); Follieri (2002); Taft (2004); D'Aiuto (2006); cf. also Spanos (2010: 5–13) for the liturgical context; for the history of the *Mênaion* specifically, see Nikiforova (2012) with Krivko (2011–2012). Sergij (1875–1901) and Dmitrievskij (1895–1917) remain fundamental for the history of the Byzantine liturgical calendar and certain liturgical books.

- The incorporation of metrical calendars in hexameter and twelve-syllable verse within liturgical books (notably, of all types of learned Byzantine versification in non-hymnographic meters, these calendars reached the widest circulation);[22]
- The spectacular growth of musical elaboration and composition, especially in the late Byzantine period;[23]
- The appearance, also in the late Byzantine period, of a significant body of hymnography in fifteen-syllable verse (collected in Stathis 1977);
- The continued existence of regional traditions;[24]
- The influence of hymnography on other genres;[25]
- The impact of hymnography on the visual arts, both on a large/public and on a small/private scale (especially in the late Byzantine period), and thus the translation as well as transmission of the tropes and themes of sacred songs by visual means;[26]
- The use of hymnographical forms outside liturgical contexts (for teaching purposes or for parody)[27] and the related study of hymnographical texts in schools;[28]
- The composition of new hymns and, more generally, liturgical poems[29] that deserve fresh investigation in all respects, from their metrical characteristics and manuscript transmission, to their liturgical, musical, and sociocultural setting.

Suggestions for Further Reading

A series of recent surveys of Byzantine hymnography provide good introductions to the subject from different perspectives: D'Aiuto (2004); Frøyshov, "Greek Hymnody," "Byzantine Rite," and "Rite of Jerusalem" (n.d.); Levy and Troeslgård, "Byzantine Chant"

[22] See Darrouzès (1958), Follieri (1959 and 1980), with Papaioannou (2021) for the desiderata.

[23] See Stathis (2014) with, e.g., Raasted (1995) and also the bibliography on *kalophônia* provided in the next chapter (Martani, "Recitation and Chant," Chapter 19).

[24] See, e.g., Acconcia Longo (2014) on southern Italian eleventh- and twelfth-century Greek literature with discussion and references also of the hymnographical production; see also Kollyropoulou (2011).

[25] On hymnography and metrical inscriptions, e.g., see Patedakis (2016).

[26] See, e.g., Mouriki (1973) or Constas (2016); and, specifically on illustrations of the *Akathistos*, Lafontaine-Dosogne (1984), Pätzold (1989), Spatharakis (2005), Dobrynina (2017), and Paxton Sullo (2020: chap. 2).

[27] On didactic poems on a variety of subjects, see Hörandner (2008: 897); on invectives, see, e.g., Psellos, *Kanôn against the Monk Iakobos*; on this so-called para-hymnography, see further Eideneier (1977) with Mitsakis (1990).

[28] For the presence of hymnography in schooling, see Giannouli (2007: esp. 14–24) and Cesaretti and Ronchey (2014: esp. 48*–72*) with general overviews; see also Papagiannis (2004) and Skrekas (2018).

[29] Some random examples with important discussions: Follieri (1980) on the metrical calendars of Christophoros Mytilenaios in hymnographic meters; Follieri (1967) and D'Aiuto (1994) on Ioannes Mauropous; Polemis (1993) on *kanones* on St. Athanasios of Athos, one of the these in iambic meter; Antonopoulou (2004) on a *kanôn* by Manuel Philes; Afentoulidou-Leitgeb (2008) on Theoktistos Stoudites, author also of *kanones* in iambic, etc. See further the review in Frøyshov, "Byzantine Rite" (n.d.).

(n.d.); Conomos, "Byzantine Hymnody" (n.d.); Lauxtermann, "Greek Hymns, Metrics" (n.d.)—to be read together with Lauxtermann (1999); Petrynko (2010: 21–50); Polemis and Mineva (2016: 17–28); Hörandner (2017: 8–26); and Giannouli (2019). Relevant bibliographies may be found in Petit (1926) and Szövérffy (1978–1979); cf. also Alexandru (2006). See also Frøyshov (2020), on the history of the Hagiopolitan Office (and thus also the history of the writing of *kanones*), a paper which unfortunately appeared while this book was going to print and was therefore not taken into consideration here.

For lists of unedited hymns as well as new evidence for edited hymns, see Eustratiades (1936–1952); Papaeliopoulou-Photopoulou (1996) with Stratigopoulos (1999); Getov (2004; 2007: 595–618; and 2009); Tomadakis (2007–2009); Bucca (2011: 292–392); cf. also D'Aiuto and Bucca (2013) and Bucca (2018 and 2020); for the history of printed editions of liturgical texts, see Alexopoulos and Bilalis Anatolikiotes (2017) with further bibliography. Three recent editions, translations, and commentaries, with rich discussions of specific Byzantine liturgical manuscript books are: Ajjoub (2004; Sinai, gr. 864, a ninth-tenth century *Hôrologion* [Book of Hours], written at the monastery of Saint Catherine at Sinai); Spanos (2010; Lesbos, *Leimonos* 11, an eleventh-century *Mênaion* for June); and Anderson and Parenti (2016; Harvard, *Houghton* MS gr. 3, a Psalter and *Hôrologion*, copied in 1105, probably in Constantinople).

For brief introductions to various aspects related to Byzantine liturgical practice, see various chapters in Chupungco (1997–2000, 5 vols.) along with Getcha (2012); see also Papagiannes (2006). For various aspects of Orthodox hymnography and liturgical practice, the entries in the twelve-volume *Θρησκευτικὴ καὶ ἠθικὴ ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια* (Athens 1962–1968) as well as in the *Православная Энциклопедия* ("Orthodox Encyclopedia," Moscow, 2000–, available online at http://www.pravenc.ru) are useful. For Byzantine liturgical books, see the project *Catalogue of Byzantine Manuscripts* in liturgical context (CBM) at: https://www.pthu.nl/cbm/. Finally, regarding Byzantine music, see the bibliography provided in the following chapter (Martani, Chapter 19, "Recitation and Chant").

APPENDIX

The nine biblical Odes, with their beginning phrases in Greek:

(1) *Ὠιδὴ Μωυσέως ἐν τῇ Ἐξόδῳ, Ode of Moses*:
Ἄισωμεν τῷ κυρίῳ, ἐνδόξως γὰρ δεδόξασται (*Exodus* 15:1–19)
(2) *Ὠιδὴ Μωυσέως ἐν τῷ Δευτερονομίῳ, Ode of Moses*: Πρόσεχε, οὐρανέ, καὶ λαλήσω (*Deuteronomy* 32:1–43)
(3) *Προσευχὴ Ἄννας μητρὸς Σαμουὴλ, Prayer of Anna, the Mother of Samuel*: Ἐστερεώθη ἡ καρδία μου ἐν κυρίῳ (*1 Samuel* 2:1–10)
(4) *Προσευχὴ Ἀμβακούμ*, *Prayer of Habakkuk*: Κύριε, εἰσακήκοα τὴν ἀκοήν σου καὶ ἐφοβήθην (*Habakkuk* 3:2–19)
(5) *Προσευχὴ Ἠσαΐου, Prayer of Isaias*: Ἐκ νυκτὸς ὀρθρίζει τὸ πνεῦμά μου πρὸς σέ, ὁ θεός (*Isaiah* 26:9–20)

(6) *Προσευχὴ Ἰωνᾶ, Prayer of Jonah*: Ἐβόησα ἐν θλίψει μου (*Jonah* 2:3–10)
(7) *Προσευχὴ Ἀζαρίου, Prayer of Azariah*: Εὐλογητὸς εἶ, κύριε (*Daniel* 3:26–45)
(8) *Ὕμνος τῶν τριῶν παίδων, Song of the Three Young Men*: Εὐλογητὸς εἶ, κύριε (*Daniel* 3:52–88)
(9) *Προσευχὴ Μαρίας τῆς θεοτόκου*, *Prayer of the Theotokos*, also known as the *Magnificat* (*Luke* 1:46–55): Μεγαλύνει ἡ ψυχή μου τὸν κύριον—together with the so-called *Benedictus*, namely the *Προσευχὴ Ζαχαρίου*, *Prayer of Zachariah*: Εὐλογητὸς κύριος ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Ισραηλ (*Luke* 1:68–79).

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CHAPTER 19

RECITATION AND CHANT

Types of Notation, Modes of Expression

SANDRA MARTANI

Most Byzantine literature was experienced in public—usually liturgical—contexts, where texts were read aloud, improvised, chanted, or sung. Though we know little about the techniques and realities of recitation and rhetorical display and are unable to re-create a full picture of Byzantine musical culture, two aspects of performative practice can be reconstructed with some precision: (a) the cantillation of biblical lessons, and (b) the music of liturgical literature. Our knowledge is based partly on the large corpus of manuscripts with musical notation of various kinds. The history of these types of notation is briefly surveyed here as they form an integral part of Byzantine book and, by extension, literary culture, and they complement the preceding presentation on sacred song.

Lectionary Notation

Influenced by Greek rhetoric (Jourdan Hemmerdinger 1991) and Jewish practice (Avenary 1963), the early Christian church adopted the melodious reading of scriptural texts during the liturgical services. For the purpose of this cantillation, a special kind of notation is attested from at least the eighth century onwards and through to the late Byzantine period—though neither the time of its creation (the theories in Høeg 1935 and Engberg 1995 are not entirely convincing) nor the reasons for its disappearance between the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries are known.

This notation is called by modern scholars "ekphonetic" (from the verb ἐκφωνεῖν, i.e., recite aloud, proclaim) or "lectionary" notation, as it occurs in Greek and Slavonic biblical lectionaries: the *Prophêtologion* for the readings ("pericopes" or "lections") from the Old Testament (particularly the Octateuch, the Book of Wisdom, and the Prophets), usually during *Vespers*; the *Praxapostolos* for the pericopes from the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles, read during the *Liturgy*; and, especially, the *Evangelion* for the passages taken from the four Gospels, also recited during the *Liturgy* (for these liturgical books, see Velkovska 1997; on lectionaries, see further Dolezal 1991; Velkovska 1996;

and Engberg 2005; Parpulov 2012: 316–7; see also Spronk, Rouwhorst, and Royé 2013, and Gibson 2018; cf. Figure 19.1 in this chapter and Figure 21.2 in Chapter 21).

Contrary to Latin book culture (Ziolkowski 2007; Bobeth 2013), there is no evidence for the use of this ekphonetic notation to declaim or sing other kinds of texts. Only one exception is known: a notated *Synodikon* from the patriarchate of Antioch dated to 1050–1052 (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Holkham 6; see Jenkins and Mango 1961; on its scribe, see RGK I 140; on the notation, see Engberg 1962). But in this case as well we are dealing with a book used for liturgical purposes. We can thus suppose that ekphonetic notation was strictly devoted to liturgical texts and that neumatic signs perhaps assumed a quasi-symbolic value, that is, they signaled the entrance to a sacred sphere.

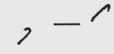
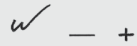
The ekphonetic notation provides a systematic division of the text into small units of a few words (*cola*) on the basis of the syntactical structure of the phrase. How each *colon* is to be chanted was expressed by a pair of neumes, i.e., signs that frame the text. The neumes, placed above, below, or in the middle of the text, were usually written in red ink (in the most precious specimens, even in gold or silver) in order to distinguish them more easily from regular accents.

Each pair of neumes reminded the lector of the correct intonation of the text, suggesting the development of a melodic movement probably consisting of an intonation, a reciting tone, and a cadence. This is what we are led to think on the basis of the list of neumes contained in the Sinai gr. 8 manuscript (tenth/eleventh century), which transcribed the ekphonetic signs into "Palaeobyzantine" notation, a melodic type of notation (on which see later discussion in this chapter). These lists of signs (we know five different lists from the tenth to the fourteenth century) were drawn up for didactic purposes and inserted in the lectionary as memory aids, but without any explanation of their meaning or performance practice (Martani 2003c).

Since no detailed theoretical writings exist about ekphonetic notation, the system cannot be deciphered and the different attempts at transcription have all proved unsatisfactory (Høeg 1935; Joannides 1967–1968; Panțiru 1973, 1982; Flender 1988, 1990). Nevertheless, a minute analysis of the notated pericopes can reveal certain aspects of the notational system. Apart from a basic adhesion to a "syntactical" level of the text, it is possible to recognize two other different levels: a "semantic" level, at which some particular words received a distinctive neumatic combination so as to be emphasized, often because of their theological meaning; and a "liturgical" level, at which a differentiated use of the ornamental neumes contributed to graduating the emphasis in the cantillation in relation to the different degrees of festivity (Martani 2011). This could explain why lectionaries do not present exactly the same manner of musical annotation, even when the codices were written by the same copyist (Martani 2003a).

Until the end of the tenth century, notation seems to have been applied rather freely in what is known as the pre-classical system. From the end of the tenth century, the system was codified, perhaps in Constantinople, and provided with strict rules (we refer to it as the classical system; see Tables 19.1 and 19.2 and Figure 19.1). From the middle of the twelfth century, a further transformation of the system became increasingly evident: the neumes were often not used in pairs, some pairs became rare, textual phrases were no longer detailed through the notation, and the cantillation seems to have called for a more "dramatic" performance and for an emphasis on individual words. These tendencies probably undermined the notation system, leading to its complete disappearance, though it should be noted that the pericopes of the Holy Scriptures are to this day cantillated (Martani 2003b).

Table 19.1 Ekphonetic Notation: The Classical System[a]

The Basic Pairs of Neumes	
kathistê-kathistê (kth-kth)	
oxeia-oxeia (o-o)	
bareia-bareia (b-b)	
hypokrisis-hypokrisis[b] (y-y)	
kremastê-kremastê (kr-kr)	
kentêmata-kentêmata (k-k)	
apostrophos-apostrophos (a-a)	
apesô-exô (a-o)	
The Ornamental Neumes	
syrmatikê-teleia (sr-t)	
paraklêtikê (in different combinations) (p-	
synemba (in different combinations) (s-	
The Cadential Neumes (Pairs with *teleia*)	
*syrmatikê-teleia** (sr-t)	
oxeia-teleia (o-t)	
paraklêtikê-teleia (p-t)	
synemba-teleia (s-t)	
* in the classical system a medial syrmatike can be added (sr-sr-t)	
The Peculiar Neumes for the Final Cadence of the Pericope (Doubled Neumes)	
oxeiai diplai (oo-oo)	
bareiai diplai (bb-bb)	

[a] The dash between the neumes represents the text of each colon.

[b] It is common to find a 3 *apostrophoi*-shaped *hypokrisis* too.

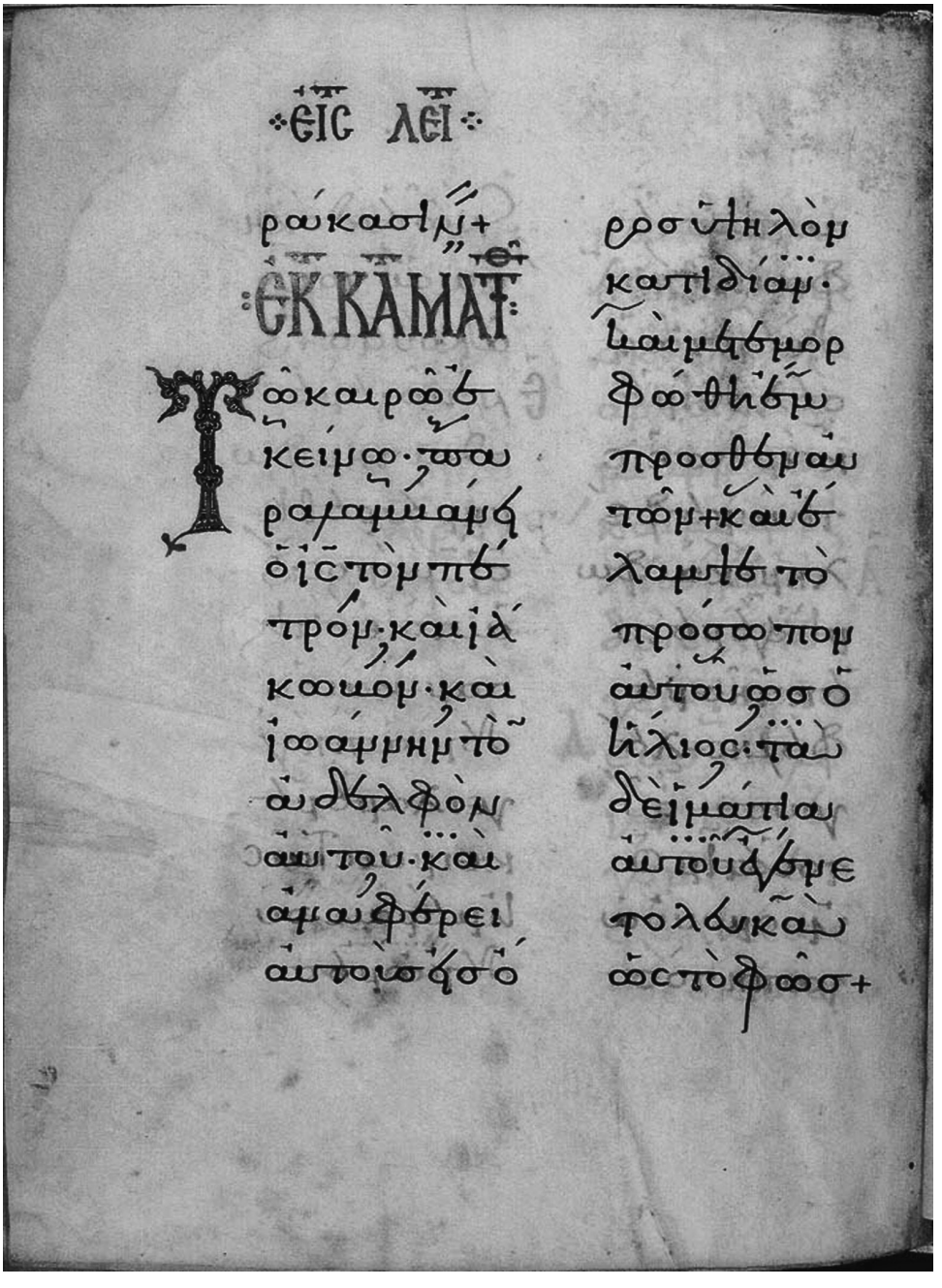


FIGURE 19.1 Cesena, Biblioteca Malatestiana, Ms. D.XXVII.4; parchment; eleventh century (2/2); Gospel *Lectionary*; f. 184v: Matthew 17.1–2. Digital copy available through: http://catalogoaperto.malatestiana.it/ricerca/.

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Table 19.2 August 6, the Transfiguration; Gospel for the *Liturgy* According to Matthew (Matthew 17: 1–8)

Colon	Greek Text (with English translation)	Ekphonetic Neumes
01	Τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ At that time	kth-kth
02	παραλαμβάνει ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὸν Πέτρον Jesus took Peter	pa-o
03	καὶ Ἰάκωβον James,	a-o
04	καὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ and John his brother,	a-a
05	καὶ ἀναφέρει αὐτοὺς εἰς ὄρος ὑψηλὸν κατ' ἰδίαν and led them up a high mountain by themselves	k-k
06	καὶ μετεμορφώθη ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν And he was transfigured before them	sr-**sr**-t
07	καὶ ἔλαμψε τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ his face shone	kr-kr
08	ὡς ὁ ἥλιος like the sun	a-a
09	τὰ δὲ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ and his clothes	k-k
10	ἐγένετο λευκὰ ὡς τὸ φῶς. became white as light	sr-**sr**-t
11	καὶ ἰδοὺ And behold,	kth-kth
12	ὤφθησαν αὐτοῖς Μωσῆς καὶ Ἠλίας Moses and Elijah appeared to them	o-o
13	μετ' αὐτοῦ συλλαλοῦντες conversing with him.	sr-**sr**-t
14	ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Πέτρος Then Peter in reply	kth-kth
15	εἶπεν τῷ Ἰησοῦ, said to Jesus,	o-t
16	Κύριε, "Lord,	kth-kth
17	καλόν ἐστιν ἡμᾶς it is good for us	o-o
18	ὧδε εἶναι to be here.	sr-t

Table 19.2 (*Continued*)

Colon	Greek Text (with English translation)	Ekphonetic Neumes
19	εἰ θέλεις, If you wish,	kth-kth
20	ποιήσω ὧδε I will make here	o-o
21	τρεῖς σκηνάς three tents	sr-t
22	σοὶ μίαν one for you,	b-b
23	καὶ Μωσεῖ μίαν one for Moses,	y2-y2
24	καὶ μίαν Ἠλίᾳ. and one for Elijah.	o-t
25	ἔτι αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος While he was still speaking,	kth-kth
26	ἰδοὺ νεφέλη φωτεινὴ behold, a bright cloud	pa-a
27	ἐπεσκίασεν αὐτούς, cast a shadow over them	o-t
28	καὶ ἰδοὺ φωνὴ ἐκ τῆς νεφέλης then from the cloud [came] a voice	sr-**sr**-t
29	λέγουσα, that said	kth-kth
30	Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, "This is my beloved Son,	o-o
31	ἐν ᾧ εὐδόκησα· with whom I am well pleased	a-a
32	ἀκούετε αὐτοῦ listen to him."	o-t
33	καὶ ἀκούσαντες οἱ μαθηταὶ When the disciples heard this,	kth-kth
34	ἔπεσαν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον αὐτῶν they fell prostrate	a-a
35	καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν σφόδρα and were very much afraid.	o-t
36	καὶ προσηλθὼν ὁ Ἰησοῦς But Jesus coming	kth-kth
37	ἥψατο αὐτῶν καὶ εἶπεν touched them, saying,	sr-**sr**-t
38	Ἐγέρθητε καὶ μὴ φοβεῖσθε "Rise, and do not be afraid."	sr-t

(Continued)

Table 19.2 (*Continued*)

Colon	Greek Text (with English translation)	Ekphonetic Neumes
39	ἐπάραντες δὲ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν And when the disciples raised their eyes,	kth-kth
40	οὐδένα εἶδον they saw no one	a-a
41	εἰ μὴ αὐτὸν Ἰησοῦν μόνον else but Jesus alone.	o-t
42	Καὶ καταβαινόντων αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους As they were coming down from the mountain,	kth-kth
43	ἐνετείλατο αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς Jesus charged them,	sr-**sr**-t
44	λέγων, saying	kth-kth
45	Μηδενὶ εἴπητε τὸ ὅραμα "Do not tell about the vision to anyone	bbs-bb
46	ἕως οὗ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου until the Son of Man	bb-bb
47	ἐκ νεκρῶν from the dead	k-k
48	ἀναστῇ has been raised."	aa-aaoot

Ekphonetic notation from the parchment manuscript Cesena, Malatestiana Library, D.XXVII.4 (ff. 184v–186r; digital copy available through: http://catalogoaperto.malatestiana.it/ricerca/); Figure 19.1 (f. 184v: Matthew 17.1–2). The cadences are in gray; wavy line indicates the final cadence. The English translation is adapted to Greek cola.

The Melodic Notations

From the sixth century onward there is evidence—such as the shell *Ostr. Skeat 16* from Egypt or the papyrus fragment PBerol. 21319)—for the use of signs in the recording of melodic elements of Christian hymns. In five Greek manuscripts of Coptic origin (PRyland Coptici 25–29; end of the seventh through the ninth century) some hymns were furnished with a sort of organized notational system that perhaps possessed a diastematic[1] value (the so-called Hermoupolis notation; see Papathanasiou and Boukas

[1] Namely, "the exact pitch of each tone is indicated" even if "the pitch of each note in Byzantine diastematic notation is defined by a numeric description of the interval distance from the note immediately preceding [. . .] But the Middle Byzantine notation is silent about the precise size of the steps involved" (Troelsgård 2011: 23).

2002, 2004). A proto-notation system, widespread in Greek, Slavonic, and Syro-Melkite manuscripts from the eighth to the sixteenth century, was the so-called Theta notation, where a single sign, the letter θ (but in some cases also other signs, like *oxeia*, *diplē*, *kylisma*, and small circumflexes) usually marked melodically ornate syllables (Raasted 1962; Raasted 1995; Dimitrova 2011; Sgandurra 2017). These highly mnemotechnic notations remained in use even after the appearance of diastematically more precise later notations.

From the mid-tenth century onward, several manuscripts are provided with better articulated notational systems. Two main systems, both adiastematic,[2] are recognized: the *Chartres* (from a lost fragment once at the Bibl. Municipale in Chartres, connected to Constantinople and Mt Athos; see Strunk 1977) and the *Coislin* notations (from Paris, BNF, Coislin 220, an eleventh-century *Heirmologion* probably originating in the Syro-Palestinian area; see Doda 1995 and Bucca 2016 with bibliography). It was only in about the mid-twelfth century, with the evolution of a fully developed *Coislin* system, that diastemacy, albeit imperfect, was achieved through the so-called Middle Byzantine notation (regarding terminological issues, see Troelsgård 2012; see also Table 19.3 and Figure 19.2).[3]

The "Middle Byzantine" notation system was one in which one or more combined neumes, following well-defined rules, indicated the number of φωναί (steps) to move upward or downward in relation to the preceding note. Unlike practices that begin to appear in the Latin West at the end of the ninth century, the Byzantine notation system did not indicate steps through the spatial position of the signs within a system of lines (a staff). Rather, the neumes were placed above the text (technically: "in campo aperto") on the same line.

The basic signs of the system were the *ison*, indicating the repetition of the same pitch; the *oligon* for the interval of ascending second; the *apostrophos* for the interval of descending second; the *kentêma* and the *elaphron* for the ascending and descending third, respectively; and the *hypsêlê* and the *chamêlê* for the ascending and descending fifth. Five other signs for the ascending second—the *oxeia*, *petastê*, *kouphisma*, *pelaston*, and *dyo kentêmata*—added peculiar qualities to the melodic interval, with more or less accentuated and/or modulated performance related to the quality or position of the syllable (for an analysis of the use of these neumes in relation to the text, see Amargianakis 1983).

Besides these φωνητικὰ σημάδια (i.e., neumes with a melodic value), there were also subsidiary neumes, the so-called μεγάλα σημάδια (big signs). These, depending on the case, supplied rhythmic, dynamic, or expressive indications, made reference to cheironomic gestures (i.e., the movement of the hands by the head cantor/conductor; cf. Moran 1986: 38–47), and accompanied particular groups of melodic neumes. Usually

[2] Namely, "they do not precisely indicate the pitch on which a neume group begins, neither do they precisely indicate the size of intervals" (Troelsgård 2011: 22).

[3] It should be noted that full diastemacy would be attained only with the Chrysanthos reform at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

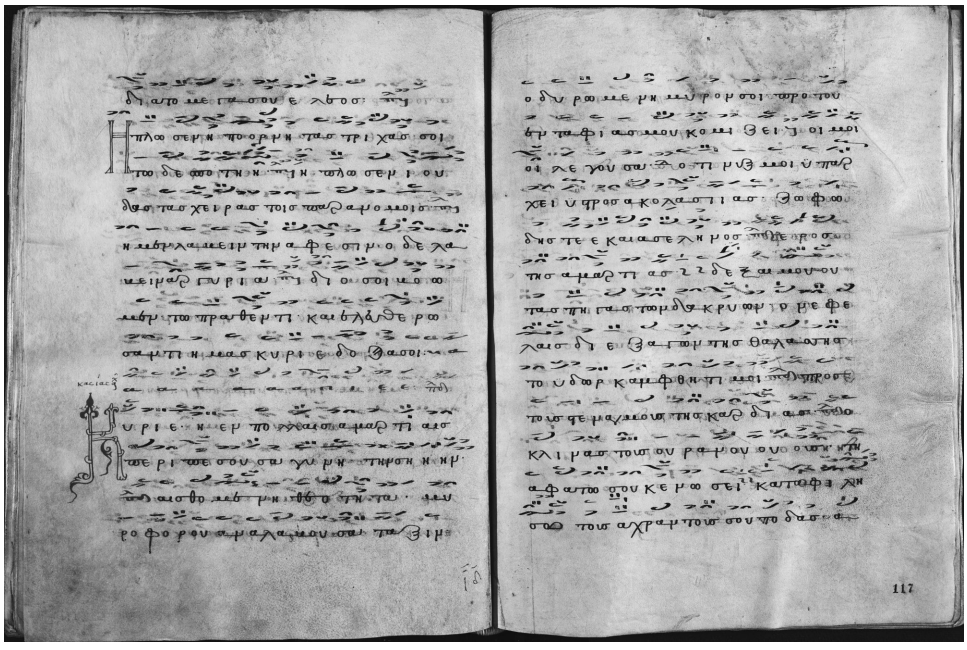

FIGURE 19.2 Grottaferrata, Biblioteca Statale, Monumento Nazionale di San Nilo, Ms. E.α.V (gr. 246); parchment; late thirteenth century; *Stichêrarion*; f. 116v–117r: the *stichêron idiomelon* by Kassia.

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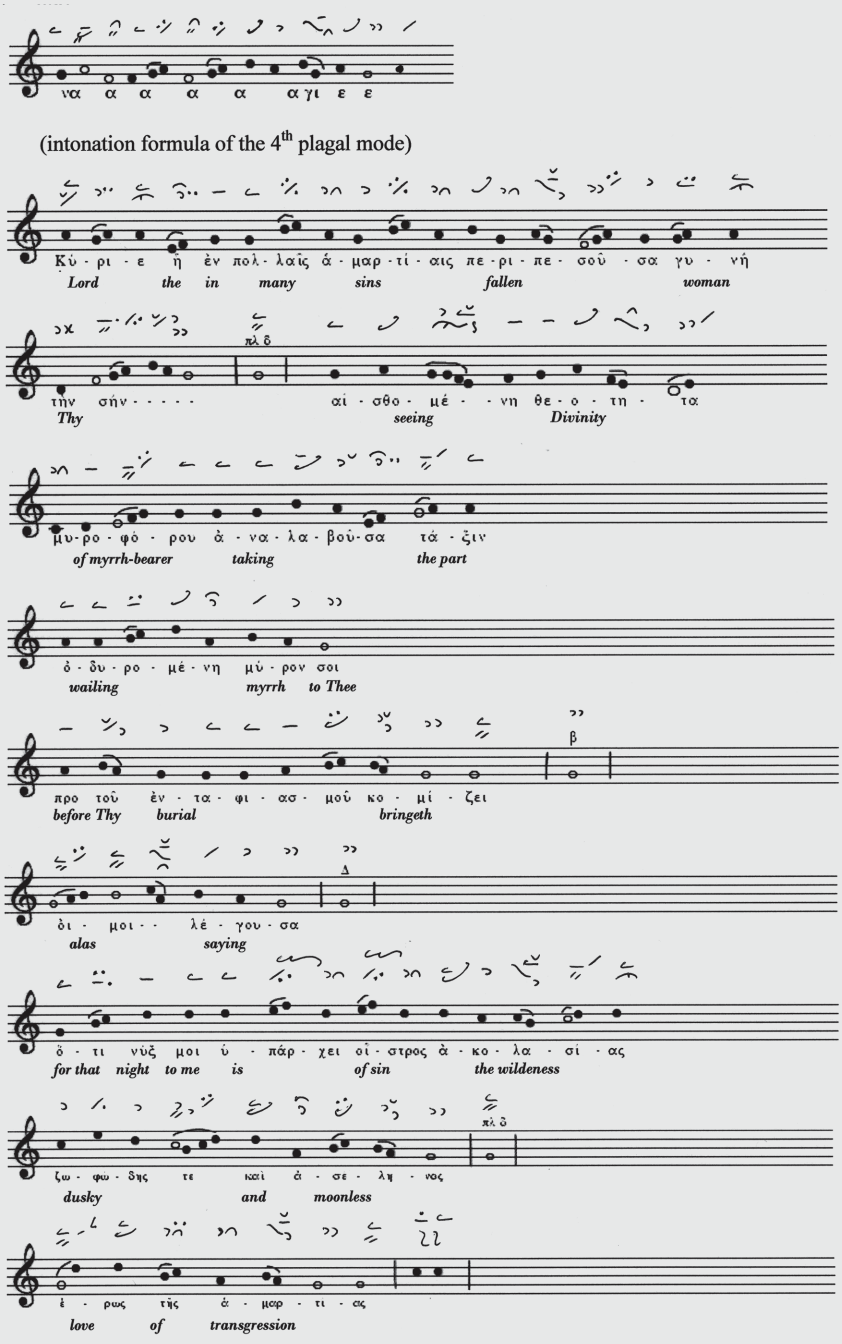
written in red ink, they probably served the cantor as a visual guide by enabling him to find the employed formulae immediately (Alexandru 2012b; tables with neumes in Troelsgård 2011: 41–55). In this function, they started to be used more frequently in the later Middle Byzantine notation. From the first half of the fourteenth century, with the new aesthetics of the "kalophonic" (i.e., embellished) style (see later discussion), hymns were enriched with long *melismata*, i.e., a long series of notes or whole sections (and sometimes even entire compositions) without text. In such works, where the textual structure was lacking and the melody was vocalized upon meaningless syllables (*teretismata*), the μεγάλα σημάδια provided the articulation of the phrases and structured the chants.

Though Byzantine treatises on musical theory exist (see the chapter by Hannick in Hunger 1978: II:181–218, esp. 196–212), they do not furnish clear explanations on technical questions or matters of execution of each of these neumes. For instance, the *Papadikê*, a didactic compendium for elementary training, resembles a rough draft, a set of notes that need to be explained and organized through instruction by a teacher (discussions in Troelsgård 1997; Alexandru and Troelsgård 2013). Thus the performance of neumes remains unclear (about the problems of transcription and execution of the medieval chants, see Lingas 2003 and Troelsgård 2006).

It is noteworthy that in musical manuscripts, literary texts have no accents or spirits. As a result of the bond between text and music, accentual and rhythmical patterns are rendered instead in a musical way through neumatic, melodic characterization. In

Table 19.3 Incipit of the *stichêron idiomelon* of Kassia for Holy Wednesday at *Orthros*



Transnotation from the Grottaferrata E.α..V [gr. 246], parchment Stichêrarion, 13th c. (2nd half), ff. 116v–117r; see Figure 19.2 and cf. Barillari 2012.

Greek, the word τόνος is used to indicate both the accent of the word and the pitch of the voice. In an important theoretical treatise attributed to Ioannes Damaskenos and written in the first half of the fourteenth century, the same word is used as a technical term to indicate the musical step, or the set of the neumes with melodic value (ps.-Ioannes Damaskenos, *Questions and Answers on the Art of Chanting*, 42–72); the verb τονίζω in modern Greek means both to accent and to set to music.

The Kalophonic Style

Musical manuscripts pertaining to different kinds of Byzantine hymns (*Kontakaria, Stichêraria,* and *Heirmologia* [cf. Figures 18.2, 19.2, and 18.3]) as well as to different types of performance (*Psaltika* for the use of the soloist and *Asmatika* for the use of the choir) were presented in the previous chapter (Papaioannou, "Sacred Song"). Here mention should be made of a new style of musical composition that flourished from the fourteenth century onward. This was the καλοφωνία (beautiful voicing), which entailed the embellishment of traditional melodies and their likely performance (Stathis 2014; Antonopoulos 2017). Though the kalophonic technique used features already found in the few specimens of florid melodies in the Greek notated manuscripts of the twelfth century (Floros 1970: II:259–261; Adsuara 1999) and the thirteenth-century *Asmatika* and *Psaltika* (Troelsgård 2004), it nevertheless represented a new free style.

"Kalophony" employed multiple repetitions of the same neume groups, motifs in progression, series of repeated pitches, changes of pitch with wide leaps, and the so-called *kratêmata* (i.e., prolongations; Anastasiou 2005) or *teretismata* (from the nonsense syllables *te*, *re*, *ri*, *to*, *ro* used to articulate these long vocalized passages), which could become independent compositions too (see Wolfram 2006, 2008). Works in kalophonic style are transmitted mainly in the *Akolouthiai* (Orders of Service) manuscripts, whose main purpose was to include in a single book the chants in use for the *Vespers*, the *Matins*, and the *Liturgy*. The creator of this new liturgical/musical anthology seems to have been the singer and composer Ioannes Koukouzeles (PLP 92435), who flourished in c. 1300–1350 and was active in Constantinople and later on Mount Athos.

Though non-biblical hymns (*kontakia*, *heirmoi*, and *stichêra*) also were embellished kalophonically, it is primarily the chants deriving from the Psalms that lay at the heart of such melodic elaboration.[4] Most of these chants are transmitted by the *Akolouthiai* manuscripts in compositions that are either anonymous or (frequently) attributed to

[4] Byzantine chants that derive from the Psalms are the προκείμενον (chanted before the Scriptural reading at *Vespers* and *Matins* and before the Epistle in the *Liturgy*; see Hintze 1973; Troelsgård 1995); the ἀλληλουϊάριον (the verses intercalated to the refrain ἀλληλούϊα, before the Gospel's reading in the *Liturgy*; Thodberg 1966); and the κοινωνικόν (the communion chant, also during the *Liturgy*; Schattauer 1983; Conomos 1980, 1985). Other common Psalmic chants are the *Kyrie ekekraxa* (a complex consisting of Psalms 140, 141, 129, and 116, for the Vespers) and the *Ainoi* (Psalms 148–150, for the *Matins*).

famous composers, such as Koukouzeles, his slightly earlier contemporary Ioannes Glykys (πρωτοψάλτης, i.e., head cantor of the right choir in a Constantinopolitan church, active toward the end of the thirteenth or in the early fourteenth century; PLP 4267), and Xenos Korones (first λαμπαδάριος, i.e., head cantor of the left choir, in Hagia Sophia, and then πρωτοψάλτης of the imperial clergy in Constantinople; active in c. 1325–1350; PLP 13243)—to name just three eponymous masters.

With "kalophony," the relationship between text and melody was reconfigured in a way that, for the first time in such an accentuated fashion in the history of Byzantine sacred chant, it privileged music over words, or (to put it differently) non-discursive over discursive expression. From the original text only selected verses were used, some words were repeated, and several phrases and sections of the poetic text were rearranged (in this case, the composition was called ἀναγραμματισμός). Thus a new relationship between literature and music was formed: words lost their constitutive role, while melody, through neumatic notation, superimposed a new meaning on the deconstructed text (Alexandru 2011–2012). In the context perhaps of the late Byzantine Hesychastic movement (Lingas 1996), much sacred songs aimed therefore *also* at meditation, highlighting the impossibility of expressing the ineffable through human speech.

Suggestions for Further Reading

For comprehensive treatments of Byzantine music and matters of notation, see Floros 2005 and, especially, Troelsgård 2011 and Alexandru 2017—see also Arvanitis 2004. The interested reader will also find useful brief introductions to Byzantine music in Hannick 1995; Levy and Troelsgård, "Byzantine Chant" (see also Levy and Conomos, "Liturgy and Liturgical Books IV. Byzantine Rite"); and Lingas 2008. See also Alexandru 2006 and 2012a with bibliographies. For case studies on specific composers and compositions see, for instance, Williams 1968; Antonopoulos 2014; and Tessari 2014.

Since 1935, the *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae* in Copenhagen, a project under the auspices of the Union Académique Internationale, has been publishing facsimiles, monographs relating to particular subjects, transcriptions (until 1960), and theoretical treatises pertaining to Byzantine music (Corpus Scriptorum de Re Musica—the list of the publications can be found on the web at: http://www.igl.ku.dk/MMB). See also the series *Meletae* of the Institute of Byzantine Musicology of the Holy Synod of the Church of Greece (Stathis 2014: xv–xvi, for a list of publications).

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PART III

AGENTS

CHAPTER 20

AUTHORS

(With an Excursus on Symeon Metaphrastes)

STRATIS PAPAIOANNOU

Two types of questions may, at the very least, be asked about authorship in Byzantium. The first would pertain to sociohistorical conditions: the who, how, when, and where of authors, their social profile, that is, careers, and experience *as* authors. The second should address notions of authorship: how it was conceived; what was its cultural significance; and, more crucially, whether the author—understood here in the most basic sense of the primary producer of discourse, in writing and/or in speaking—mattered or not for the creation, preservation, and reception of literature. To survey the former issues would amount to a social history of Byzantium, and especially of its middle and upper classes, namely those groups to which most Byzantine eponymous authors belonged. To answer the latter set of questions would require a foray into the "subconscious" of literary production and reception in Byzantium. The brief chapter that follows has a modest aim: to introduce both sets of questions, focusing especially on the latter, in order to provide interpretive frameworks for the study of the function, value, and effect of authorial agency in Byzantine society and, more so, literature.

We shall begin with some data regarding the realities of authorship in Byzantium, from both a diachronic and a synchronic perspective. The rest of our exploration will be devoted to the Byzantine understanding of authorship. We shall do this by treating authors as integral to the phenomenology (and not merely the sociology) of literature. In this investigation, our main guides will be (a) Byzantine theories of literature, as evident in the context of discursive education and the textual as well as visual representations of authors; and (b) Byzantine manuscript culture, to the extent that the material realities of book production and availability required authorial attribution for the inclusion and faithful copying of a text or, alternatively, created the space for misattribution, falsification, and anonymity in textual production.[1]

[1] Cf. Papaioannou 2014, an earlier version of the present chapter.

Pragmatic Questions

As with many other aspects in the history of Byzantine literature, what we do *not* know about the realities of Byzantine authors far exceeds what we do know. We possess, for a start, no reliable statistics of the exact number of authors, writing in Greek, whose texts and/or names have been preserved, and who lived during the period between the foundation of Constantinople as the new capital of the Roman Empire in the third decade of the fourth century CE to the mid-fifteenth century, when the city fell to the Ottomans. Arguably, such statistics could be assembled if we combined the evidence recorded in prosopographies of the Byzantine Empire with that found in encyclopedias, dictionaries, surveys, manuscript resources, and genre-specific databases relevant to the Byzantine written production—and we shall offer a sample in the following. But whom should we include?

The answer is not simple. In pre-modern, pre-typographic textual environments, and thus also in Byzantium, the author came in many guises. He—and the masculine pronoun is used here intentionally, as the overwhelming majority of Byzantine authors were male—could resemble his modern counterpart by being the sole and proprietary originator of a text, the unitary figure responsible for a work of verbal art and/or communication. But he may also have been quite unlike a modern author, for whom originality and copyright are defining features. Unlike the typical modern creator of literary texts, Byzantine authors often worked as compilers, translators, redactors, paraphrasers, epitomizers, excerpters, or even simply as scribes. In any of these capacities, Byzantine writers could (and indeed were usually expected to) intervene creatively in the making of texts, a creativity that only recently has begun to receive the attention it deserves. Moreover, in a world where writing was not always necessary for authorial activity, a Byzantine creator of literary discourse could also be a storyteller, a singer, or even simply a reader, producing, reciting, or elaborating an earlier story or text in front of an audience. Just as the Byzantine "text" is a category that is hard to pin down, so also its producer is a protean character.

With this in mind, what *could* we say about Byzantine authors if we surveyed a substantial number of databases? In the statistics that follow, only authors' names attached to surviving texts are included, without taking into consideration the amount of texts credited to each author, the type of authorship in which they engaged, cases of pseudonymity, or the kind of attributed texts.[2] The statistics are somewhat crude, but they nevertheless afford us a representative sample. In my estimation, Byzantine eponymous authors whose texts have been preserved number to c. 1,600. They are distributed evenly

[2] The survey is based on the following works: BHG; CPG; Beck (1959; 1971 = 1988); Hunger (1978); Buchwald, Hohlweg, and Prinz (1982); and Kazhdan et al. (1991).

as far as chronology is concerned: 26 percent of them are dated to the early Byzantine period (c. 300–c. 600); 24 percent to the period between the mid-ninth century and 1204; 22 percent to the late Byzantine period (1204–1453); 10 percent belong to the transitional period of crisis, namely the period between the beginning of the seventh and the early ninth century; and 18 percent are of uncertain date (this last percentage, mostly authors' names from the BHG, may be exaggerated, representing more the state of our research, rather than reality).

The pattern that emerges is perhaps unsurprising, especially when the history of the empire is combined with the history of the transmission of texts. One might have expected, for instance, that the percentage of early Byzantine authors would be significantly higher due to the larger demographics of early Byzantium and that, similarly, the percentage of late Byzantine authors would be smaller. The works of early Byzantine writers, however, as opposed to those of late Byzantine ones, had less chance of surviving through the filters of later audiences and the accidents of manuscript transmission.

The geography of these authors' origins and place of literary activity are also consistent with what we know about the history of Byzantium. The spread during the first 250 years of Byzantine history is rather wide, encompassing many urban centers in the eastern Mediterranean. Quickly, however, Constantinople becomes the primary (and during the middle Byzantine period often almost the only) center for the bulk of Byzantine authors. The number of writers associated with Palestine, Syria, and, less so, Egypt continues to be significant until the early ninth century and then again (for northern Syria) during the late tenth and eleventh centuries, while Italy (especially southern Italy and Sicily) is crucial to the biographies of a similarly significant number of writers from the seventh into the twelfth century. After 1204 the geographical expanse is ruptured; Thessalonike, and (increasingly as we approach 1453) many more communities, large and small, are added to the picture, yet Constantinople continues as *the* center.

Geography gives the impression that insiders, i.e., those belonging to the core of Byzantine society, prevail among the c. 1600 authors. The same impression emerges, whatever basic category of analysis we may introduce. Take gender, for example. As already alluded, the absence of women in our statistical sample is blatant: a mere ten names can be cited, distributed rather evenly in each period.[3] Even if we can safely

[3] These female authors are: Hypatia, philosopher (c. 355–415); Athenais-Eudokia, empress (c. 400–460); Sergia, author of BHG 1376 (seventh century, first half); Kassia/Kassiane, poet and hymnographer (early ninth century; PmbZ 3636–3637); Theodosia, hymnographer (ninth century; PmbZ 7791); Thekla, hymnographer (ninth century?; PmbZ 7263); Anna Komnene, historian (1084–c. 1150/1155); Theodora Rhaoulaina (d. 1300; PLP 10943), author of BHG 1793; Eirene Choumnaina, letter-writer (1291–c. 1354/1355; PLP 30936); Theodora Palaiologina, hymnographer (d. before 1387; PLP 21339). To these we may add: Anna Komnene's mother, Eirene Doukaina Komnene (1066–1123? for bibliography on Eirene, cf. Papaioannou, forthcoming) and Theodora Synadene (late thirteenth–fourteenth century, first half; PLP 21381), both founders of monasteries and purported "authors" of *Typika*; Thomais, the fictitious author of the *Passion* of Saint Febronia (BHG 659); and three anonymous and probably female writers: the

assume that the actual number of female writers was larger, it seems that it never reached a noticeable size. Equally small in our list is the number of authors who did not profess some form of Christianity (especially after the fourth century) or of bilingual authors (Euthymios the Iberian, translator from Greek into Georgian and vice versa, author of *Barlaam and Ioasaph* and the *Life of Theodoros of Edessa*, is the most prominent—we shall encounter him also later[4]).

How about social profile? It may be gleaned from the CVs (the comparatively few that we can reconstruct with some detail) and, at the very least, the professional or honorific titles that ordinarily accompany authors' names. Most among the c. 1,600 authors could be placed in roughly the periphery of the ruling elite, in various degrees of proximity to the apex of political power (at least officially), the emperor. Some were already members of Byzantine aristocracy through family lineage and wealth, or became such through some high administrative office (whether imperial, ecclesiastic, or monastic), and many more aspired to rise through the social ladder and reach the higher group. The clear majority of authors (almost one-third) were bishops—though we should not confuse this with a purely ecclesiastical career, written production, or worldview, since quite often (most visibly during the twelfth century) these authors were professional teachers and rhetoricians before advancing to bishopric. The rest were divided more or less equally among four further groups: (a) priests and deacons; (b) monastics; (c) discourse professionals, usually identified either as grammarians or as rhetors; and (d) members of the imperial and/or civic administration—it should be noted that the final group contains the fewest representatives in our list but includes some very significant authors, such as Symeon Metaphrastes.

Again, there is nothing surprising in this social landscape. Nor would anyone with some knowledge of Byzantine social history be surprised to learn that the same author could belong to different groups during his life as a writer or that, though the levels of education could vary greatly from one author to another, the great majority should be classified under a middle group of relatively learned persons who were well versed, especially in Christian literature. After all, for most of the c. 1,600 authors, writing and/or public speaking were a part, but *not* the defining part of their profession, and certainly not the primary means of their livelihood or social distinction. The exception to this were authors involved with discursive education: teachers (γραμματικοί, ῥήτορες,

author of the early ninth-century *Life* of the Empress Eirene (BHG 2205), the author of the late tenth/early eleventh-century *Life* of Saint Eirene of Chrysobalanton (BHG 952), and the author of an eleventh/twelfth-century *Life* of Saint Auxentios (BHG 202); for the latter three, see Hinterberger (2014: 215); for the hymnographers, see Catafygiotou-Topping (1982–1983). On learned women in Byzantium, see further Mavroudi (2012). See also Rigo (2019) for a series of late Byzantine noble women, addressees, and editors of works of spiritual guidance, and possibly authors themselves (see, e.g., Eulogia [fourteenth century, second half; PLP 6277]).

[4] See Chapter 8, "Translations I: From Other Languages into Greek," Messis and Papaioannou, "Section III. Arabic"; Aleksidze, "Section IV. Georgian"; Chapter 22, "Translations II: Greek Texts into Other Languages," Aleksidze, "Section V. Georgian," in this volume; and also Simelidis 2020.

φιλόσοφοι, μαΐστορες, διδάσκαλοι) and discursive performers (ῥήτορες, σοφισταί, λογογράφοι), for whom writing and/or speaking was a main activity and thus learnedness was a primary financial and social resource.[5]

If we move beyond statistics, it appears that precariousness of one type and degree or another pervaded the lives (and indeed afterlives among later audiences) of many Byzantine authors. For instance, the careers and circumstances of a large number of Byzantine writers remain in obscurity; if nothing else, this tells us something about the inconspicuousness of authors within the surviving textual and material sources for Byzantine history. Similarly, though we possess a fair number of Byzantine manuscripts, only a small minority of authors enjoyed wide circulation and a guaranteed survival in the world of manuscripts. In fact, some of the most popular authors in Byzantium were not Byzantine at all (if we think here only in chronological terms); they were the writers to whom the sacred texts of the Byzantine Bible (Old and New Testament) were attributed.

Similar aspects surface from disparate evidence regarding the daily lives of authors *as* authors: the toilsome task of writing (cf. Ioseph Bryennios, *Letter* to Ioannes, tr. in the Appendix to this chapter); revisions and corrections as evident in the many authors' *autographa* that survive from the late Byzantine period (cf., e.g., Ciolfi 2016 on Georgios of Pelagonia; see Figure 20.1)[6]; the collection of (in order to preserve) one's own works from readers to whom texts had circulated (e.g., Gregorios Kyprios, *Letter* 155); the destruction of one's writings after being accused of some sort of transgression (Giagkos 1991: 147 on Nikon of the Black Mountain), and so on and so forth. Above all, precariousness is suggested by the dependence of most writers on the social power and wealth of others. Students, admirers, protégées, and, especially, patrons were usually a necessity for authorial activity (for Ioannes Sikeliotes, to cite a typical case, see Papaioannou 2019b). The history of literary patronage/matronage and, in general, of the socioeconomic patterns that framed authorship during the Byzantine millennium remains to be written.[7] Yet it is clear that the cultural capital of authorship, often exaggerated by its practitioners, did not ensure social or economic success for the authors themselves.

[5] For the history of grammarians and rhetors as professions in Byzantium, see Loukaki (2015 and 2016); Papaioannou (2013: 29–50; revised in 2021a: 59–88). A distinct group of "semi-professional" authors that we may identify, and who have not been studied as such, were members of the personnel (such as deacons and *chartophylakes*, often doubling as "rhetors") of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, especially during the middle and late Byzantine period (notable examples have been mentioned in several chapters in this volume: e.g., Georgios Choiroboskos [mid-ninth century], Ioannes Polites [late tenth century], and Ioannes Galenos [late eleventh century]; to these we might also add Euarestos [tenth century; on Euarestos, see below]).

[6] For examples of autographed codices from this period, see Pérez Martín, "Modes of Manuscript Transmission," Chapter 23 in this volume. See also Patmos 381 (Komines 1968: 18–19 = 1970: 35), completed in 1349 by Makarios Chrysokephalos (1300–1382; PLP 31138; RGK I 242 and II 336bis), the metropolitan of Philadelphia (from 1336 onward), a prolific writer; the codex contains the second volume of Makarios's *Catena on Genesis*; Figure 20.1: f. 384v: the end of the twentieth homily on Matthew 17.1–13, and the author's colophon in prose and twelve-syllable verses.

[7] For important studies in this direction, see, e.g., papers included in Mullett (2007), Odorico (2012), or Theis et al. (2014).

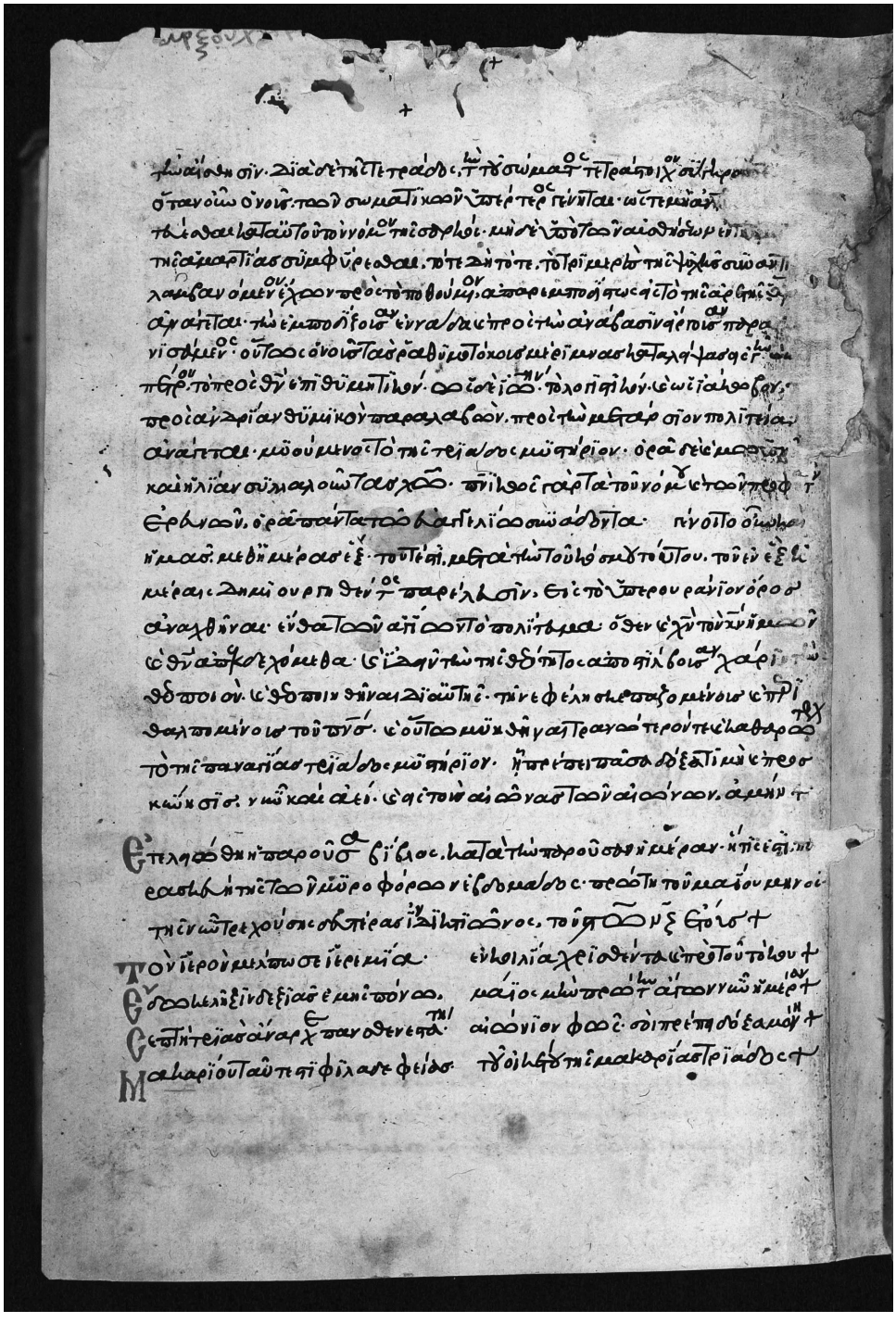

FIGURE 20.1 Patmos, Μονὴ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου 381; paper; 1349 CE; Makarios Chrysokephalos, autograph; f. 384v: twentieth homily on Matthew 17.1–13 and colophon.

© Patmos, Monastery of St. John Theologian.

Figures Larger Than Life

Still, what about the cultural capital of authorship? Namely, what were the Byzantine conceptions of authorship? How did Byzantines view the function of the author in the workings of literature? What was the role of authorial agency in the validation and valuation of texts and discourses?

The category of the author operates today as the organizing principle that drives a considerable industry generated by what we call "literature." In bookstores and in libraries, in publishing houses and academic curricula, authors' names yield meaning and wealth (whatever the sophisticated critique the category has undergone in recent years in postmodern corners; Burke 1998). The centrality of authorship in the conception and experience of literature is not exactly new. The Byzantine tradition is a case in point. In Byzantium, certain authors and certain kinds of authorship enjoyed (though always posthumously) a significance to which indeed no modern author, despite the celebrity he or she may have enjoyed, could aspire. I am referring to authors-saints, thought to have been divinely inspired, or even regarded as mouthpieces of God: prophets of the Old Testament, the four Evangelists, the apostle Paul, numerous church fathers such as Gregory the Theologian, John Chrysostom, and Maximos the Confessor, poets like Romanos Melodos, Kosmas of Maiuma, and Ioseph Hymnographos, and hagiographers such as Symeon Metaphrastes (cf. Høgel 2021). Celebrated in liturgical contexts, revered *also* for their writings and in some cases (such as those of Romanos, Kosmas, Ioseph, Metaphrastes, and others) *especially* because of their writings, these saints occupied a prominent position in the self-image projected by official Byzantine Christianity. Moreover, beyond such key author figures, the association of sainthood with discursive agency, either in speaking or in writing, was pervasive. Byzantine storytelling was filled with saints who were said to have related stories, uttered teachings, sang hymns, wrote books, etc.[8]

[8] Focusing just on the saints listed in the *Synaxarion of the Great Church of Constantinople* and just on those identified as authors or praised for their writings, here are some representative entries: October 4 (Ierotheos, "the one who initiated the great Dionysios into the most sacred of the ineffable mysteries"; on Dionysios, see also later discussion); October 9 and June 6 (Dorotheos of Tyros, who is presented as a bilingual writer, skilled in both Greek and Latin); November 12 and January 14 (Neilos the ascetic); December 4 and January 15 (Ioannes Damaskenos and Kosmas of Maiouma); March 5 (Markos monachos); March 11 (Sophronios, patriarch of Jerusalem); March 30 (Ioannes *tês Klimakos*); May 12 (Germanos, patriarch of Constantinople), etc. As far as I can tell, the *Synaxarion* mentions only a single female author, Melania of Rome (December 31), while Catherine of Alexandria is praised for her extensive learning (November 26). Finally, the *Synaxarion* includes references (taken from the texts it summarizes) to fictional authors, e.g., the "teacher" Ampelianos, the purported "author" of the *Hypomnêmata* of the martyrdom of Saint Eirene (May 4); and it also refers frequently to storytellers/narrators, e.g., the anonymous female servant of Saint Eusebeia (January 24) and many more. On the emphasis of the *Synaxarion* on learnedness, see Kazhdan (1996). On saints and their books, see further Hinterberger (2012a); on writing and holiness in Late Antiquity, see Krueger (2004).

The textual, visual, and material repertoire that supported this promotion of divinely inspired speaking and writing and, more generally, the interdependence of sainthood with the production of discourse is staggering. In texts, images, and sacred objects, Christians were reminded of the holiness of certain authors and, more widely, of the strong link between holiness and discourse. The holy head of Chrysostom preserving intact his ear, to which the apostle Paul was said to have spoken, and the body of Metaphrastes, which according to some reports was kept without decay into the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (on which see later discussion) may be the most spectacular cases. Yet we need not go that far into the recesses of the Byzantine experience. One need only look at the standard and ubiquitous depiction of bishops holding a codex and of ascetics with a scroll in the Byzantine iconography of sainthood.[9]

Ultimately, all these stories and images mirrored the proto-icon of discourse, Christ, whose portrait as a norm included a gospel book in his hand. Christ in the Byzantine religious imagination was, after all, not only the divine yet embodied *Logos,* not only the main speaking character and indeed the inspiration behind the Gospels and, by extension, any decidedly Christian discourse; he was an *author* as well. His letter (Caseau 2011) to Abgar, king of Edessa, was preserved as precious relic in Constantinople after the mid-tenth century and until 1204. The related account of Christ's correspondence with Abgar was part of one the most influential non-biblical Christian legends in the Middle Ages, linked as it was with the story of the *Mandylion*, the famous cloth with an imprint of Christ's face, His alleged first portrait (BHG 1704.i–ii; 1704a–d; 793–796m).[10]

Neither the common place of inspiration, nor the association of exemplary humans with exemplary discursive agency, nor the rhetorical and visual vocabulary expressing these ideas, was new. One can cite much related evidence in the earlier Greco-Roman tradition, texts and practices with which the Byzantines were familiar: writers worshipped as heroes (Clay 2004), influential philosophical discussions of inspiration (e.g., the Platonic notions of divine madness and inspiration, μανία and ἐπίπνοια, in Neoplatonism), or the frequent representation in public statuary of persons as excelling in discourse, still a vogue in early Byzantine cities (cf. Ronconi and Papaioannou, "Book Culture," Chapter 3 in this volume). Yet Byzantine Christianity added an unprecedented intensity to this association of divinity and authority with discourse. While engaging in any kind of authorship may have often been, as noted earlier, a precarious activity in social reality, the Byzantine textual and visual imagination afforded discursive agency a high and persistent profile. In the alternative worlds of Byzantine religious cult, visual representation, and storytelling, authors mattered.

[9] The best electronic database of the relevant visual material is Lois Drewer's *Calendar of Saints in Byzantine Manuscripts and Frescos*, available through *The Index of Medieval Art*, Princeton University: https://ima.princeton.edu/additional-resources/.

[10] For an amuletic use of this text, see Chapter 8, "Translations I: From Other Languages into Greek," Messis and Papaioannou, "Section III. Arabic," in this volume.

The Origins of Authorship

Byzantine Greek writing had no one, single word that would correspond exactly to our terms "author" and "authorship." Neither is there a Greek equivalent for the Latin *auctor* and *auctoritas* with their important semantic trajectory in western medieval European languages and beyond (Scanlon 1994: 37–54; Ziolkowski 2009). In their stead, Greek offers a series of designations. From earlier traditions, the Byzantines inherited the words poet, rhetor, sophist, philosopher, speech-writer, learned man, etc. To these, they added the Judeo-Christian epithets prophet, psalmist, apostle, evangelist, theologian, and a few new ones: *hymnographos*, *melôdos*, *chronographos*, holy father (πατήρ). We also encounter somewhat neutral words such as "writer = συγγραφεύς / γράφων."[11]

No unifying conception of authorship integrated these diverse terms, which were employed in different contexts with often varying and contested meanings (see, for instance the discussion of term "sophist" in Gregorios Pardos's *Commentary on Hermogenes' On the Method of Force* 1098.15–23). A certain common usage, however, points to a prevailing tendency. When preceded by the definite article, some of the preceding words referred exclusively to a few unique authors without mention of their name: *ὁ* ψαλμῳδός referred to King David, *ὁ* ἀπόστολος to the apostle Paul, *ὁ* θεολόγος to John the apostle and evangelist or, more commonly, to Gregory of Nazianzos. The designations *ὁ* Χρυσόστομος for John Chrysostom and the grammatically peculiar *ὁ* Κλίμαξ for Ioannes Sinaites (PmbZ 2791), author of the popular *Ladder* (CPG 7852; cf. Figure 4.2 in Chapter 4 of this volume) in the seventh century, belong to this appellative habit as well.[12] All the writers designated in this way were authors with a capital *A*, and it was these Authors who enjoyed an unparalleled amount of attention in Byzantine

[11] For some of these and other relevant terms see, e.g., entries and usage in the *Suda*: writer (συγγραφεύς: σ 1282), learned man (λόγιος: λ 643), philosopher (φιλόσοφος: φ 418–419), rhetor (ῥήτωρ: ρ 152–153), sophist (σοφιστής: σ 812–814), speech-writer and speech-maker (λογογράφος and λογοποιός: λ 654 and 656), singer (ἀοιδός: α 4402), etc. *Suda*'s definition of the "writer" is worth citing in full (σ 1282): Συγγραφεύς· φησὶν ὁ μέγας Μάξιμος, ὅτι ὁ λόγους συγγραφόμενος ἢ πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ὑπόμνησιν συγγράφεται ἢ πρὸς ὠφέλειαν ἑτέρων, ἢ καὶ ἄμφω· ἢ πρὸς βλάβην τινῶν ἢ πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν ἢ ἐξ ἀνάγκης = Writer: (in the words of the great Maximos) the one who writes texts does so either for his own recollection or for the benefit of others, or for both; or in order to harm some people or for the sake of display or out of necessity. The lemma recycles (with a small variation) a maxim from Maximos the Confessor's *Chapters on Love* II 94. For some of the Byzantine terms, see also the preface by Georgios the Monk for his *Chronicle* (pp. 1–5). For the early Byzantine concept of the "Fathers," see Graumann (2002).

[12] Cf. the usage in inventory lists of private and monastic libraries; see L. Bender, M. Parani, B. Pitarakis, J.-M. Spieser, and A. Vuilloud, *Artifacts and Raw Materials in Byzantine Archival Documents / Objets et matériaux dans les documents d'archives byzantins*, URL: http://typika.cfeb.org/index/ (search item: books). One of the earliest references of the appellation "Chrysostom" in reference to John may be found in Sozomenos, *Ecclesiastical History* 8.10.1.4–6; until then, the term was used for Dio Chrysostom; see, e.g., Eunapios of Sardeis (345/349–after 404), *Lives of Philosophers and Sophists* 2.1.3. In school or learned contexts, common are similar designations such as *ὁ* ποιητής, *ὁ* ῥήτωρ, *ὁ* συγγραφεύς, in reference to Homer, Demosthenes, and Thucydides, respectively; cf., e.g., Eustathios of Thessalonike, *Parekbolai on Homer's Iliad* 1.5.27–6.3.

discursive practice, book culture, and beyond. Usually early or pre-Byzantine in date, these Authors were subjects of veneration and imitation, and their exclusive status was rather impervious to the average author, especially of later periods.

What magnified the high prestige of these writers were notions of authorship that traced the origins of discursive agency outside individuals. The authorization of oral or written expression, that is, was thought to be extraneous or, at the very least, *also* extraneous to the agency of any single, particular author. With its disarming unambiguousness, a portrait of John Chrysostom, dating probably to the fourteenth century, conveys the relevant message concisely (Figure 20.2[13]). According to the visual rhetoric of this illustration, ideal discourse stems from above, namely from the supreme authority of Christ and his blessing hand, as well as from a past authority, that of the apostle Paul whispering into John's ear. Communicated in a tactile and then oral form, ideal discourse is then transformed into writing on a page that quickly turns into water and is conveyed directly to an attentive, thirsty, and obedient audience, kneeling in order to drink. The traffic of discourse is further observed by a second type of audience, composed of bystander bishops, clerics, and monks, and by a later, lay book-owner(?)/reader (the figure at the bottom) who prostrates and prays to John.

Who is the author here? The writer's activity is limited to the hand and the ear he offers. He is a listener and a scribe. And he is surrounded by a web of relationships that frame and, together with him, bring forth his writing. Authorship is pictured as a communal and partly supernatural process. It is an image that may be foreign to modern concepts of literary authorship as an original, autonomous creativity, as idiosyncratic psychology or ingenious imagination. Yet it captures well the premises of discursive agency in the dominant, Christian side of Byzantine literary culture.

Similar were the precepts put forward by grammatical and rhetorical training for those Byzantines who were exposed to them. Though notions of inspiration were operative in "secular" Byzantine schooling as well, this type of learning inculcated the emulation or μίμησις[14] of a limited number of model authors: Homer, Demosthenes, Libanios, Gregory the Theologian (cf. Figure 6.1 in Chapter 6 of this volume), and a few others to whom manuals of style, dictionaries, commentaries, biographies, anthologies, etc., were devoted. Such authorities of diction, style, and methods of thought furnished a horizon of proper discourse for the average learned Byzantine writer. In whatever fashion it was handled—slavishly, creatively, antagonistically, or transgressively—this defining horizon was rather ineluctable.

[13] Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, A 172 sup (twelfth century): John Chrysostom, *Homilies* on Paul's *Epistles* to the Romans, the Ephesians, and the Galatians; f. 263v: part of Homily 1 on the Ephesians, interrupted—the illustration was added later. Cf. Garter (1983: 71), Krause (2004: 178–179), and Tsamakda (2017b: 374).

[14] Cf. Rhoby and Schiffer 2010; and in this volume, Papaioannou, "Theory of Literature," Chapter 4, and Kaldellis, "The Reception of Classical Literature," Chapter 7.

FIGURE 20.2 Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, A 172 sup; parchment; twelfth century; John Chrysostom, *Homilies*; f. 263v: Homily 1 on the Ephesians, interrupted; the illustration, which was added later, dates likely to the fourteenth century.

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Pseudonymity

The double demand of rhetorical and, especially, theological authority had a series of partly dissonant effects on the way authorship operated in the creation and reception of literature in Byzantium. One such effect was the production of pseudonymous texts. Mistaken attributions, fakes and forgeries, as well as playful impersonations of authorial identity, are phenomena with which Byzantine philology has yet to adequately come to terms. They are, however, remarkably common in the literary history of Byzantium. For instance, in a total of 8,228 entries included in the volumes of the *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* (CPG) that survey Greek patristic literature of the first eight centuries CE, about 10 percent of the texts are listed as spurious. Similarly, about 15 percent of the texts canvassed in the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* (BHG), the database for Greek hagiographical texts for the entire Byzantine period, are pseudonymous. More could be added if we examined further types of Byzantine writing.

As one might expect, most of the rather limited number of authors who customarily attracted false attribution belonged to the same group whom we identified earlier as Authors, authorities in the Christian or the learned tradition, or occasionally in both. They were, that is, early or pre-Byzantine writers, hailed for their orthodoxy and/or literary value. By far the most common name used in the Christian industry of pseudepigrapha was John Chrysostom (CPG 4500–5079; de Aldama 1965), followed by Ephrem the Syrian (c. 306–373) to whom a large and quite popular corpus, known as *Ephraem Graecus*, was falsely attributed in the Greek tradition (CPG 3905–4175; Chapter 8, "Translations I: From Other Languages into Greek," Ubierna, "Section II. Syriac," in this volume; cf. Figure 9.1 in Chapter 9 of this volume). The Greek Ephrem is the only example of such magnitude where a non-Greek writer was appropriated by means of pseudepigraphy in Byzantium. The opposite was much more frequent, as the industry of pseudepigrapha attributed to early Byzantine Greek writers but composed in other medieval languages was immense.

Also notable are the numerous early Christian and then early Byzantine biblical so-called apocrypha, namely *Prophesies, Visions, Gospels, Acts, Letters*, and *Revelations*, assigned to known biblical figures (surveyed in Haelewyck 1998 and Geerard 1992; see also Metzger 1980, Charlesworth 1988, Lequeux 2007, and the comprehensive bibliography, offered by *e-Clavis: Christian Apocrypha (ECCA)* at: https://www.nasscal.com/e-clavis-christian-apocrypha/). A late and very influential instantiation of this type of pseudepigraphy was the early sixth-century *Corpus* of letters signed by an author self-identified as Dionysios the Areopagite, the Athenian disciple of Paul mentioned in the book of the *Acts* (17:33–34; Stang 2012). Similar, perhaps not as influential, but equally intriguing to Byzantine and modern scholars alike, was an early fourth-century body of texts to which the Byzantines referred as *Τὰ Κλημέντια, Clementine Writings* (Messis 2014: 321–323 with bibliography). Its main author purported to be a certain Clement. He presented himself as a Roman confidant of the apostle Peter and was identified by

later readers as the Saint Clement mentioned in Paul's *Letter to the Philippians* (4:3) and was thought to be among the first bishops of Rome. An (unfortunately little) studied epitome of the so-called *Clementine Homilies* (BHG 345–347) was included in Symeon Metaphrastes's *Mênologion* and was thus secured wide circulation in post-1000 Byzantium.[15]

As the canon of authorities expanded over the course of the centuries, the names of later authors also became the target of accidental or conscious appropriation. Symeon Metaphrastes was a common false identity in religious poetry; Michael Psellos's name too was frequently used, especially in the fields of philosophical instruction and the occult sciences, but also in letter-writing.[16]

The reasons and motives for the pseudonymity of the preceding texts and the many more not mentioned here varied greatly (Speyer 1971; Martínez 2018; Guzmán and Martínez 2018). One can imagine several scenarios: from accidents occurring at some link in the chain of manuscript transmission—such as a mistake by a scribe, a book binder, or a cataloger—to intentional misattributions by authors or later readers for the sake of theological polemics, something common in the Christological debates during Late Antiquity (Wessel 2012). Literary games, as well as conscious hiding behind the mask of an author or, indeed, an entire genre, could also lead to pseudonymity. This may be the case, for instance, for a series of Lucianic dialogues, most of which date to the twelfth century (Messis 2020). To the extent that these half-pseudonymous, half-anonymous texts included satire of contemporary persons, the Lucianic mask provided not only the occasion to show off one's ability in imitating Lucian, a popular author in learned circles, but also some protection against any retribution by the offended.

The most common reason of pseudonymity was probably the desire to secure the preservation and circulation of a text through its association with a well-known author. In this regard, we should not suspect any widespread deviousness on the part of either the actual authors of pseudonymous texts or their readers. Pseudonymity could be a mere act of reverence. For instance, devotion may have been one of the incentives behind pseudonymous hymns attributed to well-known poets; such may be the case, in my view, of many middle Byzantine *kontakia* attributed to Romanos Melodos (Livadaras 1959). Pseudonymity could also be simply an instinctive response of later readers confronted with an anonymous earlier text. Indeed, it seems that certain names were associated with texts in specific genres, such as John Chrysostom for homilies, the names of apostles or well-known church fathers for liturgical prayers, etc. Whatever

[15] In an aside, contained in a *Synopsis of the Divine Scripture* (CPG 2249; PG 28: 284–437), falsely attributed to Athanasios of Alexandria and certainly post-dating Metaphrastes, the *Clementine Writings* were included in the "contested (ἀντιλεγόμενα)" books of the New Testament, but the anonymous author added the following (432.23–29): "from the *Clementine Writings*, the most truthful and divinely inspired were reworked by Metaphrastes [or, alternatively: were rephrased in a *metaphrasis*], and these are the ones that are read aloud [in the church] = ἐξ ὧν μετεφράσθησαν ἐκλεγέντα τὰ ἀληθέστερα καὶ θεόπνευστα, ταῦτα τὰ ἀναγινωσκόμενα."

[16] Moore (2005) includes more than 150 Psellian *spuria* and *dubia,* some with wide circulation—cf. Papaioannou (2021a: 282–301); for the letters, see Papaioannou (2019a; esp. pp. cxlv–cxlix).

the reason or motives that occasioned it, pseudonymity fed the insatiable appetite for *Authored*, namely *authoritative*, texts that demarcated Byzantine discursive culture.

Author-less(?) Traditions

As common practice, pseudonymity presents us with an aspect of Byzantine literature that is somewhat foreign to modern audiences. Similarly alien is another, even more widespread tradition related to authorship in Byzantium: the preservation of texts without any authorial attribution. Such anonymously transmitted texts are most prevalent in Byzantine storytelling, especially the vast amount of Christian hagiographical narrative. Nearly 75 percent of the c. 5,500 texts (including variations and rewritings) on Byzantine saints in the BHG are listed as anonymous. Abridged versions of the same stories included in the *Synaxaria* are also without an author's name, just as the names of the authors/compilers of such *Synaxaria* are rarely preserved (cf. Figure 21.1 in Chapter 21).[17] Equally, no names are transmitted for the authors/compilers in another popular hagiographical genre: collections of sayings of early Byzantine ascetic fathers, the *Apophthegmata*, *Paterika*, or *Gerontika*.[18]

Anonymity is furthermore encountered in a series of literary genres that did not belong to discourse embedded in liturgical ritual or (strictly speaking) monastic edification: prose and poetry used in inscriptions, a few fictionalized biographies of historical, or supposedly historical personalities (most notable among them are the *Life* of Aesop, the so-called *Alexander Romance*, and *Digenes Akrites*), translations of popular storytelling material of Eastern origins, vernacular romances, and folk songs. Finally, anonymity is evident in several para-literary texts as well, such as dictionaries, scholia, some grammatical and rhetorical manuals, collections, etc.

As with pseudonymity, the reasons behind the absence of authors' names in the creation or reception of a text covered a wide spectrum of possibilities. Among these we may consider accidents in the process of transmission, gradual neglect of otherwise unknown "authors" that appear *within* stories as their principal narrators or recorders of events,[19] multiple authorship in the cases of compilation and teamwork, conscious oblivion for a "foreign" author (this is the case of Euthymios the Iberian, mentioned earlier, celebrated in the Georgian tradition but forgotten in Greek Byzantium[20];

[17] For some authors/compilers' names, see the prefaces edited in Delehaye (1902, v–lii).

[18] For bibliography, see Messis and Papaioannou, "Orality and Textuality," Chapter 9 in this volume.

[19] A few, random examples from among hundreds of an "author" that disappears as such in later versions of the story: BHG 30 (*Passion* of Saint Catherine, by Athanasios or Anastasios *tachygraphos*); BHG 75x (*Passion* of apostle Ananias, by Barsapthas); BHG 1478 and 1478d (*Miracle* of Saint Pelagia, by Jacob the Deacon); BHG 67 (*Life* of Ambrosios of Milan, a text translated from the Latin; unlike what we find in the original Latin version used for the translation, the author Paulinos is mentioned only at the epilogue, within the body of the Greek text, but is not noted in its title).

[20] Cf. Volk 2016: 416–419, for the treatment of Euthymios' authorial "signature" by Byzantine Greek scribes and the absence of Euthymios from the Greek tradition (at least, before the late fifteenth century).

cf. Figure 9.2 in Chapter 9 of this volume), and conscious self-effacing to avoid the responsibility for the contents of a text. We know, for instance, that invectives, which could often have literary aspirations, circulated anonymously so as to avoid litigation (see, e.g. *Basilika* 60.21.5.19–24). Certainly prevailing in anonymity were also the prerogatives of humility among Christian writers. To compose a text under the rubric "I, the ignorant one, the one without a name = ὁ ἀμαθής ἐγὼ καὶ ἀνώνυμος," as we read in a preface of a *Synaxarion* manuscript, was a commonplace (Delehaye 1902: viii; on the so-called modesty topos, see Wendel 1950 and Alexakis 2004).

The precise origins of the anonymity of a text may usually escape us. We can, however, inquire into the likely modes of authorization, namely the what or who, instead of the author's name, that granted authority to such anonymous texts, validated their truth-claims, and thus enabled their continued production, copying, and reading. Unlike pseudonymous texts, the authorless tradition seemed to operate outside the strictures of authorial agency with either a small or a capital *A*. Or did it?

Different types of anonymous texts may offer different answers to this question. Let us focus here on those that present us with the bulk of anonymous material in Byzantium, inscriptional texts and storytelling. As noted earlier, texts preserved as inscriptions, composed in prose and especially poetry, are commonly anonymous. At that, they did not require an author's name in order to perform their social, ritual, or aesthetic function, just as the objects or the surfaces of buildings on which they were inscribed did not need the signature of an artist or a builder. It is not, however, that names in general were absent from the so-called epigraphic habit (Drpić, "Inscriptions," Chapter 16 in this volume). Quite the contrary: names were frequent in epigrams and epigraphs, but they were not the names of their authors but rather of the patrons, commissioners, founders, and especially holy persons, the usual suspects of Christian piety. It is these figures that affixed social and symbolic power to epigraphic texts, as well as, one might add, to the objects/surfaces on which such texts were attached. At that, these figures appropriated the primary agency, i.e., the *authorship* in a wide sense of the word, in the ritual of communication among real as well as imagined members of a community activated by the epigraphic texts.

Comparable is the situation of apparent authorial anonymity in narrative texts. Though names of authors were expendable in the titles of anonymously transmitted storytelling, the names of the protagonists in each story functioned as the main identifiers. The typical title-formulas read: "Μαρτύριον," "Ἄθλησις," "Βίος," "Πράξεις," "Διήγησις," etc., *of this or that person*. Similarly, Byzantine catalogues of library collections indicated these books with expressions such as "book containing the *Life* of so-and-so" or, sporadically, with the name of the main character of the narrative (e.g., "Barlaam" for *Barlaam and Ioasaph*; as e.g. in the Patmos library inventory, dated to 1200, in reference perhaps to ms. Patmos 120, where the story's circulation is associated with an alleged monk Ioannes from the monastery of saint Sabas [Figure 9.2 with Diehl 1892: 519, Astruc 1981: 26, and Volk 2009: 430–432]). As in epigraphic discourse, so also here these names announced the primary agents that could validate stories about them. In the case of collections, like the *Synaxaria* and the *Paterika*, the names of the celebrated saints

and of the fathers, whose sayings were reported, overshadowed the identities of the actual authors and compilers. At the very least, that is, the protagonists' names, especially when they were assumed to be holy, could substitute for the authority and thus the persuasiveness infused into a text by the name of an author. What seems anonymous from our perspective was potentially eponymous from the viewpoint of the Byzantine reader.

The Allure of the Name

Regardless of how pseudonymity and anonymity were accommodated by Byzantine modes of authorization and in whatever fashion they may be interpreted by modern readers, the challenges that such texts posed and continue to pose are many. The addition of the sobriquet "*Pseudo-*" before a name or the complete absence of an author in the title usually renders (with few exceptions) a Byzantine text almost invisible to modern scholars. Such texts are difficult to assign to a specific sociohistorical context; we can rarely date or locate them with any precision; and many of them (especially anonymous texts) tend to survive in multiple versions in Greek and often in many other medieval languages, frustrating the precepts and capacities of traditional text-criticism.[21] It is no wonder that the large majority of such texts remain unedited or poorly published and rather unknown. The pseudepigrapha and anepigrapha among Byzantine texts have thus suffered the most under the weight of modernity—the age of printing, of authors, and of copyright—as well as the demands of either certain versions of classicism with their nostalgia for the creative genius, or certain versions of orthodoxy with their renewed demand for theological authorities.

It is not only modern readers, however, that may feel uneasy with pseudonymity and anonymity when literature is at stake. The Byzantines too were often unsure how to treat such phenomena. For instance, in ecclesiastical and school contexts, readers were alerted to the possibility that a text may be falsified and were warned against the dangers of pseudonymity. Grammarians trained students to pay attention to the correct ἐπιγραφή (in Byzantine terminology; see, e.g., a Byzantine treatise *On Grammar*, attributed in mss. to the early fifth-century grammarian Theodosios of Alexandria; Göttling 1822: 54.13–28), philosophers argued about the genuineness of philosophical works (see, e.g., Müller 1969), and theologians often debated the authenticity (γνησιότης) of utterances, texts, and documents in church councils and beyond (see, e.g., Lamberz 2000 and Lackner 1984). Photios's *Bibliothêkê* (cod. 1), for instance, begins with the review of a text by a certain Theodoros presbyter, which has not survived. This text examined and, in Photios's view, proved the authenticity of the *Areopagitic Corpus*.

[21] For two exemplary collaborative editorial studies on such texts, see Oldfather (1943) (the work of Katharine Tubbs Corey, who edited the Greek texts in this volume, is particularly exceptional) and Petitmengin (1981–1984).

Photios also discussed two different works from the *Clementine Writings*, rejecting the authenticity of the one and accepting that of the other (*Bibliothêkê* codd. 112–113). Or, to cite another example, Anastasios Sinaites at the end of the seventh century was appalled by the existence of a heretical workshop of fourteen scribes that produced forgeries of patristic texts on a massive scale (*Guide* 10.2.7.176–190).

A similar suspicion toward anonymity manifested itself in the relative resistance of book culture toward author-less texts—though the reasons for this resistance could vary and need not exclusively concern the anonymity of a text. With a few significant exceptions, such as the *synaxaria*, the *apophthegmata*, and several others to which we shall return later, anonymous texts are usually preserved (if at all) in a limited number of manuscripts: medieval songs have been recorded in writing only in few exceptions; inscriptional poetry was infrequently collected in manuscripts, and its survival depended on the preservation of the object or building on which each poem was inscribed; paraliterary texts, like many other school texts, did not usually enjoy wide circulation; and anonymous narratives, especially if we treat (as we should) each specific textual instantiation as a separate version, frequently survived in a single book or merely a handful of copies, even if the relevant stories appear to have been popular, such as the legend of Alexander the Great (Jouanno 2002).

It is partly in the context of this likely suspicion that we may place a literary activity that is common in Byzantine liturgical literature, namely the rewriting of earlier anonymous hagiographical texts into new versions in the genres of *kontakion*, *kanôn*, *encomium*, and *metaphrasis*, usually by, or attributed to, eponymous writers. The mechanics, reasons, and occasions of this massive production were manifold (see Efthymiadis, "Rewriting," Chapter 14 in this volume). Part of the function of such rewriting of earlier hagiographies was the rehabilitation of anonymity under the auspices of theological and often rhetorical authority.

The treatment of certain anonymous texts that became very popular outside liturgical settings is also indicative of reservations toward anonymity. A good example is the popular fourth-century *Physiologos*, a text that existed in many versions (in over 100 mss.) and medieval translations and consisted of brief chapters with descriptions of mainly animals (some of them fictional), but also of birds, plants, and stones, followed by Christian allegorical interpretation. From a modern perspective, this is a text without an identifiable author—even if convincing speculations about its Egyptian and monastic origins have been put forward (Scott 1998). For Byzantine readers, however, the author would not be necessarily anonymous. It is not only that the attribute "the *physiologist*" is treated as a person who "speaks" throughout the text—"ὁ Φυσιολόγος ἔλεξε" is repeated again and again. It is also that in two of the redactions the names of Authors were added in order to enhance the credibility of this bestiary: in one (Sbordone 1936: 257–299), King Solomon is identified as the *Physiologos*, and Basil the Great is presented as the Christian allegorist; in the other (Sbordone 1936: 303–312), the author is supposedly Epiphanios, bishop of Salamis in Cyprus (c. 315–412), who wrote the popular *Panarion* (CPG 3745).

The Licenses of No One's Text

How did the fate of the literary production of average authors, i.e., the majority of speakers and writers in Byzantium, match the premises, conditions, and expectations set by the various masks of authority described earlier?

One likely course was the assumption of the disguise afforded by pseudepigraphy and anepigraphy. Regardless if this assumption was intentional or, in most cases, imposed by the transmission patterns of Byzantine reading and writing culture, we should not forget that behind false names or absent authorial signatures lay real persons, storytellers, declaimers, and writers. Occasionally, their identity comes to light—such as the name of the compiler of one of the earliest, if not *the* earliest version (version H* in Delehaye) of the complete *Synaxarion* created for Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos: Euarestos, deacon and (most likely) *chartophylax* (PmbZ 21753), whose name is preserved only in an Arabic translation of the *Synaxarion*, and an author who should be ranked among the most important writers of the tenth century.[22] Like Euarestos, many of the countless Byzantine *anonymi* and *pseudonymi* must have been known in the immediate context of the works they wrote, the speeches they gave, or the stories they told.

However this might be, in the field of storytelling at least, the very absence of an authoritative name generated a space for remarkable creativity for the average Byzantine author. This creativity is evident both in the content and in the textual form of anonymous stories as well as many pseudonymous but apocryphal texts. With regard to content, we observe a certain license toward verifiable "reality." Such texts, that is, were often not restricted by strict rules for referencing veracity and appeared more amenable than eponymous texts to the fantastic, fictional, and supernatural. They thrived in invented places, in events set in the distant, pseudo-historical past or the distant, imagined future, and in extraordinary characters, all of which required the readers' suspension of disbelief or were rooted in what may insufficiently be termed "religious belief." In countless variations of plots and motifs, texts competing for the uncanny rehearsed the fears and desires of Byzantine society.

With regard to form, noticeable is the textual variation that accompanies anonymity or apocryphal pseudonymity. The texts that circulated in this fashion were "living texts," consistently subject to minor or major reworking, in order to match new expectations. Changes in diction, in phrasing, in size, or in content were thus the norm. An author's name would usually close a text and fix its limits, producing a version that in its manuscript transmission tended to remain stable. Anonymity and apocryphal attribution,

[22] On Euarestos, see also Luzzi (2014: 201–202) and Detoraki and Flusin (2021; see esp. p. 225 for the correct, in my view, suggestion that Euarestos was perhaps a *chartophylax*). Luzzi (2014) also offers the most recent overview of the history of the *Synaxarion*; for the *Synaxarion*'s later versions, see also Papaioannou 2021b.

on the other hand, allowed for and, in a sense, invited alteration, adaptation, and transformation.

Assertive Authors

An alternative trajectory may be observed in the lives and afterlives of mostly learned writers/speakers, especially professional intellectuals. These would rarely, as we saw earlier, reach the success and appeal of the few ancient authorities in religious or rhetorical discourse. Like their anonymous or pseudonymous peers, they too were conditioned by the demands of inspiration and tradition, and were furthermore restricted by the prerogatives of rhetorical imitation and the cultural orthodoxies of high literacy. Moreover, these authors faced the likelihood that their names and their works would disappear in anonymity, pseudonymity, or obscurity—a likelihood that applied not only to the average learned writer, but even to the most sophisticated ones, such as Michael Psellos (Papaioannou 2019a: cxlvi–cxlix; see further Papaioannou 2012).

Nevertheless, such authors, as well as their learned audiences and readers, strove to assert individual agency in authorship and thereby attract a public and, especially, patrons. The methods of this assertion could take a variety of forms. A common one was the attempt to control the publication and circulation of an author's output. Throughout Byzantine history we encounter the practice of editions produced or supervised either by the author himself or by readers in his immediate circle and later generations, invested in creating an authority out of an earlier writer and thus in promoting also themselves: the cases of Gregory the Theologian (*Letter* 51), Ioannes Mauropous (Bianconi 2011), and Ioannes Tzetzes (Pizzone 2018 and 2020) are representative of the former type. For authors created by later like-minded readers, we may cite Theodoros Stoudites (759–826; PmbZ 7574) in the collection of his poems made by Dionysios Stoudites (PmbZ 21545) in the late ninth century (Lauxtermann 2003: 70–73) and Symeon New Theologian in the edition made by Niketas Stethatos (Hinterberger 2012b) (cf. Pérez Martín, "Modes of Manuscript Transmission," Chapter 23 in this volume).

Another related device was the inclusion of authorial signatures or even discursive self-portraits and mini-autobiographies within the texture of a work: in prefaces and conclusions, in rhetorical asides or lengthy digressions, and, in an abbreviated form, in acrostics. The latter is common in hymnography (Papaioannou, "Sacred Song," Chapter 18 in this volume), but appears also elsewhere, in scribal epigrams, such as Neilos of Rossano's (c. 910–1004; PmbZ 25503) autographed poem in Grottaferrata, B.α.XIX (f. 83v; dated 965; Maxime 2002: 68–69), and even in larger works such as the *Ecclesiastical History* of Nikephoros Kallistou Xanthopoulos (c. 1256–1335; PLP 20826), a teacher and priest in Hagia Sophia (Gastgeber and Panteghini 2015). Indeed, in the extensive preface to his work that survives in an incomplete fashion (5 of the 23 volumes of the *History* have been lost), Xanthopoulos offers a rare insight into the reasoning behind authorial acrostics (PG 145: 620b–c):

Ἵνα δὲ μή τινι ἐξῇ λυμαίνεσθαι τῷ συγγράμματι (εἰώθασι γὰρ οἱ πλεῖστοι τὰς ἀλλοτρίας πραγματείας διασκευάζειν πρὸς τὸ δοκοῦν), τὰς μὲν τῶν τόμων ἀκροστιχίδας τῷ ἐμῷ προησφαλισάμην ὀνόματί τε καὶ ἐπωνύμῳ.

So that no one may be able to harm the work I authored (for the majority have the habit of revising, according to their whim, the works of others), I secured it in advance by adding my name and surname to the acrostic assigned to the volumes.

The desire to secure the ownership of his text, just as Xanthopoulos's preface (PG 145: 604–620) as a whole, which is preceded also by a dedicatory *Address in the Form of an Encomium* for his patron, the emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos (PG 145: 560–601), is typical of the highly developed culture of rhetorical self-representation. Assertiveness, projected or desired, and performed in a variety of ways, was key among the habits of learned discourse in Byzantium (Papaioannou 2020 and 2021).

Metaphrastes, ὁ Συγγραφεύς

A writer whom we could consider as perhaps the most important author of the middle Byzantine period, and who represents both varieties of authorship just outlined, generously complicates the picture that has emerged from the preceding pages. The locution "ὁ συγγραφεὺς" in the preceding heading comes from the *Verses on Symeon Metaphrastes and Logothetês tou Dromou* (BHG 1675c), a dirge in dodecasyllable verse composed by Nikephoros Ouranos (d. after 1007; PmbZ 25617), a general (and writer) in the court of Basil II.[23] As the *Verses* intimate, Ouranos was a close friend of the author to whom this last section is devoted: Symeon *magistros* and *logothetês*, later known as Metaphrastes (PmbZ 27504).

For Ouranos, Metaphrastes's death was the occasion for a universal lament. Here are the first nineteen lines of the poem (ed. Mercati 1950; for the entire poem, see the Appendix to this chapter and also Høgel 2002: 64–66):

Ἡ γλῶσσα πηγὰς ἡ βλύσασα τῶν λόγων,
ὧν ἡδονῆς τὸ ῥεῖθρον οὐκ ἔχον κόρον,
ἠθῶν χάρις θέλξασα καὶ λίθων φύσιν,
σιγᾷ γεωργὸς κρειττόνων σιγῆς λόγων
φρὴν ἡ βαθεῖα, νοῦς ὑπὲρ νοῦν ἀγχίνους,
ὁ Συμεών, τὸ θαῦμα βουλῆς μαγίστρων,

[23] Nikephoros wrote a manual on military tactics, letters, poems, and two hagiographical works, a *Life* of Symeon the Stylite, the Younger (BHG 1690) and a *Passion* of Saint Theodore the Recruit (BHG 1762m); the former text should be placed in the same context as the *Life of Ioannes Damaskenos* (BHG 884)—see Kontouma (2010) with Messis and Papaioannou, "Section III. Arabic" of Chapter 8, "Translations I: From Other Languages into Greek," in this volume.

μέμυκεν, ὧδε κρύπτεται βραχεῖ λίθῳ.
Μοῦσαι μὲν οὖν ἄδουσι πενθικὸν μέλος·
σπουδαὶ λόγων λαμπροί τε ῥητόρων κρότοι
ῥεῖ πάντα σιγᾷ, πάντα ῥαθύμως ἔχει.
Θρηνεῖ τὸ κοινόν, οὐ φέρει τὴν ζημίαν·
ζητεῖ μάχαιραν, ἣν ἐπὶ ζώνην φέρων
πτωχῶν ἐκεῖνος πᾶσαν ἐξῄρει βλάβην,
κἂν τῷ ταπεινῷ[24] καρδίας καὶ μετρίῳ
οὐκ εἶχε ταύτην εἰς ἀεὶ τομωτάτην.
Τῆς συμφορᾶς ἄγευστος οὐδ' ἐκκλησία
τὸ θέλγον οὐκ ἔχουσα Σειρῆνος μέλος·
ὁ συγγραφεὺς γὰρ καὶ βίων καὶ τῶν ἄθλων
αἴ αἴ, σιωπὴν τὴν τελευταίαν φέρει.

The tongue that gushed fountains of discourse,
whose stream knew no end in pleasure,
the charming character that enchanted even the nature of stones,
he who cultivated words superior to silence is now silent;
the deep mind, the intellect shrewd more than anyone,
Symeon, the pride of the *magistroi*,
has shut his eyes, and is buried here under a small stone.
The Muses sing a grieving song;
the serious pursuit of learning, the brilliant resonance of rhetors
are flowing away; everything is silent, everything is despondent.
The common people wail, they cannot bear the loss;
they look for the sword, which he carried in his belt
so as to remove all harm against the poor,
even if his humble and moderate heart
did not keep its blade always razor-sharp.
The church too is not unaffected by the misfortune,
dispossessed of the enchanting song of a Siren;
the author [ὁ συγγραφεὺς] of both *Lives* and *Passions,*
alas, alas, has taken on the silence of the dead.

Ouranos gives the impression that we are dealing with a man that impacted the lives of many, not least as an author. And justifiably so. The *Lives* and *Passions* highlighted at the end of the cited passage apparently refers to a liturgical, ten-volume work, a *Mênologion*, which, in part of the evidence that we shall examine in the following, is attributed to a Symeon. This Symeon is accompanied by the identifiers *magistros* (a high-ranking dignity)—as in Ouranos's poem—and also *logothetês* or *logothetês tou dromou* (a high office entrusted to an individual who often functioned as the emperor's advisor), and *metaphrastês* ("paraphraser"). And this specific redaction of the *Mênologion* was to experience an immense popularity in subsequent centuries, being preserved in an

[24] Mercati prints †λαμπηνῷ†; however, the mistaken word of the ms. should be corrected to ταπεινῷ.

impressive number of copies; Byzantine and post-Byzantine books containing different parts of the work number well over seven hundred. The work gathered 148 hagiographical texts, mostly *Βίους* and *Μαρτύρια* or *Ἀθλήσεις*, but also some *Διηγήσεις, Ἐγκώμια,* and *Ὑπομνήματα* arranged according to the ecclesiastical calendar of feast days; the texts were meant to be read aloud during liturgical services, usually vigils (during the *Orthros* service), especially in monasteries, but also in urban churches.[25]

Ouranos's Symeon is thus the same person as the author who composed the surviving *Mênologion.* It is remarkable how little else we know with certainty about Symeon. The preceding funerary poem, which survives almost by accident in a fifteenth-century manuscript (Vatican, BAV, Ottob. gr. 324; ff. 193r–194r), is essentially the only extensive reference to Symeon by one of his contemporaries. We do not know exactly when he was born or when or how he died—apparently on November 28 of an unspecified year, probably during the last decade of the tenth century, having perhaps become a monk in old age. His identifiers suggest a career at the imperial court, while other evidence positions him in imperial service from the late 950s onward. He seems to have composed documents at imperial behest, but also collections, including the *Mênologion* (parts of its composition must date to after 976), poetry, and a chronicle, if the relevant work that goes under his name is correctly attributed to him. Whatever the details, Symeon shared the fate of many of his peers, intellectuals and civil servants operating under the auspices of imperial power, and often subjected to its whims: the *Mênologion* seems to have been left incomplete, perhaps because Symeon lost favor at the court of Basil II (Høgel 2002: 118–1123 and 127–129).

But what about Symeon the συγγραφεύς? Though earlier I singled him out as the most important author of the middle Byzantine period, one might hesitate to call him an author in our standard sense of the word, at least as far as the *Mênologion* is concerned. As we learn from a detailed description of Metaphrastes's working methods (by Michael Psellos some hundred years later; Fisher 2017), it is clear that Symeon did not work alone. Rather, he seems to have directed a group of collaborators, but whether these were scribes, coauthors, or both is unclear. There is no single authorial voice clearly detectable in the collection, though a certain consistent approach to style and content can be identified more or less in much of the *Mênologion,* and was perhaps the result of review of the final product by Metaphrastes himself.

That Metaphrastes is no unitary author is, more significantly, clear by the very fact that no text included in the collection is an entirely original creation. Rather, all were based partly or entirely on earlier texts (see the list in Høgel 2002: 172–204): fourteen were adopted with little alteration, eight were derived from several texts woven together into new compositions, and the remaining 126 were rephrasings or paraphrases (in Greek *μεταφράσεις*, hence the epithet *metaphrastês*) of preexisting texts, often themselves

[25] The information provided here and in the paragraphs that follow expand (with additional material and references) on Papaioannou (2017) where also further bibliography, from which the fundamental studies of Ehrhard (1938: 306–709) and Høgel (2002) stand out. For the biography of Metaphrastes, see further PmbZ 27504.

paraphrases or encomia composed by earlier writers in the rewriting tradition we have encountered previously in this chapter.

Indeed, from a certain perspective, Symeon does not appear to be an author at all, not even as a "paraphraser." The treatment of authorial names in the titles, cited before the beginning of each text, or listed in tables of contents that often preface a volume in the surviving manuscripts, is telling. Of the 148 texts, only eight earlier eponymous ones tend to retain the name of an author. The name is *not* that of Symeon, however, but of earlier writers who were apparently regarded as authorities.

It is worth enumerating here these eponymous texts, preserved as such in the *Mênologion*, as they show how far the limits of authorial attribution could be extended in a Byzantine context. The texts in question are the following, in chronological order starting with the earliest one from the Byzantine perspective: a *Narration* on the martyrdom of the Maccabees attributed to Flavius Josephus (c. 37–100); the *Life* of Antony the Great, attributed to Athanasios of Alexandria (295–373) (cf., for a ms. example, Figure 20.3[26]); the *Encomium* of Gregory of Neokaisareia, the Thaumatourgos by Gregory of Nyssa (c. 335–394); *Encomia* of Phokas and Basil of Amaseia by Asterios of Amaseia (c. 330–425); the probably sixth-century *Narrations by Neilos the Monk of the Slaughter of the Monks on Mount Sinai and the Captivity of His Son, Theodoulos*, attributed by the Byzantines to Neilos of Ankyra (d. c. 430); the *Life* of Mary of Egypt attributed (falsely) to the seventh-century patriarch of Jerusalem Sophronios (on this text, cf. Messis and Papaioannou, "Orality and Textuality," Chapter 9 in this volume); the popular *Passion* of the Forty-Two Martyrs of Amorion, executed in 845, composed by Euodios the Monk (PmbZ 1682), possibly a Sicilian writer in the Constantinopolitan circle of Ioseph Hymnographos; and a *Narration* on the translation of the holy *Mandylion* from Edessa (Syria) to Constantinople in 944, composed by someone in the service of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, but attributed to the emperor himself in the manuscripts.[27] Moreover, in some manuscripts, the Metaphrastic epitome of the *Clementine Homilies* (BHG 345–347) carries the name of Clement, bishop of Rome, on its title—as, e.g. in Paris, BNF, gr. 580, f. 1r (table of contents) and 168v (title before the text), dated to 1055/1056 and copied by a certain Euthymios (RGK II 152).

These eight texts (not counting the epitome of the *Clementine Homilies*) were treated by Symeon and later copyists as authoritative versions and were incorporated into the *Mênologion* without change. Notably, most were spurious attributions, though never contested in Byzantium. Two, however, were of very recent date, suggesting that when supported by the right circumstances a text could reach authoritative status very quickly.

[26] Patmos 253 (twelfth century); Metaphrastes's *Mênologion*, fragment of vols. 7–8 (January); f. 23r: the beginning of the *Life of Antony the Great* by Athanasios of Alexandria.

[27] The relevant database identifiers for the eight texts are, in order of appearance, the following: BHG 1006 (= *Maccabees* IV), BHG 17, BHG 715 (CPG 3184), BHG 1539–1540 (CPG 3260), BHG 240 (CPG 3265), BHG 1307b (CPG 6044), BHG 1042 (CPG 7675), BHG 1214, and BHG 794–795. On the complicated matter of Constantine Porphyrogennetos's authorship, see Anagnostakis (1999).

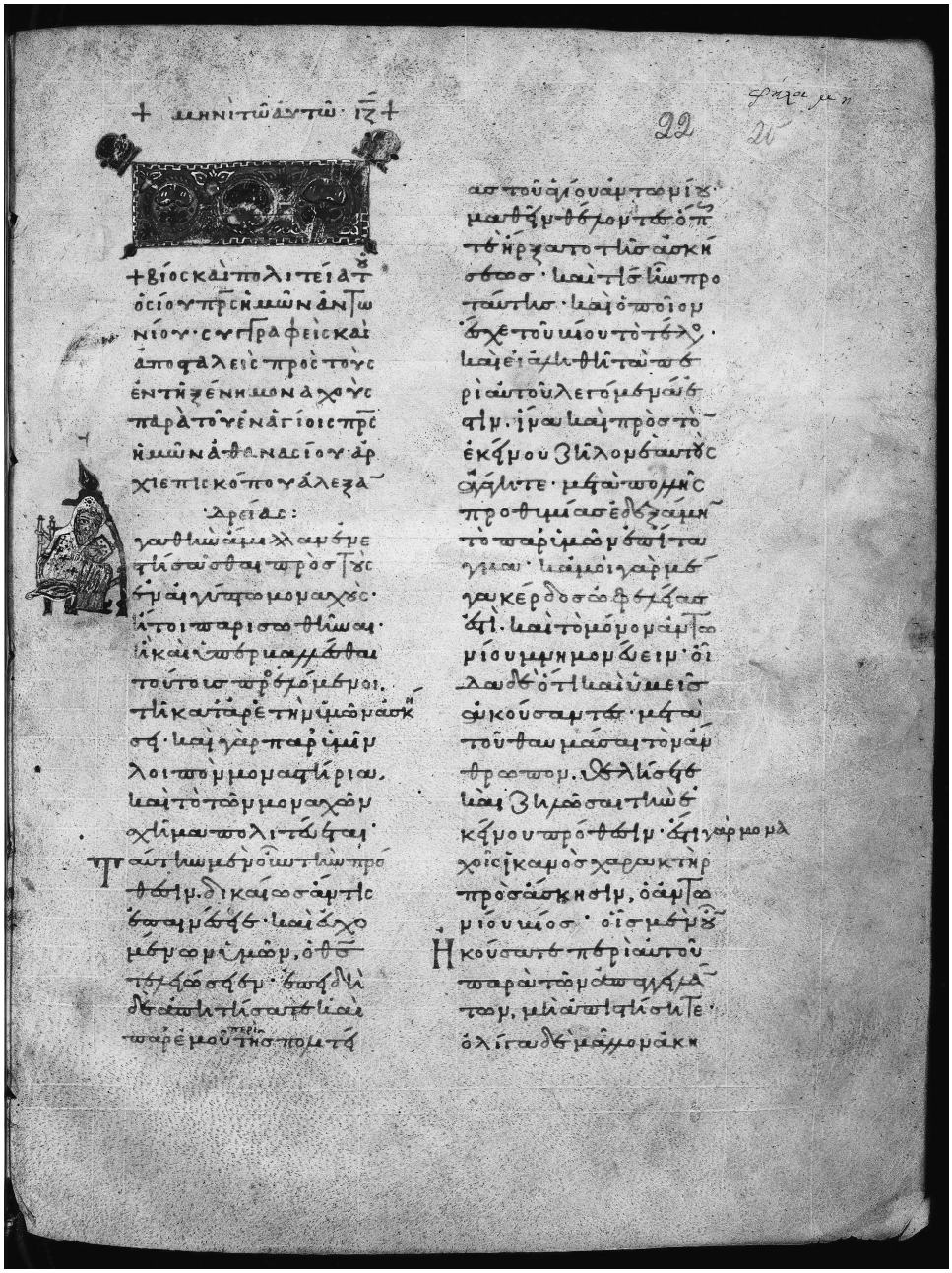

FIGURE 20.3 Patmos, Μονὴ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου 253; parchment; twelfth century; Symeon Metaphrastes's *Mênologion*; f. 23r: *Life of Antony the Great* by Athanasios of Alexandria.

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Yet these vestiges of exaggerated authorship were clearly the exception. The bulk of the collection is normally deprived of any authorial attribution whatsoever. All those source-texts or, as we might call them, *hypo-texts* that were transmitted anonymously remained anonymous in Symeon's collection, comprising more than two-thirds of the collection—for an example, see Jerome's (c. 347–420) *Vita Sancti Pauli Primi Eremitae* (BHL 6596), transmitted anonymously in a Greek translation (BHG 1466; CPG 3636), which was incorporated by Metaphrastes in a thoroughly revised form under the title *Life and Conduct of our Father Paul of Thebes* (BHG 1468; Oldfather 1943 with Papaioannou 2021b, and, for a ms. example, Figure 20.4[28]). Simultaneously, the majority of previously eponymous texts that were revised or simply inserted in the collection (about 28 percent of the total) *also* became anonymous. That is, several texts by known authors appear as authorless in the manuscripts of Symeon's *Mênologion*; this included not only recent authors, such as Niketas David of Paphlagonia (Paschalides 1999; PmbZ 25712), who was active during the first half of the tenth century and whose production was appropriated in sizable quantity (ten of Niketas's texts were included by Metaphrastes), but also authors whom we might have expected to be treated as authorities, such as Andreas of Crete (c. 660–740).

Moreover, Symeon's own name usually does not figure anywhere in the manuscripts of the *Mênologion* (for some exceptions, see later discussion). Nor do we possess any author portrait of his in the numerous illustrated copies of the *Mênologion*, which contain mostly portraits or scenes from the biography of the celebrated saints (Ševčenko 1990). Byzantine lists of libraries and monastic *typika* (such as that of the monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis; Jordan and Morris 2012), with directions about the appropriate lessons during services, similarly tended to favor anonymity with regard to Symeon. While few identify the *Mênologion* as "ὁ Μεταφραστής" or "τοῦ λογοθέτου," the majority use the indefinite and impersonal noun "μετάφρασις" or "μεταφράσεις."

The collection itself was handled by later generations as a "living text." As so frequently happened with liturgical books in Byzantium, some texts in the *Mênologion* were substituted by different versions, some were removed altogether, and others not belonging to the original collection were added (this process of expansion and reworking is explored in Ehrhard 1939–1952, but has not yet found its definite study). Furthermore, even though no full critical edition of any text from the *Mênologion* exists that would allow a solid understanding of the matter, the scholars who have worked on preparing partial editions have pointed out an interesting phenomenon (references gathered in Høgel 2003: 227–228; also Papaioannou 2017: 266–267). During the early transmission history of the collection, two alternative versions of at least some of the included texts were in existence, presenting minor differences in wording and syntax. It remains unclear whether these alternative versions go back to the time of the composition, when different scribes were involved in the production of the Metaphrastic corpus (Flusin and

[28] Patmos 245, Metaphrastes's *Mênologion*, vol. 7 (January 4–17), dated to 1057 CE, copied by the monk Symeon, and commissioned by the *patrikios* Pothos; f. 3r: the beginning of the *Life and Conduct of Our Father Paul of Thebes*.

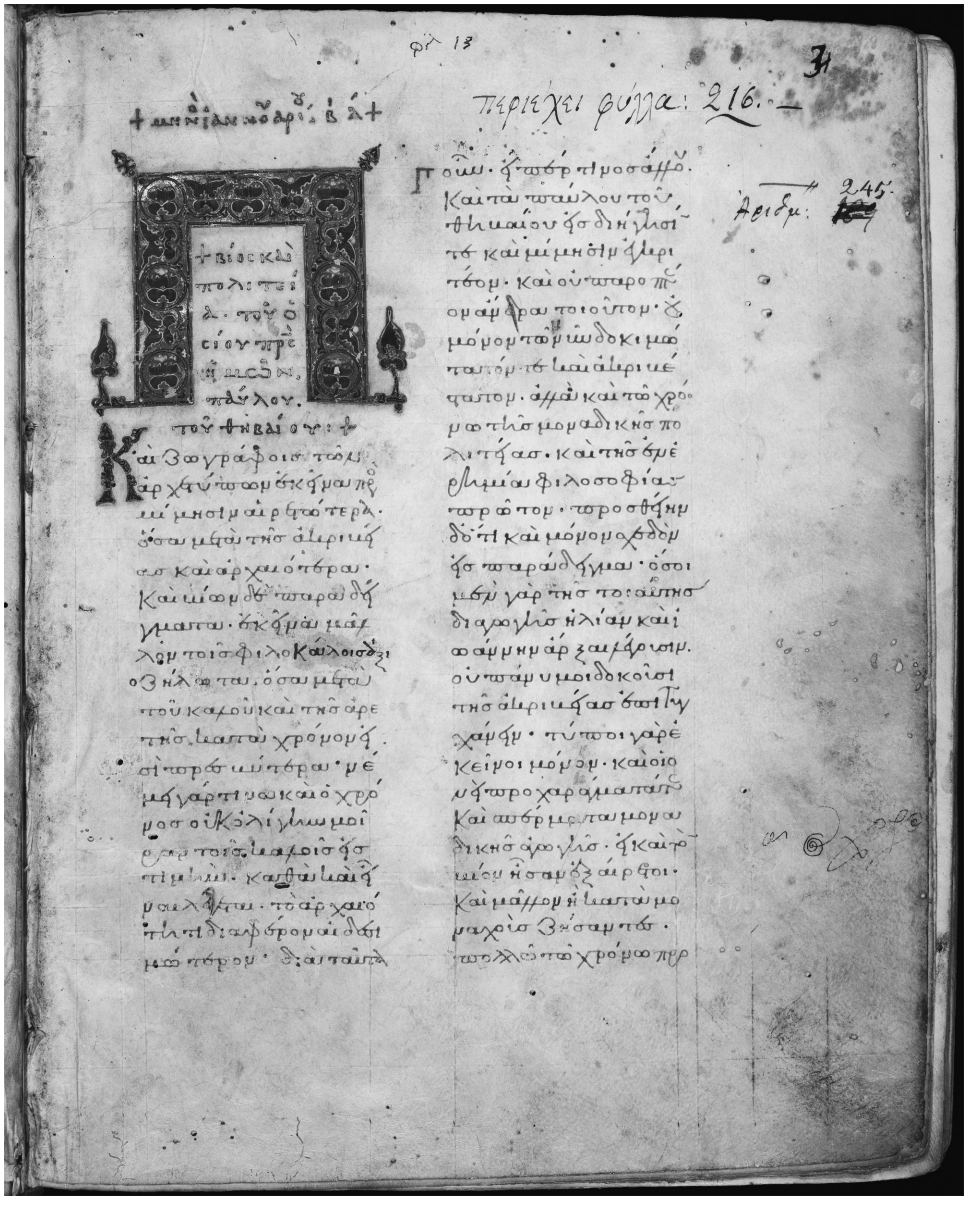

FIGURE 20.4 Patmos, Μονὴ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου 245; parchment; 1057 CE; Symeon Metaphrastes's *Mênologion*; f. 3r: *Life and Conduct of Our Father Paul of Thebes*.

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Paramelle 1984: 22–23), or predate (or perhaps are part of) a second "edition" probably created during the early eleventh century (Høgel 2002: 130–134; and 2003). They certainly reflect the somewhat "fluid" state of the texts in Metaphrastes's collection (and not only of the collection as a whole) before the mid-eleventh century or so. This early textual

fluidity fit well the parameters of anonymous texts and allowed for extensive appropriation of Symeon's texts in the near contemporary *Barlaam and Ioasaph* (Grossmann 2009, 2012) by Euthymios the Iberian (c. 955/960–May 13, 1028; PmbZ 21960), abbot of the Athonite monastery of Iveron (1005–1019), as well as major rewriting, as is evident in at least one previously unnoticed case, Symeon's *Passion* of Saint Barbara (BHG 216) in a variation preserved in Koutloumousiou gr. 25, written in October 1011 by Theophanes, also at the monastery of Iveron (Lamberz 1991: 37–41; RGK I 136, II 180, III 230).

Was Symeon then an "author" only for Ouranos, his close friend? Did the later history of the *Mênologion* simply reduce Symeon to the anonymity of ritual texts, authorized by the saintly figures and the events narrated in them, as well as by the very act of commemoration in the context of communal devotion? The answers are not exactly what we might expect from the reception of the *Mênologion* as described previously.

Parallel to the appropriation of the agency of ritual anonymity, there existed in the Byzantine afterlife of Symeon also a conscious inscription of the compiler of the *Mênologion* into the firmament of Authors. Ouranos's dirge set the stage. Its perspective was that of a learned aristocrat who cast upon Symeon the expectations concomitant to Byzantine insiders: high social status, protection of the poor, and pleasurable discourse, rooted in both serious study ("Μοῦσαι . . . σπουδαί) and rhetorical, performative display (λαμπροί . . . κρότοι). The profile of an ideal author painted by Ouranos thus ascribed to Symeon the necessary apparatus of double authority as expected among the Constantinopolitan elite or those who aspired to belong to it: ecclesiastical and moral cache *as well as* social and aesthetic distinction.

After the mid-eleventh century at the latest, this double authority became associated with Symeon's name in several contexts. The groundwork was laid by the treatment of the texts included in the *Mênologion.* By the end of the eleventh century, even if the collection remained open to additions or removals, as noted earlier, the texts of the *Mênologion* suppressed their early fluidity and acquired a fixed form that was to be copied more or less faithfully again and again for centuries to come. They were also occasionally dotted by marginal notes that signaled phrases, which either conveyed some Christian memorable message or could impress because of their beauty. Excerpts from the *Mênologion* were anthologized in monastic collections such as the *Evergetinos* created by Paulos, the abbot of the monastery of Evergetis in Constantinople (1048/1049–1054; Høgel 2002: 152–153), and the late eleventh-century *Interpretations of Lord's Commandments* (known also as *Mega Biblion*) by Nikon of the Black Mountain near Antioch (Giagkos 1991: 80). Hundreds of *Mênologion* manuscripts were commissioned for churches, monasteries, and private collections; the majority of these of very good quality. And translations were produced into medieval Georgian, Arabic, and old Slavonic.

Sometime in the 1050s or 1060s, an *office* and an *encomium*, both written by Michael Psellos, recognized Symeon himself as a saint and praised profusely the orthodoxy and, especially, the literariness of his hagiographical output (Papaioannou 2013: 158–162 and 2021: 201–204; Fisher 2017; Høgel 2021). A similarly encomiastic short text, in Georgian

(Kekelidze 1957; Tchkoidze 2019), was dedicated to Symeon by Ephrem Mc'ire (i.e., *the Lesser*), a prominent translator of more than 100 Byzantine Greek works, including texts from Symeon's *Mênologion,* who was active in the late eleventh century on the Black Mountain, near Antioch.

From Psellos and Ephrem onwards, Symeon was frequently invoked as a guardian of orthodoxy and an exemplar of style by learned writers. A little after Psellos, Ioannes Galenos, deacon and *logothetês* of the Great Church, as well as *rhetôr* and *maistôr*, summarized Symeon's *Miracle Concerning Euphemia the Maiden* (BHG 738; Papaioannou 2017: 117–152) in his defense of the cult of saints, referring to its author as "a wise man, whom the church earned as a beacon along with the great stars" (Gouillard 1981: 178; Ioannes wrote, in my view, also a version of the *Life* of an author-saint, Ioseph Hymnographos—cf. the Appendix to this chapter). In the twelfth century, Michael Glykas cited the "divine Symeon" several times as a theological authority (*Letters* 82.343.15; also 21.252.6, 22.261.5 and *Annals* 395.16, 456.16, and 469.13; see also Høgel 2002: 156 on the contemporary Theodoros Balsamon). Even stronger was the veneration of Symeon and the authority of his *Mênologion* during and after the Hesychastic controversy in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (to cite just one reference: Gregorios Palamas, *Writings against Barlaam* 3.1.10 and new hymns composed by Symeon bishop of Thessalonike in honor of Symeon, ed. Phountoules 1968)—a matter that requires further study.

During the same period, grammarians and rhetoricians also turned to Symeon for inspiration. He was excerpted in later redactions of the tenth-century *Suda* and other dictionaries (such as the *Etymologicum Symeonis*, compiled in the first half of the twelfth century; ed. Baldi 2013), and was cited as a rhetorical authority in twelfth- and late thirteenth-century manuals and other texts (Gregorios Pardos's *Commentary on Hermogenes' On the Method of Force* 1337.4–5; Ioannes Apokaukos, *Letters* 27; Hörandner 2012: 105; Wendland 1901: XVI [cf. Papaioannou 2021a: 298]). Eventually (especially after 1204), the name of Symeon appeared in some of the titles of *Mênologion* texts[29] (though in prefatory or concluding material of a few manuscripts of the *Mênologion* his name had appeared also earlier[30]). His name was also utilized in pseudonymous ascriptions of

[29] Delehaye (1897: 316–318) records 15 such cases: Moscow, GIM, Sinod. gr. 205 (Vlad. 391) (thirteenth century); Paris, BNF, gr. 136 (thirteenth century); Oxford, Bodleian, Barocci 234 (thirteenth century); Paris, BNF, gr. 1519 (eleventh century, a *Non*-Metaphrastic *Mênologion* for November; the name of Metaphrastes was wrongly added to the title of one of the included texts only later, possibly after 1204); Vatican, BAV, Vat. gr. 1246 (thirteenth century); Paris, BNF, Coislin 304 (fourteenth century); Vatican, BAV, Vat. gr. 567 (fourteenth century; this ms. also contains the office in honor of Symeon Metaphrastes); Vatican, BAV, Vat. gr. 800 (fourteenth century); Oxon. Barocc. 197 (fourteenth century); Oxford, Bodleian, Cromwell 6 (fifteenth century); Paris, BNF, gr. 401 (fourteenth–fifteenth centuries); Paris, BNF, gr. 1021 (sixteenth century); Vatican, BAV, Vat. gr. 1279 (sixteenth century); Vatican, BAV, Vat. gr. 1190 (sixteenth century); Vatican, BAV, Vat. gr. 2098 (seventeenth century)

[30] Two examples may be cited: Athos, Iveron 16, dated to 1042 (mention of "Symeon . . . *magistros* and *logothetês tou dromou*" in the colophon) and Paris, BNF, gr. 1524, twelfth century (reference to "the wise *logothetês*" in an epigram preceding the table of contents); see also Paris, BNF, gr. 1558, fifteenth century (reference to "the wise speech-writer [λογογράφου] . . . Symeon" in the colophon); on these manuscripts see Ehrhard (1938: 336–337, 374–375, and 617).

other texts, as noted previously. Most of all, during the late Byzantine period, references to the body-relic of Symeon kept unharmed from decay began to appear, suggesting a probably new and, in any case, more dazzling glorification of this author-saint.[31] This further sanctification was part of reassertion of orthodox identity among the Byzantines, who were facing the decline of their state and the expansion of Catholicism. What better evidence was for true *Byzantine* faith than the incorruptible body of, among others, a master writer?

We shall never know what route of authorial agency Symeon himself would have wanted. Most probably, he never envisioned the success he enjoyed. Yet even if authorial intentions are beyond our reach (a usual predicament for the readers of Byzantine texts), the way Symeon's *Mênologion* tapped into every conceivable source of cultural and social influence, from learnedness to ritual anonymity, available to writers like him invites us to think anew about Byzantine authors.

Suggestions for Further Reading

The essays collected in Pizzone (2014) survey, with abundant bibliography, different aspects of authorship in Byzantium with a focus on the middle period; cf. also Vlyssidou 2021. We may also highlight the following studies that cover a wide range of related subjects as presented earlier: Mullett (1997: esp. 223–230); Konstan (1998); Anagnostakis (1999); Odorico (2002); Agapitos (2004: esp. 63–65); Krueger (2004); Crostini (2005); Holton, Lentari, Moennig, and Vejleskov (2005); Agapitos (2006: 94–108); Baun (2007: 34–75); the essays of A. Berger, A. Simpson, and M. D. Lauxtermann in Armstrong (2013: 247–282); Cullhed (2014); Hinterberger (2014); Papaioannou (2020, 2021a). Especially useful are also studies and volumes that explore issues of authorship, anonymity, and pseudonymity in related or comparable premodern literatures; see, e.g.: Minnis (1984); Meade (1986); Miller (1986); Schnell (1998); Baum (2001); Kilito (2001); Zimmermann (2001); Calame and Chartier (2004); Wyrick (2004); Rankovic, Brügger Budal, Conti, Melve, and Mundal (2012); Cueva and Martínez (2016). On the notions of authority/authorization/authorship see, e.g., Biriotti (1993) and Compagnon (1998: 51–110).

The multi-authored work-in-progress biographical *Lexikon byzantinischer Autoren*, edited by Michael Grünbart and Alexander Riehle, promises to be the most comprehensive encyclopedia of Byzantine eponymous authors; for rhetors in the early Byzantine

[31] Apart from the two references (Markos Eugenikos and an anonymous Russian traveler) presented in Høgel (2002: 73), a very important mention exists also in Theodoros Agallianos's (c. 1400–before October 1474; PLP 94) *Dialogue with a Monk against the Latins* 560–588; see also the *Acts of the Council of Florence* 126, 18–20, with a reference to Metaphrastes as an Orthodox authority.

period, see Janiszewski, Stebnicka, and Szabat (2015); for twelth-century authors, see Nesseris (2014: vol. 2).

Of the many related areas, for which no comprehensive survey exists, we may cite here just that of the so-called author portraits in Byzantine art in general, and manuscript art in particular. For studies and bibliography, one may start with the following: Friend (1927–1929); Nelson (1980: esp. 75–91); Mullett (1997: 227–228); Krause (2004: 175–184); Krueger (2004: 48–62); Cutler (2004); Pontani (2005); Krause (2011). For a significant example available online, see Paris, BNF, gr. 923 (ninth c., first half; Ioannes Damaskenos, *Ἱερὰ Παράλληλα*. CPG 8056) with multiple author portraits that distinguish divinely inspired from pagan writers (Brubaker 1999: 52–57). For an example, finally, of a portrait of an *anonymous* author, one should turn to f. 1v of Athos, Iveron 463, a manuscript of *Barlaam and Ioasaph*, produced in Constantinople *c*. 1075, probably in the environment of the imperial court.

APPENDIX

Byzantine Texts on Authorship

1. John Chrysostom (c. 340/350–407), the Beginning Paragraphs of His *Homily* 1, a Preface to His *Commentary on Saint John the Apostle and Evangelist* (BHG 923; CPG 4425; PG 59: 23–25; trans. Marriott 1889, modified)

The spectators [θεαταὶ] of heathen games, when they learn that an athlete of valor and winner of victory crowns [γενναῖον ἀθλητὴν καὶ στεφανίτην] has arrived from some place, all run and gather to view his wrestling, and all his skill and strength [τὴν τέχνην καὶ τὴν ἰσχύν]; and you may see the whole stadium [θέατρον], myriads of them, everyone straining their eyes, both of the body and of the mind, so that no part of the spectacle may escape them.[32]

In a similar fashion, if any star musician [μουσικὸς] came to town, these very same persons again fill the stadium and abandon all their tasks, often necessary and pressing business, and mount the steps, and sit listening very attentively to the singing and the accompaniment, giving verdicts on their harmony. And this is what the many do.

As for those experienced in rhetorical discourses [οἱ δὲ ῥητορικῶν ἔμπειροι λόγων], they again do just the same with respect to the sophists; for they too have their theaters, and listeners, and clapping of hands, and noise, and utmost evaluation of what is said.

If in the case of rhetors, musicians, and athletes, people sit in the one case to look on, in the other to observe at once and to listen with such eagerness, what zeal, what eagerness should you rightly display, when now it is no musician, nor a sophist set for a context, but a man speaking from heaven, uttering a voice more brilliant than thunder? He has pervaded the whole inhabited world, he has occupied it, and filled it with his resounding voice [τῇ βοῇ], not

[32] Chrysostom's commentary enjoyed wide circulation (preliminary discussion in Harkins 1966); for an early manuscript, dating to the ninth century, see Paris, BNF, gr. 705. The text excerpted here contains several biblical allusions which I have not indicated in the translation as they are not signaled as such in the text, but are rather woven seamlessly into John's own discourse.

because he has shouted loudly, but because he has moved his tongue [τὴν γλῶτταν] with the grace of God [τῆς θείας χάριτος].

And what is wonderful, this resounding voice, great as it is, is neither harsh nor unpleasant, but sweeter and more desirable than all harmony of music; it knows how to create more and more appeal; and in addition to all this, it is most holy, and most awe-inspiring, and full of ineffable mysteries so great, and bringing with it goods so great, that the people who receive and preserve them with rigorous care and eagerness could no longer be mere humans, nor remain upon the earth, but would take their stand above all the things of this life, and transform themselves to the condition of angels, and dwell on earth just as if it were heaven.

The son of thunder, the beloved of Christ, the pillar of the churches throughout the inhabited world, who holds the keys of heaven, who drank the cup of Christ, and was baptized with His baptism, who lay upon his master's bosom with much confidence, this man comes forward to us now. Not as an actor of a play, not hiding his head with a mask (for he is not about to speak such sort of words), nor mounting a platform, nor striking the stage with his foot, nor dressed out with apparel of gold. Instead, he enters wearing a robe of inconceivable beauty; for he will appear before us having put on Christ, having his beautiful feet shod with the preparation of the Gospel of peace, wearing a girdle not about his waist, but about his loins, not made of scarlet leather nor daubed outside with gold, but woven and composed of truth itself.

It is this man who will he appear before us, not acting a part, since with him there is nothing counterfeit, nor fiction, nor fable. With unmasked head he proclaims to us the truth unmasked [γυμνὴν . . . τὴν ἀλήθειαν]. He does not make his audience believe him other than by gesture, by look, by voice. He does not need any instruments of music, as harp, lyre, or any other of the like for the delivery of his message, for he effects all with his tongue, uttering a voice which is sweeter and more profitable than that of any harper or any music.

His stage is the entire heaven; his theater, the habitable world; his viewers and listeners, all the angels and of men as many as are angels, or desire to become so. For none but these can hear that harmony correctly, and show it forth by their works, and be listeners as listeners should be. All the rest are like little children who hear but do not understand what they hear since they are after candy and childish playthings; so they too, living in laughter, luxury, wealth, power, and as their belly demands, hear sometimes what is said, but show forth nothing great or noble in their actions as they have fastened themselves once and for all to brickmaking and clay.

By this Apostle stand the powers from above, astounded by the beauty of his soul, and his wisdom, and the bloom of that virtue by which he drew unto him Christ Himself, and obtained the grace of the Spirit [πνευματικὴν . . . χάριν]. After he prepared his soul like some well-tuned and jeweled lyre with strings of gold, he yielded it to the Spirit for some magnificent and sublime music.

2. Nikephoros Ouranos (d. after 1007), *Verses on Symeon Metaphrastes and Logothetês tou Dromou* (BHG 1675c; Mercati 1950)

The tongue [γλῶσσα] that gushed fountains of discourses [λόγων],
whose stream knew no end in pleasure,
the charming character that enchanted even the nature of stones,

he who cultivated words [λόγων] superior to silence is now silent;
the deep mind [νοῦς], the intellect shrewd more than anyone,
Symeon, the pride of the *magistroi,*
has shut his eyes, and is buried here under a small stone.
The Muses sing a grieving song;
the serious pursuit of learning [λόγων], the brilliant resonance of rhetors
are flowing away; everything is silent, everything is despondent.
The common people wail, they cannot bear the loss;
they look for the sword, which he carried in his belt
so as to remove all harm against the poor,
even if his humble and moderate heart
did not keep its blade always razor-sharp.
The church too is not unaffected by the misfortune,
dispossessed of the enchanting song of a Siren;
the author [ὁ συγγραφεὺς] of both *Lives* and *Passions,*
alas, alas, has taken on the silence of the dead.
The hands of the poor are empty, or indeed empty are their bellies,
deprived of the hand that would make them full;
a hand about whose acts of kindness, whose hidden givings
even the other hand of the giver did not know.
All about him was a miracle, everything was beyond words:
his flesh knew of no stains of the flesh;
his disciplined life sought Christ alone;
his solitariness singled him out amidst the commotion of worldly matters;
his compassionate heart gushed paternal affection for everyone.
Where was sarcasm in this man? Where was any duplicity?
The words on his tongue, his lips, his heart were the same.
Or, rather, he has simply all goodness;
that man, what an immense loss,
depriving our lives from so many good things!
O sweet and dear consort!
O faithful friend, the light of the eyes of those who loved you,
or rather of my eyes, about whom you cared most!
How will I bear your absence with restrained emotion?
I, Nikephoros, who was one with you, and you were my everything, my life,
you who shared my toils, my myriads of cares,
my cure in sorrow, the dew for my heart?
Who shall help me bear my unending pains?
Who will now be the judge of my discourses [λόγων]?
Who will entrust your discourses to me?
Rather, what speech [λόγος] will suffice for you,
now that your Muse, alas, has bitterly stopped,
the only one needed for worthy discourses?

3. Ioannes Galenos, Deacon of the Great Church of God, and Rhetor (late eleventh century), *Discourse on the Life of Our Holy Father Ioseph Hymnographos* (BHG 945–946; PG 105.939–975)

Chapter 22 (968a–d) [*While in captivity in Crete, enslaved by Arab pirates, Ioseph has a vision of St Nikolaos*]:[33]

The night came when it is the custom of the church to celebrate the nativity of Christ. Ioseph, with his foot pressed by the stocks and his neck bent down by the chains, conducted the all-night chant, and until the crowing songs of the rooster he addressed Christ who for our sake and beyond our comprehension was seen among us. Lo and behold, in a waking vision, a man suddenly appeared to him, with white hair, in solemn attire befitting a sacred person, showing on his face a glorifying grace. And he said to him right away:

"I traveled from Myra in Lycia and came to you and for your sake; God, for whom you perform your struggles, rushed me with a swiftness that needs no wings. Listen to the happy news I am announcing to you: The person who has put the church in commotion and is trying to devour the sheep of Christ will lose his power and will find his just retribution as a wicked person on the day of the revelation (as Paul says [Romans 2:5]). And you should go to the Queen of cities, so that you may support many with the grace [χάριτι] given to you by the Spirit. But first take this page and eat it!"—he appeared to hold in his right hand a small part of a book.

Ioseph felt great delight eating the written page [τῇ γραφῇ] and kept saying "How sweet is what is written here for the spiritual palate of the soul!"[34] The text he ate read verbatim as follows: "Be swift, o merciful one! Hurry, o compassionate one! Come to our help, as you can if you want."[35]

And as he was ordered by that divine man to chant these words in perfect melody, in a sweet and loud voice, he saw himself being delivered from the stocks and the chains on his neck lying next to his feet. "Follow me!," he heard from the man and (what a miracle! what a swift succor! what ineffable, immense and unbelievable wonder!) he was seen, invisibly, to cut through the impalpable air, and as if born by the wind he came to the great among the cities.

4. Ioseph Bryennios (1350–1430) *Letter* to Ioannes; from Constantinople to Crete (ed. Tomadakes 1983–1986)

If I could know for sure that these letters of mine would not also suffer a shipwreck and sink under the waters of the sea or that, after reading them, you would not bury them or cast them to fire, or (somewhat more benevolently) to darkness, I would perhaps write more and in a learned fashion. But now, considering all these as possible, I have become rather lazy in writing

[33] The author of this text is, in my view, the same person as Ioannes the deacon and *Maistôr* who wrote *To Those Who Doubt the Cult of the Saints and Argue That They Are Unable to Help Us, Especially after Our Death and Departure from This Life* (ed. by Gouillard 1981; mentioned also earlier).

[34] Ioannes returns to the subject of divine inspiration later in his *Discourse* as well (chap. 25), while earlier (chap. 12) he praises the sweetness of Ioseph's interpretations of the scriptures as well as his speeches. For the motif of eating a book or parts of a book as inspiration, ultimately deriving from the *Scriptures* (Ezechiel 3:1–3; Revelation 10:8–11), see also a similar story in the *Life* of Romanos Melodos, nicely summarized as well as depicted in Vatican, BAV, Vat. gr. 1613, f. 78 (available online).

[35] This is the refrain (ἐφύμνιον) as well as the first lines of the first stanza (IHEG 4:36–37) of Romanos Melodos's *kontakion* on Christ's Nativity, that was (and is still) chanted on the Sunday before Christmas.

to you. Just think what a loss it is to buy both paper and ink in vain, to set before oneself the sharpener, the scissors, the inkwell to no purpose, to blunt the pen, to prepare the needle, the thread, the wax, and finally the seal, all for nothing. And these are just tools, exterior to us. What about the many and great things that we must supply ourselves? First the most necessary and most toilsome: the inventions of the mind [νοὸς εὑρέματα]; but also the leaning forward of the neck, the strained eyes, the skill of one's hand, the movement of the fingers, the bending of the knees, the disposition of the lines, the form of the letters, the beauty of the thoughts, and sometimes the disclosure of secrets. And when we manage to enlist some letter-carrier to bring these, and the long sail is accomplished, and indeed the letters arrive safely at the hands of the addressee, can you imagine the level of disregard for the sender and for the good letter itself, if the receiver throws them away like waste to some dark corner as soon as he reads them?

In this same situation, the ancients did not have this habit, but the exact opposite one. Whenever they sent or received letters, the senders would copy them, before handing them to the carrier, in a book containing the rest of their writings, while the receivers, as soon as they received the letters, would show them immediately to other initiates of learning. The receivers would memorize them and copy them in their own books before the others who would get the letters would also add them to their own books and learn them by heart in order to show off at home, in the marketplace, on the streets, in gatherings. In every conversation, they would recount quotes from memory instead of empty talk. In this way, the receiver would become an object of admiration for being the friend of such a man, the author himself would be applauded with praises for being a rhetor [ὡς ῥήτωρ], the power of rhetoric would be recognized by all, and learning would be coveted.

The result of all this was the following. Whenever the writer would decide to send letters again to the same addressee or to some other among his friends, he would remember that the friend who was going to receive these letters was going to learn them by heart, and copy them, and tell many people about them, and within a year ten or even a hundred books would contain them, and they would continue to be copied again and again by men, lovers of words [ἀνδρῶν φιλολόγων], and thus be preserved forever. Imagine the pleasure, the care, the art with which he would write. This is how Libanios, how Synesios the philosopher, how Isidoros of Pelousion, how everyone whose letters still survive [cf. Figure 3.2 in Chapter 3] wrote their epistles. This is, namely, how they cared about discourse, and how much they loved learning, beauty, and each other!

Therefore, if you too wish to receive letters from me, you should first copy them as soon as your receive them, memorize them diligently, tell your friends about them, recount them to everyone at the appropriate occasion, disrupting inappropriate and vain conversations. If so, you will receive letters (I swear to God!) very often and (I wish I could also add) erudite ones.

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CHAPTER 21

READERS AND THEIR PLEASURES

STRATIS PAPAIOANNOU

Τῇ δὲ ἕωθεν κελεύει ὁ βασιλεὺς . . . τινα τριβοῦνον ἀπελθεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς εἱρκτῆς καὶ ἐξαγαγεῖν αὐτὴν . . . Προελθὼν δὲ ὁ τριβοῦνος ἐκ τοῦ παλατίου ᾔσθετο θυμιαμάτων πολλῶν· καὶ τῆς εὐωδίας ἐμπλησθεὶς λέγει τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ· «Ἴσθεσθε καὶ ὑμεῖς εὐωδίας πλείστης;». . .Ἐλθόντες δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς εἱρκτῆς μείζονα εὗρον τὴν τῶν θυμιαμάτων εὐωδίαν· ἀνοίξαντες δὲ πρώτην θύραν εἶδον φῶς πολὺ περιαστράπτον· εἰσιόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐνδοτέρῳ οἰκήματι—ἦν γὰρ ἡ φυλακὴ οἰκήματα ἔχουσα πλεῖστα—, περιλάμπει αὐτοὺς ἀστραπή, ὡς ἐκ τοῦ φόβου πάντας μὲν τρομάσαι, ἐκεῖνον δὲ εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος καταπεσεῖν.

Εἶτα μόλις ἀναστὰς εἰσῄει ἐπὶ τὸν τρίτον οἶκον. Καὶ θεωρεῖ τὴν μακαρίαν Τατιανὴν κ αθεζομένην εἰς θρόνον βασιλικόν, καὶ πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν δυνατῶν περὶ αὐτήν, ὧν οὐκ ἦν ἱστορῆσαι τὴν καλλονήν (ἅπαντες γὰρ ἦσαν λευχειμονοῦντες)· αὕτη δὲ πτυκτίον κατεῖχεν, καὶ ἀνεγίνωσκεν . . .

Early the next morning, the emperor ordered . . . some tribune to go to the prison and take her from there. . . . As the tribune came out of the palace, he felt the smell of much incense; overwhelmed, he asked those with him: "Do you also smell this great sweet scent?" . . . When they arrived at the prison, the sweet scent of incense was even greater. They opened the first gate and were dazzled with the abundance of light. He entered within the inner room (for the prison had many rooms) and a lightning surrounded them with its brilliance; everyone was terrified and he fell on the ground.

Then, hardly managing to stand on his feet, he entered the third room. And there he sees the blessed Tatiane sitting on a royal throne, and standing around her was a crowd of strong men whose beauty cannot be described (all were dressed in white); and she was holding a book, and was reading.

As in other pre-modern societies with rich written traditions, so also in Byzantium, reading constituted a seminal part in the making of shared culture as well as the formation of individuals. It offered entertainment and information, it produced systems

of knowledge, and functioned as a decisive tool for social advancement; for, in a world of limited literacy, those few who could cultivate substantially their reading skills commanded a cultural capital that was often translated into illustrious careers in the imperial or church administration and thus into participation in influential social networks.

But reading was not just that. As the cited passage intimates (*Passion of St. Tatiane* 10; BHG 1699), reading was also associated with the ideal person and the hope for a better way of life. Christian saints, those major cultural heroes in Byzantine society, were often depicted as model readers, for whom reading was instrumental in their ability to transcend a world oppressed by human violence or iniquity and, like Tatiane, turn the worst of places into a royal paradisiac space, a space of otherworldly pleasure.

The present chapter explores the ways in which the high value of reading and, especially, its association with various kinds of pleasure were constructed and conceived in Byzantium. More specifically, we will be asking what the effect of reading was, how its experience was perceived, and who was the ideal reader.

The Realities of Reading

There were many kinds of readers, engaged in rather different practices of reading, over the course of the long history of Byzantium. The most conspicuous type is actually the least common: groups of highly learned readers that existed without interruption during the Byzantine millenium. These were professional teachers, public speakers, and, in some contexts and periods, members of the ruling elite, usually, but not exclusively, male.[1] They reached advanced levels of literacy, appreciated the subtleties of archaizing linguistic registers, and could sometimes have access to (though not necessarily possess) hundreds of books of a great variety of content, "πολλά καὶ παντοῖα βιβλία (many and manifold books)"—as was claimed for a certain Philippos in Sokrates Scholastikos in the fifth century (*Ecclesiastical History* 7.27.5), and as Michael Choniates claimed for himself in the twelfth (*Letter* 146.18).[2]

These readers left multiple traces of their reading activity, either as authors, who quoted, alluded, and commented upon other texts in their own writings, or as scholiasts in the form of explanatory glosses and various other notes on the margins of texts in Byzantine manuscripts (see Montana 2011, a recent treatment of ancient and Byzantine scholia with further bibliography; see also, e.g., Odorico 1985 and Fera, Ferraù, and Rizzo 2002; Jacquart and Burnett 2005; examples: Figures 4.1, 4.2, and 4.3 in Chapter 4;

[1] Virtually in every period of Byzantine history, women of the higher classes are attested as belonging to the "learned" group as well (Cavallo 2006: 40–46; see also related references in Papaioannou, "Authors," Chapter 20 in this volume).

[2] By far the most famous such reader was patriarch Photios and his reading circle in the ninth century (Hägg 1975 and 1999; Canfora 1998). For other, relatively well-documented cases, see, e.g. Carriker (2003; Eusebios of Caesarea) or Bianconi (2005; on various eponymous readers associated with the library in the Chora monastery in Constantinople).

Figures 6.2 and 6.3 in Chapter 6; and Figure 18.1 in Chapter 18). Even if modern scholarship has devoted most of its attention to their reading practices, such readers were always a small minority, and a somewhat guarded minority at that—it is a commonplace among learned writers to stress the innate or studied inaccessibility of intellectual life and, consequently, of sophisticated texts to the "many" (see, e.g., Synesios of Kyrene, *Dion* 9, 4–5 with Michael Psellos, *Letter* 134).

The profile of the average reader or, indeed, listener was rather different. Common readers/listeners were exposed to a more limited repertoire of texts and mastered various degrees of comprehension. Their reading/listening would have taken place mostly (though not exclusively) in a Christian ritual setting, whether private or mostly public. And it would have focused primarily on texts written in idioms closer to the *Koine*, such as liturgical texts—like the story of Tatiane, which was supposed to be read on January 12 and which survives in several Byzantine so-called *Mênologia*, the earliest of which, Glasgow University Library MS Gen 1112, dates to the tenth century.

Average readers/listeners were much more numerous than the learned ones—even if their numbers are impossible to estimate. Among them several tiers may be discerned based on levels of literacy. Toward the top were professional scribes, usually monks, members of the lower clergy, or notaries, who copied manuscripts and, though not highly literate, occasionally intervened in the texts they were reading and copying. Certainly at the top were professional readers, usually clerics. These consisted of (head)chanters, deacons, priests, bishops, and those clerics as well as laymen who were designated as "ἀναγνῶσται" (readers) and were appointed to recite texts during church services (Darrouzès 1970: 87–91 and *passim*; a similar task was required of the "λογοθέται"—see Darrouzès 1970: 359–362). Though the details of their appointment and likely reimbursement remain unexplored, the number of ἀναγνῶσται, laymen and clerics alike, attested in Byzantine sources is quite substantial, as a quick perusal of Byzantine historiography and modern prosopographical databases of the Byzantine period suggests. The office of the ἀναγνώστης partially continued the craft/position that was once occupied mainly by slaves, the *lectores*, in the Roman and early Byzantine world (on these lectors, see Johnson 2012: 26–27 with bibliography). But in Byzantium the social spectrum of lectors was widened to even include illustrious persons such as the emperor Julian who, according to Sokrates Scholastikos, "while secretly was being trained in pagan philosophy, read the holy scriptures of the Christians in public and in fact was appointed a 'reader' in the church of Nikomedia" (*Ecclesiastical History* 3.1.20).

At the middle tier of average readers were people with limited literacy, who could perhaps decipher an inscription on a wall or an icon, or could read, after the introduction of minuscule by the late eighth century, a book in large capital letters. The example of the emperor Basil I (867–886) and his private gospel book, now Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, gr. 2, is illustrative in this regard (Cavallo 2006: 28–29). That an emperor mastered only low levels of literacy should not surprise us, as lack of education was often a feature *also* of the Byzantine social elite; several wealthy patrons, for whom texts were composed, and in front of whom texts were performed, often had little formal education.

The majority of average "readers" were people of all social strata with virtually no reading skills, but who were exposed to texts by looking at inscriptions (without being able

to decipher them) and, most importantly, by listening to others read or perform. Indeed, a major aspect in the reality of reading in Byzantium is that most of it was mediated through recitation or performance. The Byzantine reader, whose image this chapter aims to capture, was thus not simply someone holding a book, reading silently on her or his own, as we do today and as did take place in Byzantium as well—"βίβλον λαβὼν ἰδιάζων ταύτην ἀνάγνωθι [taking a book, read it on your own]," Kekaumenos (eleventh century) advised in his so-called *Stratêgikon* (3.142). Rather, the Byzantine "reader" was exposed to literature and discourse in general either by reading or, more often, *by listening*.

The Value of Reading/Listening

How was reading and listening regarded in Byzantium? What were the expectations for readers and audiences?

Rules as well as stories fashioned the ideal reader/listener. In school contexts, a long tradition of essays on reading, such as Plutarch's *How a Young Man Should Listen to Poems* (cf. Konstan 2004) or Basil the Great's *Address to the Young Men* (cf. Wilson 1975a), as well as handbooks of grammar and rhetoric, devoted much discussion on how and what to read, including directions for recitation. Among the most important of the latter was the second chapter in Dionysios of Thrace's (c. 170–c. 90 BCE) popular *Art of Grammar* which was devoted to "Reading" and was often commented upon by Byzantine teachers (the relevant scholia are edited in Hilgard 1901—cf. Diethart and Gastgeber 1993–1994; on Dionysios, see Montana 2020: 159–163).

In monastic settings, there existed advisory literature that encouraged careful, intensive, and meditative reading. Three rather different examples from this context may suffice. In a two-line epigram, Theodoros Stoudites (759–826; PmbZ 7574) advised his monks to "ἐπιμελῶς ἀναγιγνώσκειν τὰ ἐν τοῖς τοίχοις [read diligently the inscriptions on the walls]" (*Poem* 103). In the twelfth century, Eustathios of Thessalonike made fun of inappropriate behavior during the recital of texts—the latter was usual practice at communal meals in monastic refectories (cf. Efthymiadis and Kalogeras 2014: 263 with Talbot 2007: 119–122). As Eustathios claims, the badly behaved monk would outdo the sound of peaceful public lessons by his "κόμπῳ τῶν μασημάτων [boastful chewing]" (*Examination of the Monastic Way of Life* 154.3–4). And, to cite a visual example, the makers of a Constantinopolitan illustrated manuscript of the year 1081, containing the *Ladder* (CPG 7852) of Ioannes Sinaites, interjected several images of exemplary monks/ascetics in moments of holding and reading a book (Princeton University Library, Cod. 16, "Garrett Collection of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts," ff. 93v, 165r, and 169v[3]).

[3] See Martin (1954: 24–47 and 175–177) with Ševčenko and Kotzabassi (2010: 112–125).

Correspondingly, the formation of the church calendar regarding urban as well as monastic services over the course of many centuries was largely concentrated on arranging which *lessons* should be read at which moments of the Christian liturgical life. The *Typikon of the Great Church*, whose earliest testimonies are the late tenth-/early eleventh-century parchment manuscripts Jerusalem, Patriarchal Library, Timiou Staurou 40 and Patmos 266 (Mateos 1962–1963 and, for the Patmos ms., Dmitrievskij 1895; Figure 21.1[4]), offers the first complete description of the Constantinopolitan cathedral rite—both manuscripts are also crucial witnesses for the earliest forms of the *Synaxarion of the Great Church of Constantinople* (Luzzi 2014: 200–203). The so-called *Typikon of the Anastasis* (Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1894: 1–254) preserved in Jerusalem, Patriarchal Library, Timiou Staurou 40, dated to 1122, presents us with detailed directions for Holy Week, Easter, and Bright Week for the influential rite of the church of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem. Similarly, the *Hypotypôsis* of the monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis (Jordan and Morris 2012; cf. also Lena 2017), a wealthy foundation outside the walls of Constantinople, the *Taktikon* of Nikon (Hannick with Plank, Lutzka, and Afanas'eva 2014), from the Black Mountain monastic communities near Antioch, and the *Typikon* of the monastery of San Salvatore of Messina (after 1165; Arranz 1969 with Re 1990) provide good examples of monastic rites at the center and the periphery of eleventh-century Byzantium. But these are just some of the many instantiations of a process traced as far back as the fourth century (especially in what pertains to Jerusalemite practice: cf. Galadza 2014; also 2017), but for which we lack a comprehensive study.[5]

Beyond these prescriptive discourses, ubiquitous are also addresses to the reader, the listener, or the patron, which were included in sermons, storytelling, poetry of all kinds, and prefatory remarks before a text, a performance, or a recital (often in verse: Antonopoulou 2010). These addresses defined the horizon of an author's (or a genre's) aesthetic expectations from the audience. That is, they delineated readerly emotions and behavior and often anticipated or chastised inordinate reactions—the "solecisms of listeners," such as "heavy eyebrows, a look of reverie, bodies in recline, as well as nods, whispers, and smirks to each other," as Samuel Mauropous wrote in the second half of the twelfth century in his *Catechetical Speech* (85–89), citing verbatim Plutarch's *How a Youth Should Listen to Poems* (45d) (further examples in Antonopoulou 1997: 100–109). Finally, book epigrams (Bentein and Demoen 2012) and other inscriptions and notices, usually at the beginning or at the end of manuscripts (e.g., Euangelatou-Notara 1982, 1984) offered the briefest and most common form of such advice for readers. This advice included curses for those who might wish to steal or damage a book, though these were not always effective. The example of two readers who were either too avid or too prudish (or both) may be furnished here: the first removed from the Grottaferrata manuscript of the *Digenes Akrites* (Z.α.XLIV, dated to c. 1300) the

[4] F. 20r: the end of directions for readings for November 30 (apostle Andrew) and the beginning of rubrics for December 1 (*synaxarion* of St Ananias); text in Dmitrievskij (1895: 28).

[5] For a very useful catalogue of liturgical dates, to which various patristic texts/homilies were assigned over the course of the Byzantine millenium, see CPG 5: 147–159.

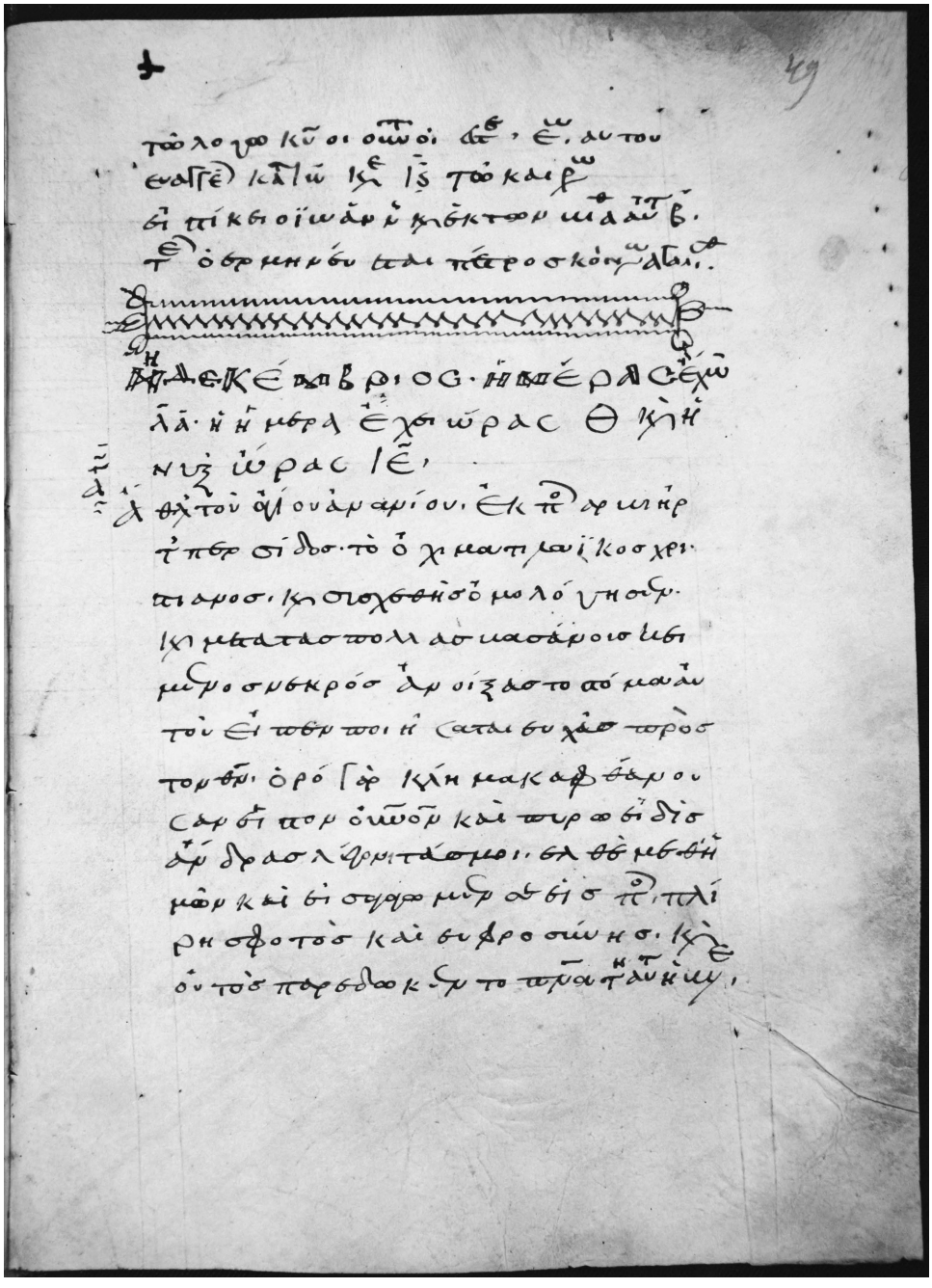

FIGURE 21.1 Patmos, Μονὴ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου 266; parchment; late tenth or early eleventh century; *Typikon-Synaxarion*; f. 20r: November 30 and December 1.

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page that included the notorious scene of Digenes's sexual affair with the amazon Maximou (Jeffreys 1998: 196–199); the second removed two quires from a fourteenth-century liturgical manuscript, Athos, Xenophontos 32, that contained the perhaps too imaginative description of the baptism of two animals in the *Acts* of apostle Philip (BHG 1524c; see Bovon 2012: 20, with Bovon, Bouvier, and Amsler 1999: xiv).[6]

Another type of evidence, which again we possess in abundance, is what we might call "reading scenes," a kind of *mise en abyme.* These are descriptions of the experience and effect of reading or listening embedded within stories in texts of all kinds. They would have functioned as mirrors of proper behavior for readers and listeners and they abound in Byzantine texts: from histories and chronicles (see, e.g., the image of emperor Nikephoros Phokas spending his nights in vigils reading the Psalter in Georgios the Monk, *Chronikon Syntomon* 1208.45–51) to the Byzantine romances (Agapitos 2006), and, most frequently, tales and legends about saints. Apart from the many saints who were appointed ἀναγνῶσται,[7] scenes of saints reading books or listening to recitals are pervasive—notably, these are often female saints, such as Tatiane with whom this chapter began. Numerous are, for instance, such descriptions in the *Mênologion* of Symeon Metaphrastes (cf. Figures 20.3 and 20.4 in Chapter 20). To cite a somewhat memorable example; in Metaphrastes's version of the *Life of Daniel the Stylite* (chapt. 39; BHG 490), we read about a disciple of Daniel who, at night and in order that he may not fall asleep, would:

> . . . σχοινίοις τῶν μασχαλῶν ἑαυτὸν πρὸς μέσον ἐξαρτήσας ἀέρα, σανίδα παρὰ τὸ στῆθος ἁπλοῖ καὶ τῇ σανίδι βίβλον ἐπιτίθησιν, ἵν' ἄμφω καὶ οὕτως ἀνηρτημένῳ ἀναγινώσκειν παρῇν.
>
> . . . suspend himself on the air, by tying his arms with ropes, and then spread a wooden plank close to his chest and place a book on it, so that he might read suspended in this way.

Devotion to reading marks a spectacular peak in the ascetic way of life.

The first thing to observe when we look at the evidence as a whole is that readers/listeners and reading/listening are put forward in Byzantine texts as socially, morally, and culturally significant with remarkable frequency. It is perhaps noteworthy that the Byzantine visual arts do not offer us many images of readers or the moment of reading—if we exclude the omnipresent images of Christ and male saints holding the Gospel

[6] For other examples of removal of pages with heretical content from hagiographical manuscripts, see Detoraki (2012), and for further cases of moral or ideological "restoration" of a text by copyists/readers for future audiences, see West (1973: 18) and Becker (1963) with Knust and Wasserman (2010).

[7] E.g., Saints Timotheos (*SynaxCP* May 3), or Markianos and Martyrios (Oct. 25), the patron saints of notaries (on whom see, e.g., Pitsakis 2000). For, conversely, scribes as saints, see, e.g., the very interesting stories of Saint Theodoros, bishop of Kyrene (*SynaxCP* July 3) and Athanasios the Wonderworker (*SynaxCP* June 3, app. crit.).

codex or a scroll (for exceptional images with the Virgin and other female saints, see Anderson 2000), since these images are associated more with authority qua authorship and literacy, rather than reading per se (cf. Papaioannou, "Authors," Chapter 20 in this volume). An image that clearly portrays a reading scene and which we encounter frequently comes from illustrations of the life of Christ; Byzantine artists, that is, occasionally depicted the first public appearance of Christ in the synagogue, when Christ read aloud verses from the prophet Isaiah, identifying him as the messiah—the scene is recorded in the Gospel of Luke (4:16–21 with Isaiah 61:1–2) and, according to the Byzantine liturgical calendar, was celebrated on September 1, the Byzantine New Year's Day.[8] Otherwise, the visual arts are somewhat silent regarding readers or reading, a silence that provides a magnifying contrast to the near obsession with that same activity in Byzantine texts.

The second aspect one discerns in the wealth of Byzantine textual references, which sketch a typology of the model reader, is a set of recurrent ideas and motifs that determine how reading and the reception of discourse were ideally enacted. This typology is characterized by a seemingly clear dichotomy between two opposite approaches—described in the following as the "ritual" and the "aesthetic" reader—but which quickly dissolve into a potent mixture of partly dissonant expectations, bringing us to the core of Byzantine literary culture.

The Ritual Reader

Let us survey this typology by returning to scenes of reading in two saints' *Lives*. The first derives from one of the most popular such texts in Byzantium, the *Life* of Saint Antony the Great (BHG 140), attributed to Athanasios (295–373), the fourth-century bishop of Alexandria (cf. Figure 20.3 in Chapter 20). Very early in this biography, when Antony has not yet embarked on his ascetic way of life, we encounter the following scene (chap. 2):

Οὔπω δὲ μῆνες ἓξ παρῆλθον τοῦ θανάτου τῶν γονέων, . . . εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ συνέβη τότε τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἀναγινώσκεσθαι, καὶ ἤκουσε τοῦ Κυρίου λέγοντος τῷ πλουσίῳ· «Εἰ θέλεις τέλειος εἶναι, ὕπαγε, πώλησον πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντά σου,

[8] There exists an early Byzantine example of this scene on the ivory Brescia Casket (late fourth century; cf. Tkacz 2002); we also find several middle and late Byzantine images on manuscripts (e.g., in the famous *Synaxarion* of Basil II, Vatican, BAV, Vat. gr. 1613, p. 1; in the eleventh-century Florence, BML, Palat. 244, f. 30v; or in the twelfth-century so-called Rockefeller-McCormick New Testament: University of Chicago Library, Goodspeed manuscript collection, Ms. 965, f. 62v) or on wall paintings (e.g., in the fourteenth-century Serbian monastery of Dečani, in present-day Kosovo, on the south wall of the sanctuary—in the depiction, we might add, of a scene narrated in Acts 8:26–40 preserved in the same church, the apostle Philip and the Ethiopian eunuch whom Philip is about to baptize are depicted as reading from the same book [I would like to thank Ivan Drpić for bringing this image to my attention]).

καὶ δὸς πτωχοῖς, καὶ δεῦρο ἀκολούθει μοι, καὶ ἕξεις θησαυρὸν ἐν οὐρανοῖς.» Ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος, . . . ὡς δι᾽ αὐτὸν γενομένου τοῦ ἀναγνώσματος, ἐξελθὼν εὐθὺς ἐκ τοῦ κυριακοῦ, τὰς μὲν κτήσεις ἃς εἶχεν ἐκ προγόνων . . . ταύτας ἐχαρίσατο τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς κώμης.

It was only six months after the death of his parents, that Antony . . . entered the church, and it happened that the Gospel was being read aloud, and he heard the Lord saying to the rich man: "If thou wilt be perfect, go sell what thou hast, and give to the poor, and come follow me, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven" (Matthew 19:21). Antony, . . . as though the reading had been done on his account, went out immediately from the church, and gave the possessions of his forefathers . . . to the villagers.

Soon after, and following a second similar experience (chap. 3), Antony commenced his famous ascetic struggles.

The second passage comes from the *Life* of a eunuch saint, Nikephoros the Monk and Bishop of Miletos (BHG 1338), written by Ioannes Sikeliotes in an exquisitely high style, around the year 1000 (Papaioannou 2015). Sikeliotes writes (28.5–7):

Εἰ δὲ διήκουσας ἀναγινώσκοντος, ὡς οἱ ἀκηκοότες φασίν, εἶπες ἂν ἁρπάζεσθαι τοῦτον, καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀποκρέμασθαι τῶν λογίων, καὶ πρὸς οὐρανὸν μετεωροπορεῖν.

If you heard him read (as those who had heard him attest), you would say that he was snatched away; with his soul suspended from the words, he journeyed toward heaven.

These two passages, the former dealing with the effect of reading on a listener and the latter with the effect of reading on the lector, illustrate the most typical variety of the ideal reader in Byzantium: a reader which we may term the "ritual reader" (the term "ritual" is derived here from anthropological research; see, e.g., Bell 1992 or Mitchell 2010). According to this type, reading or listening activates some kind of fundamental moral or ontological change in its recipients. Antony is not the same man after listening to the Gospel; and Nikephoros enters a condition of rapture while reciting in church. In this sense, reading is not about entertainment, relaxation, or even learning; rather, it produces transformed human subjects. As such, it is a moral imperative—cf. the Pauline dictum, much cited and discussed in Byzantium: "πρόσεχε τῇ ἀναγνώσει [pay attention while reading / to the reading]" (1 Timothy 4:13).

Unsurprisingly, the texts that are said to have profound effect are usually religious: first and foremost, the Gospel (as in Antony) and the Psalter (cf. Kolbet 2006), but also patristic sermons and saints' *Lives* (see Efthymiadis and Kalogeras 2014: 262 with several examples); Saint Nikephoros, for example, experiences transformation while reciting Gregory the Theologian. And this kind of reading usually took place in the context of ritual activity, either in the public setting of liturgy, as in the preceding examples, or within private rites of personal devotion. For instance, in Niketas Stethatos's (c. 1005–c. 1090) eleventh-century *Life* of his teacher Symeon the New Theologian (BHG 1692), we encounter a disciple of Symeon who "had advanced so much in divine love that whenever he read a book and found the name of God or Christ or Jesus in a passage, he would

place first his right eye on the divine name, then his left eye, and then he would burst into tears" (chap. 57; for a similar case of extensive tear-shedding while reading, cf. the eighth-century[?] *Life of Gregentios* 1.77–82; BHG 705).[9]

The idea of *transformative* reading was neither new nor exclusively Christian. The Greek biographical tradition regarding philosophers knew of several examples of conversion to the moral way of life generated by reading the right text at the right time; see, e.g., the cases presented by the fourth-century Constantinopolitan intellectual Themistios in his *Sophist* (295c–d with Koltsiou-Niketa 2014: 243–244). Yet the Byzantine theological, hagiographical, and rhetorical tradition nurtured this common motif with an unprecedented intensity. Apart from the *Life* of Antony the Great, important in this respect was Gregory the Theologian's portrayal of his own response to the writings of his closest friend, Basil the Great, in a passage partly inspired by a classical model: Dionysios of Halikarnassos's reaction to Demosthenes (Macdougall 2015: 181–183). As Gregory concludes, in a crescendo of ideal readership, reading Basil made him "become another from another, being altered in a divine alteration: ἄλλος ἐξ ἄλλου γίνομαι, τὴν θείαν ἀλλοίωσιν ἀλλοιούμενος (*Epitaphios* on Basil of Caesarea = *Or.* 43.67; cf. Papaioannou 2021a: 136–139).[10]

The Aesthetic Reader

At the other end of the spectrum lay the perhaps less prominent (if we are to judge by the somewhat more limited manuscript diffusion of relevant texts and their often relatively exclusive social contexts), but equally significant type, which we might term the "aesthetic reader." This type came in two, closely interrelated varieties, that correspond to the two meanings of the word *aesthetic*:

(a) views and attitudes that display a certain *taste* regarding what is considered beautiful, appealing, etc.;
and (b) an emphasis on sensuous perception, emotional reaction, and material form.

The first variety of the aesthetic reader was fostered systematically by Byzantine grammatical and rhetorical education, which created a series of readerly habits following

[9] An extension of this kind of "ritual" reading is bibliomancy, the choice of a random passage for the purposes of divination; this very common ancient practice is best attested (though relatively little studied) in Byzantium in reference to the Psalms, the most read among biblical texts in the Christian Middle Ages; cf. Parpulov 2014: 16 (with further references); see also Papaioannou (2012: 154–163) and Wiśniewski (2016).

[10] In a somewhat rare eleventh-century "author" portrait, Gregory the Theologian is portrayed as a reader (Florence, BML, Plut. 7.24, dated 1091, f. 3v), while, in a similarly rare marginal illustration, Basil of the Great is shown reading a book, while holding a candle: in the so-called *Theodore Psalter*, dated to 1066, London, BL, Add. 19.35, f. 3v.

well-defined notions of discursive beauty; these were often distinct from moral preoccupations. The second variety was usually enacted in rhetorical texts themselves, where rhetors either displayed their own aesthetic gratification or highlighted the sense-oriented emotions of others, always in reaction to reading or listening.

Refinement and urbanity, the sense of style—discursive as well as behavioral—that was promoted by Byzantine rhetorical training, were all directed toward the creation of communities of readers. These insiders of learnedness shared both a discursive canon (texts that needed to be read, imitated, and even memorized) and also attitudes toward reading that included the identification of that elusive category of "beauty." The attraction of "the sense of the listeners = τὴν αἴσθησιν τῶν ἀκροατῶν," as the teacher Gregorios Pardos put it in the twelfth century, was part and parcel of the culture of learnedness (*Commentary on Hermogenes' On the Method of Force* 1140.4).

Related evidence comes in different forms. Take, for instance, the recording of related readerly reactions on the margin of texts by the frequent addition of the sign of "ὡραῖον (beautiful)" on the pages of manuscripts. Two random examples from eleventh-century books, both available online:

- London, BL, Add MS 24372, f. 226r on a passage from Gregory's popular *Συντακτήριος = Fairwell Speech*;
- Vatican, BAV, Vat. gr. 1349, f. 26v on a passage from Achileus Tatios's *Leukippe and Kleitophon*; here the sign of "ὡραῖον" is joined with the more frequent sign of "γνώμη," namely memorable maxim.[11]

Take also the fact that exposure to non-Christian classical and post-classical literature which was appreciated for its style remained uninterrupted until the very end of Byzantium (and beyond) and was never really Christianized. Moreover, we should note the centrality of humor and playfulness in the acquisition of literacy in the form of instruction in fables, schedography, and riddles, and exposure to such texts as the *Philogelos* or the *Batrachomyomachia*; this is an aspect of Byzantine education that has not been highlighted enough and merits further study.

Beyond this aesthetics of *paideia* and its long and persisting tradition (for its Roman ancestor, see Johnson 2012), Byzantine authors—especially in various rhetorical genres—often advocated a variety of reading where entertainment and pleasure of the senses took center stage and were somewhat disassociated from either morality or even learnedness itself. The most eloquent Byzantine examples of this are to be found in descriptions of the reception of private letters. Here is, for instance, a letter attributed to Michael Psellos and reused as a model in later letter-collections:

Ἐδεξάμην εἰς χεῖρας, λαμπρότατε ἢ καὶ ὑπέρλαμπρε, τὴν γλυκεῖαν ἐμοὶ καὶ ποθεινήν σου γραφήν. Ἐδεξάμην καὶ αὐτὰς ἐνόμισα τὰς Μούσας εἰληφέναι ἢ τὰς Χάριτας δι' αὐτῆς, δι' ὧν αὐτὴν κατεκόσμησας καὶ θαυμασίαν οἷον ἀπειργάσω καὶ ἡδονῆς γέμουσαν. Τί γὰρ

[11] For the various signs used by readers/commentators, see Astruc (1974).

οὐκ εἶχεν ἐπαγωγὸν καὶ θελκτήριον; Μᾶλλον δὲ τίνι οὐκ ἐφείλκετο τὸν ἀναγινώσκοντα ὥσπερ μαγνῆτις τὸν σίδηρον; λειμὼν γὰρ ἦν ἄντικρυς ὡραιότατος, παντοίοις ἀγαθοῖς βρίθουσά τε καὶ θάλλουσα, καὶ ἄλλοτε ἄλλῳ ἐφελκομένη τὸν ἀναγινώσκοντα, τοῦτο μὲν τῇ γλυκύτητι τῶν λέξεων, τοῦτο δὲ τῇ συνθήκῃ τῶν συλλαβῶν.

I took into my hands, most brilliant and even beyond brilliance man, your sweet letter, the letter I longed. I took it and thought that with it I had received the Muses or the Graces, through which you had adorned it, creating a work of wonder, brimming with pleasure. What form of seduction, what tempting allure did it not possess? Or, rather, in what way did it not attract the reader, like a magnet attracts iron? It was simply a most beautiful garden, abundant in blossoming goods of all sorts, drawing the reader now with one quality, then with another, now with the sweetness of its words, then with the composition of the syllables.[12]

Similar examples are so numerous that they could easily transgress the limits of a brief chapter such as this.[13] Letters, speeches, or poems (cf., e.g., Bernard 2014: 96–101) are often presented as stimulating excited emotions. Expressed in occasionally obtuse verbosity for modern readers, these emotions—what the Byzantines called πάθη—conveyed both personal, real feelings and a shared literary culture, a world, that is, of *aesthetic* passions, the quasi-eroticized affects of rhetoric.

Pleasure

One may easily identify an implicit and often explicit tension between the ritual and the aesthetic reader in Byzantine culture. Reading for the sake of moral improvement and spiritual transformation usually took precedence over learned aesthetics and mere sensual enjoyment, while the latter two were often presented as deceptive, corruptive, and dangerous. This sentiment may be partly the result of our evidence; the majority of the Byzantine books and texts that have survived come from the context of ritual reading which, unsurprisingly, nurtured the corresponding readerly habits. At a closer look, however, one realizes that the distance between the two types is not as great as it may appear.

There are many indications for this. Frequently, for instance, Byzantine statements about reading combine the notions of moral benefit *and* aesthetic delight; book epigrams on David and the Psalter (Parpulov 2014: 216–244, with Bernard and Demoen,

[12] Psellos, *Letter* 447a; cf. Michael Choniates, *Letters,* p. 289.35–45 and the late thirteenth-century manuscript Bucharest, gr. 508 [Litzica 594], f. 230; on this latter collection, see Grünbart (2007). It should be noted that *Letter* 2 forms part of a small series of letters that have readerly pleasure as their theme (or as an important sub-theme) and are preserved together in the twelfth-century Vatican, BAV, Vat. gr. 712, ff. 62v–65r: *Letters* 445, 446, 447a, 448a, and 449—it is perhaps possible that either none or not all of these were written by Psellos.

[13] To name a few more: Gregory of Nyssa, *Letter* 18; Psellos, *Letter* 16 and 271; Theodoros Prodromos, *Letter* 2; Eumathios Makrembolites's *Letter to Nikolaos Hagiotheodorites* with Makrembolites's *Hysmine and Hysminias* 9, 10; Ioannes Tzetzes, *Letter* 19; or Konstantinos Akropolites, *Letter* 23.

"Poetry?" Chapter 15 in this volume) or meta-rhetorical digressions in the *Mênologion* of Symeon Metaphrastes (Høgel 2002: 143) are good examples of such a combination. Furthermore, the ritual reader could be portrayed in images and metaphors that did not suppress but instead stressed pleasure. Tatiane's blessedness, for instance, is presented as deeply transcendent, but it is simultaneously far from an immaterial, incorporeal, or non-sensual experience. Quite the contrary, in this scene of reading, sensuality is maximized.

Similarly, deep longing or, in Greek, πόθος was often invoked as a prominent expectation from readers (Drpić 2016: 296–331 on πόθος and Byzantine devotional practices in general). The following address from a book notice in a late twelfth-century manuscript containing a popular collection of ascetic sermons attributed to a certain Symeon the Monk is typical (Genoa, Biblioteca Franzoniana, Urbani 30, f. 319r; description in Cataldi Palau 1996: 77–81; text on p. 79):

. . . ὑμᾶς τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας καὶ μετὰ πόθου . . . καὶ ἀγάπης ἐμπύρου . . . ἀναγινώσκοντας.

. . . you, those who come across this book; you, who read it with longing . . . and fervent love.

Or take the following colophon (f. Iv), dated to the twelfth century, that stages the following dialogue between the book and his owner (Athens, EBE, 239; the manuscript contains Basil the Great's *Ascetic Constitutions,* CPG 2895; the text of the colophon in Tselikas 2004: 113):

Ἐγὼ μὲν, ὦ βίβλε, ἔκτησά σε σὺν πόθῳ δήσας. Τὸ λοιπὸν δεηθῆναι Κυρίῳ, ὅπως τὰ ἐν σοὶ γεγραμμένα εἰς πέρας ἀγάγω τῶν αὐτοῦ μαθημάτων καὶ πλέον φροντίζειν σε καὶ κρατῆσαι σὺν πόθῳ."

Καὶ ἡ βίβλος: "Ἐγὼ μέν, ὦ πάτερ, ὁμολογῶ σοι ταῦτα, τοῦ ἐμὲ κρατῆσαι σὺν πόθῳ. Ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως, εἰ βούλει, συμβουλεύου σὺ ταῦτα τῶν μαθημάτων, σχόλαζε σὺν πολλῷ μετὰ πόθου καὶ ταῦτ᾽ [to be corrected to τότ᾽] ἕξεις τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν."

"I acquired you, o book, with longing and had you bound. What is left is to pray to the Lord, that I bring the lessons written in you into fulfillment and also that I continue to take good care of you and preserve you with longing."

And the book's response: "I concur with you, o father, on this; you should preserve me with longing. Still, if you wish, consult these lessons, study them often with longing, and then you will have what you desire."

Or, to cite one more example, some Byzantine readers occasionally reacted also in a *purely* aesthetic fashion toward "ritual" texts. While concluding his discussion of the notorious beginning of the Gospel of John, Psellos exclaimed:

. . . ὦ κάλλους, ὦ συνθήκης, ὦ ἁρμονίας, ὦ λέξεων χάριτος, ὦ νοῦ μετεώρου, ὦ φράσεως καταμελιτούσης τὴν ἀκοήν, ὦ τέχνης ἀρρήτου, ὦ εὐγλωττίας, ὦ πάσης ἐνταῦθα ἀκηράτου καὶ ἡδυεποῦς ἡδονῆς. (*On the "In the Beginning was the Word"* = *Theologica* I 75.134–137, slightly altered following Florence, BML, Plut. gr. 57.40)

. . . oh beauty, oh composition, oh harmony, oh charm of words, of suspended meaning, oh style that fills the ears with honey, oh ineffable art, oh eloquence, oh sweet sound and pure pleasure, more than any on this earth.

Yet it is not only that the Byzantine understanding of the spiritual and the ritual was not far removed from the sensual and the aesthetic; this may be expected, after all, as Byzantine spirituality in particular and ritual in general would be nothing without matter, bodies, and their senses (cf., e.g., Krueger 2006, with Bull and Mitchell 2015 and Harvey and Mullett 2017). Furthermore, Byzantine readers and listeners, regardless of text and performance and no matter the intended effect—moral, intellectual, or aesthetic—were exposed *also* to a pleasure-oriented experience. The often theatricized performance of discourses, as well as the appearance and usage of books, created an indissoluble mixture of moral and intellectual utility with aesthetics, which placed pleasure, in all its layers and types, at the heart, rather than at the occasional margins of the experience of reading.

Recitation

As noted elsewhere in this volume (Messis and Papaioannou, "Orality and Textuality," Chapter 9), the majority of Byzantine literature was produced with the intention of being performed, read aloud, or chanted, in front of a small or a large audience. Pleasure was certainly key to such performances. Part of it was pursued by means that exceeded textual content or form and are thus rather irrecoverable for us today; acoustics, facial expression, movement and body language, gestures and clothing, sound and music (in the case of songs and hymns), as well as smell (cf. Harvey 2006), and also the various props (if one can use this term)—such as book covers, lecterns, or pulpits—of discursive performance and public recitation enveloped the experience of listening with their own varieties of pleasure. Other aspects of pleasure in performance, however, were encoded in the texts themselves and can thus form an essential component of our study of Byzantine literature.

Before we look at specific instances of such encoding, it may be useful to specify further the contexts of textual performance for which we have sufficient evidence. Recent scholarship has focused primarily on the rather exclusive circles, either school contexts or literary salons, of elite audiences in front of whom rhetors performed texts of high literature, abounding in puns and sound play, in various rhetorical figures, in verse or prose rhythm, all formal devices that aimed also at the gratification of listeners. Evidence

for these so-called *theatra* exist from all periods of Byzantine history and relevant textual practices have been covered elsewhere in this volume (Riehle, "Rhetorical Practice," Chapter 11 in this volume).

What about, however, the somewhat less noticed, but much more common recitation of storytelling and sermons within the context of church services, which were open to a wider public? For this frequent activity, the best attestations date from the ninth century onward. A rather curious eleventh-century text stands out in this regard. This how it begins:

> Τί τοῦτο; εὐθὺς γὰρ εἰσδεδυκότα με τὸν νεών, ἀπορία κατέσχηκε, ξένον τι τοῦ συνήθους ἰδόντα καὶ οἷον οὔπω τεθέαμαι . . . Ἐπανηρόμην, "ἡ τῆς Παρθένου," λέγων, "Σορὸς πλήθους μὲν εὐμοιρεῖ πάντοτε, οὐδέπω δὲ ὡς νῦν τοσοῦτον ἑώρακα· ἡ χάρις μὲν ἄπειρος, ἀλλὰ τὸ πλῆθος ὑπὲρ κατάληψιν· . . . ἡ βοή, ὁ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀντωθισμός, τὰ πιέσματα . . . μήποτέ τις ἄσεμνα πέπραχε καὶ τὴν συναγωγὴν τοῦ πλήθους εἰς ἐκδίκησιν ἤγαγε; . . . μὴ βασιλεὺς παραγέγονε, μὴ βασίλισσα;
>
> What is this? As soon as I entered the church, I was bewildered. The sight was strange and uncommon. I have seen nothing like it before . . . I began asking: "The Soros of the Virgin," I said, "always gathers a large crowd, but I have never before seen as many people as now. Her grace is infinite, but this crowd is beyond comprehension; . . . what shouts, pushing and shoving, what jostling, . . . Has anyone done something indecent and roused the crowd against him? . . . Is the emperor here, or the empress?

With these words, Michael Psellos started a lengthy speech on an event that took place in the church of the Holy *Soros*, i.e., the Saint Mary of the Coppermarket in the Byzantine neighborhood of the Chalkoprateia, not far from Hagia Sophia. Though very little of the edifice survives today, the Chalkoprateia Virgin was one of the most important churches in the city: the site of several annual celebrations and vigils, the house of a famous school, the station of imperial processions, and the place where one of the most important Constantinopolitan relics was stored, the famous Girdle of the Virgin, the *Soros* of Psellos's text, an object still extant today.

The answer to Psellos's questions is given away by the title of the text, which reads *Encomium for the Monk Ioannes Kroustoulas Who Read Aloud at the Holy Soros* (lines 3–17 are cited in the preceding extract; for an English translation and commentary, see Papaioannou 2017b). In the text Psellos describes in great detail the reading performance of a certain ἀναγνώστης, a monk by the name Ioannes Kroustoulas, during a Friday vigil at the church. It is clear that it was Kroustoulas's spectacular recital of hagiographical texts, most probably from the *Mênologion* of Symeon Metaphrastes, which attracted such insisting fans.

Kroustoulas's recital was not unique. Psellos informs us that Kroustoulas was one of several readers who read at the Chalkoprateia on that and similar occasions (often during Friday vigils) and who also read in another important Constantinopolitan church, the Church of the Virgin in the *Ta Kyrou* neighborhood. Similar readings took place in other urban churches in Constantinople (including Hagia Sophia) as well as, though more regularly, in contemporary monastic communities—some of them within or near the walls of the city. The testimony of middle Byzantine monastic foundation documents and rules,

the well-known *Typika*, makes clear that the public reading of festal sermons (chiefly by Gregory the Theologian), exegetical homilies (primarily those of John Chrysostom; cf. Figure 20.2 in Chapter 20), and hagiographical texts (*Lives, Passions,* and *Encomia*—Metaphrastes's so-called *Mênologion* provided the most important collection in this regard) was an essential part of the daily liturgical life of monastics (see, e.g. the references in the *Hypotyposis* of the monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis mentioned earlier; sermons and hagiographical texts were assigned primarily to the *Orthros* services). If we add to this the even more regular public readings of the Gospel and the *Praxapostolos* (recited during the *Liturgy*), and the Psalter (read throughout services), then we are confronted with an immense recital activity (cf. Getcha 2002).

Though ubiquitous and immense, this practice has left remarkably few traces in Byzantine texts with regard to *how* such reading was conducted. We have innumerable descriptions of the effects of church reading, as noted previously, and prescriptive texts (such as the *typika*) which regulate when and what will be read in services, as well as—to add here a further piece of the puzzle—a very large number of Gospel books with ecphonetic signs which guided the ἀναγνώστης with respect to his intonation (cf. Martani, "Recitation and Chant," Chapter 19 in this volume; see also Bourles 2004). However, the modalities of ecclesiastical recital are rarely described in Byzantine texts. For its detail, Psellos's text is actually a rather exceptional source.

Notably for our purposes, what Psellos seems to be describing is not what we might expect from a description of a recital in a church. Psellos contends that Kroustoulas's reading provided, not simply moral edification, but, even more so, entertainment. He writes (lines 200–203):

> Οὐδεὶς ἐνταῦθα διὰ χάριν, εἰ καὶ τολμηρὸν φάναι, τῶν παρόντων ἐλήλυθεν, οὐδὲ καρποὺς δρεψόμενος ψυχικοὺς παραγέγονεν, ἀλλ' ἢ διὰ τοῦτον ὃν ὁρᾷς ἡδέως ἀναγινώσκοντα.
>
> No one among those present has come here (to say something rather bold) for the sake of spiritual grace or to reap spiritual fruits. Rather, they have come for this man that you see reading, offering pleasure.

What seems to have granted this pleasure was Kroustoulas's *theatricized* delivery, during which the reader did not simply read aloud, but essentially *performed* the hagiographical narrative. Here is a telling passage:

> Καὶ ποῖος γὰρ ἂν ἦν ἐκεῖνος ὁ τὰς τυραννικὰς αὐτοῦ κατιδὼν ὑποκρίσεις καὶ τὰς φωνὰς τῶν ἀντιπιπτόντων καὶ τὰ μιμήματα τούτων, ὁ μὴ αὐτίκα προσμειδιάσας ἢ θαυμάσας, εἰπεῖν κάλλιον, καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον κατεκθειάσας; διαλέκτους δὲ προσμιμούμενον καὶ βαρβαριζόντων γλῶσσαν ὑποδυόμενον καὶ Ἀρμενίους λέξεις συμπλέκοντα καὶ οὕτως ἀντιπαρατιθέμενον πρὸς τὸν τύραννον εἴ τις ἤκουσεν, οὐ δεῖται τῆς ἀναμνήσεως
>
> Is there such a person who witnessed Ioannes' impersonations of tyrants and his voices and imitations of those opposing them [i.e., the holy Martyrs] and did not immediately smile or, to put it better, marvel and extol this man to the skies? You do not need me to

jog your memory, if you have actually heard him mimic different languages, simulate the tongue of barbarians, include Armenian words, and thus take a stand against the tyrant.

Kroustoulas, Psellos's idealized reader, is not just a reader, but an actor, a performer. Indeed, Psellos even suggests that Kroustoulas occasionally employed melody and music in his reading (lines 257–272), while there seems to have been some kind of competition between Kroustoulas and other semi-professional readers who acquired fans supporting them.

A series of similar, though not as detailed, references in other Byzantine texts—from saints' *Lives* to learned rhetorical commentaries—support this Psellian description. The reading of, at least, hagiographical narratives (but possibly other ecclesiastical texts as well) in some prominent Constantinopolitan churches (but possibly in other church spaces too), involved some kind of one-man show, some monophonic and partly dramatic enactment, which could occasionally be also melodic.

However this might be, throughout the Byzantine period, and especially from the ninth century onward, we can recover an intensified interest that pertained to the regulation and cultivation of proper public delivery and recitation; this is what the Byzantines called ὑπόκρισις (*pronuntiatio* is the equivalent Latin term).

Such interest is evident both in theoretical treatises and in manuscript practices. Commentaries, for instance, on Gregory the Theologian's *Orations*—such as the tenth-century popular one of Basil the Lesser, bishop of Caesarea (Schmidt 2001; Rioual 2019)—discuss such performative issues, while, more generally, a performative understanding of rhetorical mimesis (μίμησις) emerges in contemporary theoretical literature.

Similarly, manuscripts containing liturgical texts reached a high level of sophistication and, partly, standardization that aimed to facilitate recital and guide the proper transmission of what is called the "illocutionary" force of texts—the intended meaning of a text (cf. Johnson 2012: 23 with bibliography) and, especially, the encoding of *how* a speech-act was to be understood by the way it was delivered:

- Easily legible calligraphic scripts were developed, following writing habits with few abbreviations and less cursive features (such as ligatures, i.e., combinations of letters), with consistent accents and breathing marks, and a pursuit of symmetry both for the script itself and the *mise en page*:
  - from the late antique "ogival" majuscule (of two types: an "upright" and a "slanted" one [examples: Figure 1.1 in Chapter 1, Figure 3.1 in Chapter 3, and Figure 9.1 in Chapter 9]), whose usage peaked in the eighth through tenth centuries but fell entirely out of use by the eleventh (Crisci 1985, Harlfinger 2010, with Orsini 2019: 133–164; it is this script, we might add, that formed the graphic model for the so-called Cyrillic scripts used for the writing of Slavic texts);
  - to the "liturgical" majuscule, that peaked in the tenth century (Orsini 2013);
  - to the "*bouletée*" minuscule in the tenth (Agati 1992 with Kavrus-Hoffmann 2010; cf. Figure 21.3),
  - to the most widespread (or best preserved) of calligraphic scripts, the so-called *Perlschrift* minuscule (along with its variations and later imitations) from the mid-tenth to the mid-twelfth century and beyond (D'Agostino and

Degni 2014 = 2020 with Canart and Perria 1991, Kavrus-Hoffmann 1996, and Parpulov 2017; examples in Figures 4.2, 19.1, 20.3 and 20.4).

- A two-column page layout with lines of short length and ample marginal space prevailed (cf. Figures 19.1, 20.3, and 20.4).
- Several phrases and passages were marked with quotation marks in order to alert the reader—usually these were citations from the Bible, but occasionally they also included direct speech, letters, prayers, etc. (cf. Figure 6.3).
- In some instances, dialogical exchanges were indicated, with a hyphen added in front of each change of interlocutor.
- Punctuation became fairly consistent (as is evident in multiple copies of the same text), demarcating shorter syntactical units, sentences, and paragraphs (which were indicated by other graphic signals as well), and reflecting an oral aesthetic that promoted rhythm, sound, and rhetorical wit (see Bourbouhakis 2017: 195*–209* and Papaioannou 2019: clvi–clix, with further bibliography).
- Last but not least, recital (as noted earlier) and also musical notation were developed more fully, which both recorded earlier melodies and incited further sophistication of musical practices; the latter reached unprecedented heights after 1204 (see Martani, "Recitation and Chant," Chapter 19 in this volume; cf. Figures 18.3, 19.1, and 19.2).

Do these developments suggest a further "aestheticization" of Byzantine liturgical literature and culture, especially after the ninth century? And what may have been the social and ideological trends that would have supported such a process? These and other such questions may be raised. Whatever our responses and however hard it would be to measure the effects of these practices on the average Byzantine audience, their use is apparent in the sources. Cumulatively, the relevant evidence suggests a pleasure-oriented culture of reading and listening, beyond the small boundaries of elite *theatra*.

Book Art

What about the aesthetics of books? Byzantine and post-Byzantine Greek manuscripts that preserve Byzantine texts number in the thousands (more than 70,000 may be a correct estimate; cf. Ronconi and Papaioannou, "Book Culture," Chapter 3 in this volume). A small minority of these books (c. 3 percent?) are furnished with representational images of some kind, and only a small minority of these illustrated books contain an extensive number of images (the scholarship on book illustration is extensive; see Ševčenko 1998, Parpulov 2003 and 2013, and Tsamakda 2017a with further bibliographies).

The most common illustrations are author or, more seldom, donor portraits that authenticate the contents of a book and/or memorialize its owner (see Papaioannou, "Authors," Chapter 20 in this volume). We also find figures of saints that preface their respective stories—especially in forty-three manuscripts, almost all from the second half of the eleventh century, with the *Mênologion* of Metaphrastes (Ševčenko 1990; cf. Figure 20.3, where, however, the depiction is of Saint Athanasios, the author—and not

the main character—of the biography of Saint Antony) or in few *Synaxaria* (Ševčenko 2017).[14] More rarely, we encounter a wider program of images that engage with greater complexity with the manuscript's text.

Thus, images may illustrate a narrative with various scenes. Most of the few early Byzantine illustrated manuscripts that have been preserved belong to this category (see, e.g., Lowden 1999, on the illustration of the Bible, and Bianchi Bandinelli 1955 and Cavallo 1973, on the so-called Ambrosian *Ilias Picta* [Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, F 205 inf.]). But there are also several, well-known middle and late Byzantine examples. This is the case, for instance, of the late eleventh-century *tetraevangelia* Paris, BNF, gr. 74 and Florence, BML, Plut. 6.23 (Tsuji 1991), manuscripts with the Old Testament book of Job (Papadaki-Oekland 2009; Andrews 2017), manuscripts of *Barlaam and Ioasaph* (Toumpouri 2017), as well as "secular" manuscripts, such as the famous twelfth-century *Madrid Skylitzes* (Madrid, BN, Vitr. 26-2), copied and illustrated in Sicily (Boeck 2015), or the mid-fourteenth-century Venice, Αρχείο του Ελληνικού Ινστιτούτου Βενετίας, 5, with a version of the *Alexander Romance*, copied and illustrated in Trebizond (cf. Chapter 8, "Translations I: From Other Languages into Greek," Messis and Papaioannou, "Section III. Arabic," in this volume).

Images could also function as visual commentary. This occurred more frequently in manuscripts with scientific contents (Lazaris 2017), but also in a few manuscripts with commonly read texts that invite illustration *as well as* theological interpretation by means of images. Most notable examples are a few copies with the *Ladder* of Ioannes Sinaites (Garrett 16, the Princeton manuscript mentioned earlier, and also the contemporary, eleventh-century Vatican, BAV, Vat. gr. 394; cf. Evangelatou 2017), several Byzantine *Psalters* (Parpulov 2014: 122–126),[15] and, in the late Byzantine period, the *Akathistos* hymn (Dobrynina 2017).[16] Additionally, we encounter non-representional patterns and text-layouts that visualize the ancient pedigree of a text or furnish it with some other symbolic value (Hutter 2010 with Drpić, "Inscriptions," Chapter 16 in this volume).

We can safely assume that this visual embellishment of books afforded pleasure to their readers. Their emphasis, however, lay in the meaning they conveyed, whether symbolic, explanatory, or illustrative. Images of this kind enhanced the readability or authority of texts and thus the utility of books. More importantly, they bolstered the value of a manuscript. These often deluxe and relatively rare (and also often rarely used) books addressed a limited audience of wealthy patrons and the institutions (usually monasteries) who inherited their fortunes (Hutter 2004 is seminal in this regard). Due to their quality, such manuscripts had also a greater likelihood of survival in comparison

[14] A notable case of an illustrated *Synaxarion* that has attracted virtually no attention by Byzantinists is Tbilisi, Kekelitze Institute, MS A-648, a Georgian illustrated copy of a *Synaxarion* translated by Euthymios the Iberian—see Papaioannou 2021b.

[15] The most remarkable (all middle Byzantine) cases perhaps deserve to be listed here: the mid-ninth-century "Khludov Psalter" (Moscow, State Historical MS Khludov 129d); the tenth-century "Paris Psalter" (Paris, BNF, gr. 139); the "Theodore Psalter," dated to February 1066 (British Library, Add MS 19352; mentioned also earlier); and a *Psalter* with patristic commentary dated to 1058 (Vatican, BAV, Vat. gr. 752).

[16] For Oxford, Bodleian, Gr. th. f. 1, dated to c. 1330–1335, the unique case of a late Byzantine book filled almost exclusively with images and very little text, see Hutter (2007).

to less dazzling books (cf. Pérez Martín, "Modes of Textual Transmission," Chapter 23 in this volume).

Nevertheless, the case of illustrated manuscripts does not cover the entire Byzantine aesthetics of the book—even if, of course, they are an essential part of it. Rather, the manuscript book in Byzantium, as in many other medieval societies, and regardless of its value, was usually also an *aesthetic* object, defined almost universally by the wider pursuit of visual pleasure and the habit of decoration—though the latter term does not fully capture the practice. The book was not only the receptacle of texts. Rather, much like the walls of Byzantine churches, the book also was an open space where artists, scribes, owners, and, more importantly, average readers, amateurs, improvisers, or dilettantes could release their creativity. Countless Byzantines—again mostly anonymous—interlaced the pages of their books with traces of this creativity, manifested in what we might call "unnecessary images," whose history has yet to be written: visual afterthoughts, non-essential for the conveyance of the meaning of the text that they may accompany, or images which may not serve any immediate symbolic, ritual, or intellectual purpose.

The forms that these images take are multifarious and vary in artistic precision. We find anything from harmonious page layouts[17] to vegetal or geometric patterns, pseudo-Arabic decorations (Walker 2008: 35), painted headpieces (Bianconi 2016), and, of course, elegant historiated initials with zoomorphic, ichthyomorphic, or anthropomorphic figures that "animate" a book—such as, for instance, the playful initials that introduce the brief chapters of the commentary on Gregory the Theologian attributed to Nonnos in Patmos 33, dated to 941 CE (cf. Figure 6.1).[18] In this type belong also "unnecessary" elaborate flourishes of individual letters, a graphic habit that is well-known from Byzantine chancery documents, but which pervades also Byzantine books—for one among thousands of examples, see Heidelberg, UB, Pal. gr. 168, f. 7r, a manuscript dated to c. 1100, with Plutarch's *Parallel Lives*, accompanied by marginal notes.

Playful background images and poigniant or jesting drawings are also frequent: a man being eaten by a dragon, with his body already devoured and only his head and hand still showing (Sinai, gr. 21 f. 196v, dated to 967 and probably from southern Italy; see Harlfinger 2010: 470); a man showing his underwear while dancing upside down on a column, on a page in a Gospel of the mid-twelfth century (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. T. inf. 1.10 [Misc. 136], f. 16v); a twisted man, probably a fifteenth-century addition on f. 121v of Vatican, BAV, Vat. gr. 65, dated to 1063 and preserving the orations of Isocrates; or the twisted hands, dated to the mid-fifteenth century, on Dumbarton Oaks MS 3, f. 341r (a later addition on paper to a Psalter and New Testament of c. 1084); Judas Iscariot hanging from the left edge of an initial letter T in Patmos 330, a Gospel *Lectionary* dated to 1427 (Figure 21.2[19]); a smiling soldier drawn upside down in philosophical textbook dated to 1040 (Heidelberg, UB, Palat. gr. 281, f. 58r); a cartoonish knight, a Byzantine

[17] Cf. Tselikas (2004: 32), on the notable consistency in this regard in tenth-century manuscripts.

[18] Hutter (1996, 2000, 2011) offers several further examples and rich discussion; cf. also, e.g., Džurova (2001). Here we might also mention the various decorative patterns that we encounter in Byzantine bookbinding, especially from the fourteenth century onward; cf. Tselikas (2004: 39–46) for a brief introduction.

[19] F. 176v: the end of the fourth (John 18.28–19.16) and the beginning of the fifth (Matthew 37.3–32) gospel readings for Holy Thursday; this paper ms. was copied by a scribe named Hieranthegoros.

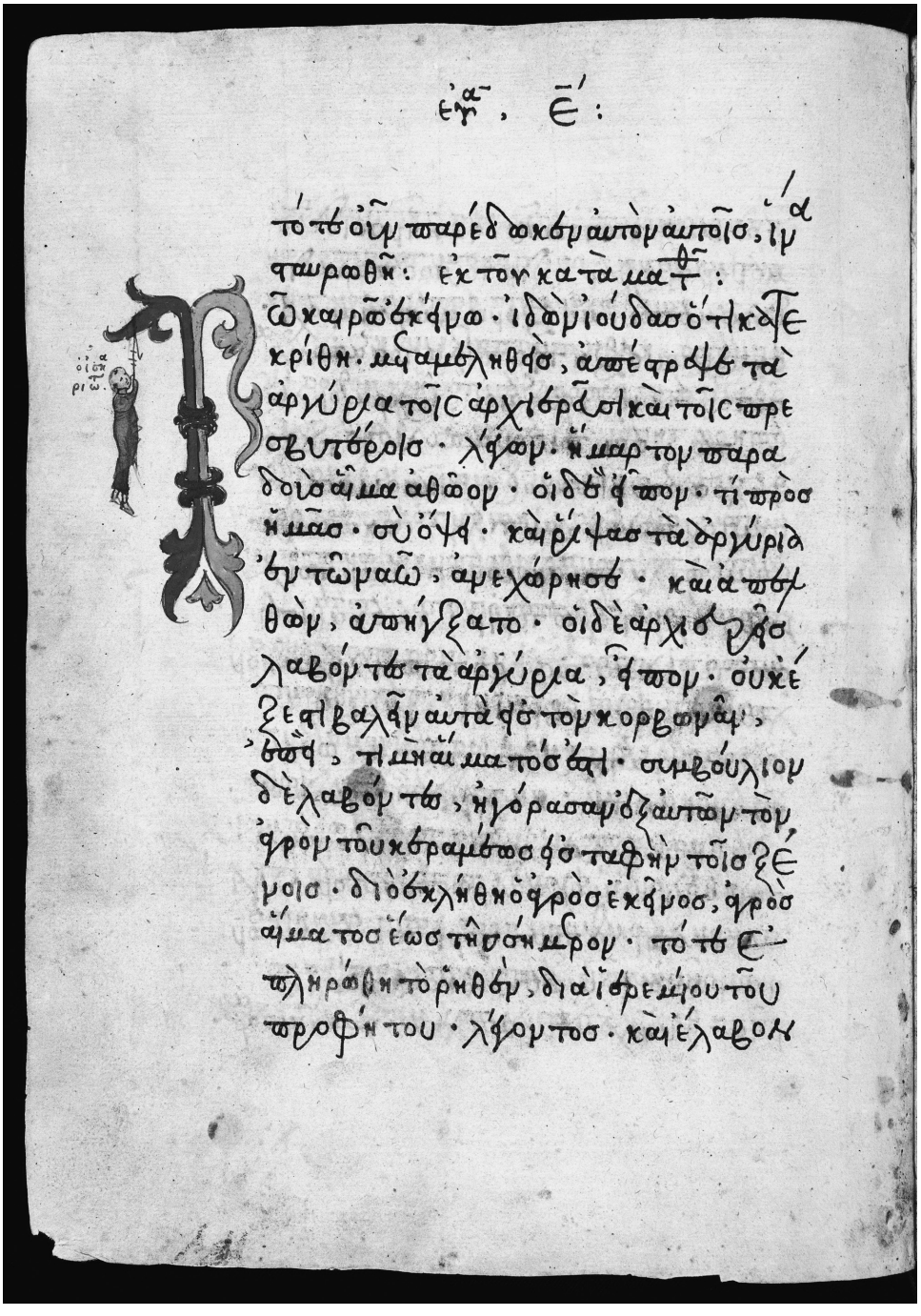

FIGURE 21.2 Patmos, Μονὴ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου 330; paper; 1427 CE; *Lectionary*; f. 176v: Holy Thursday lessons.

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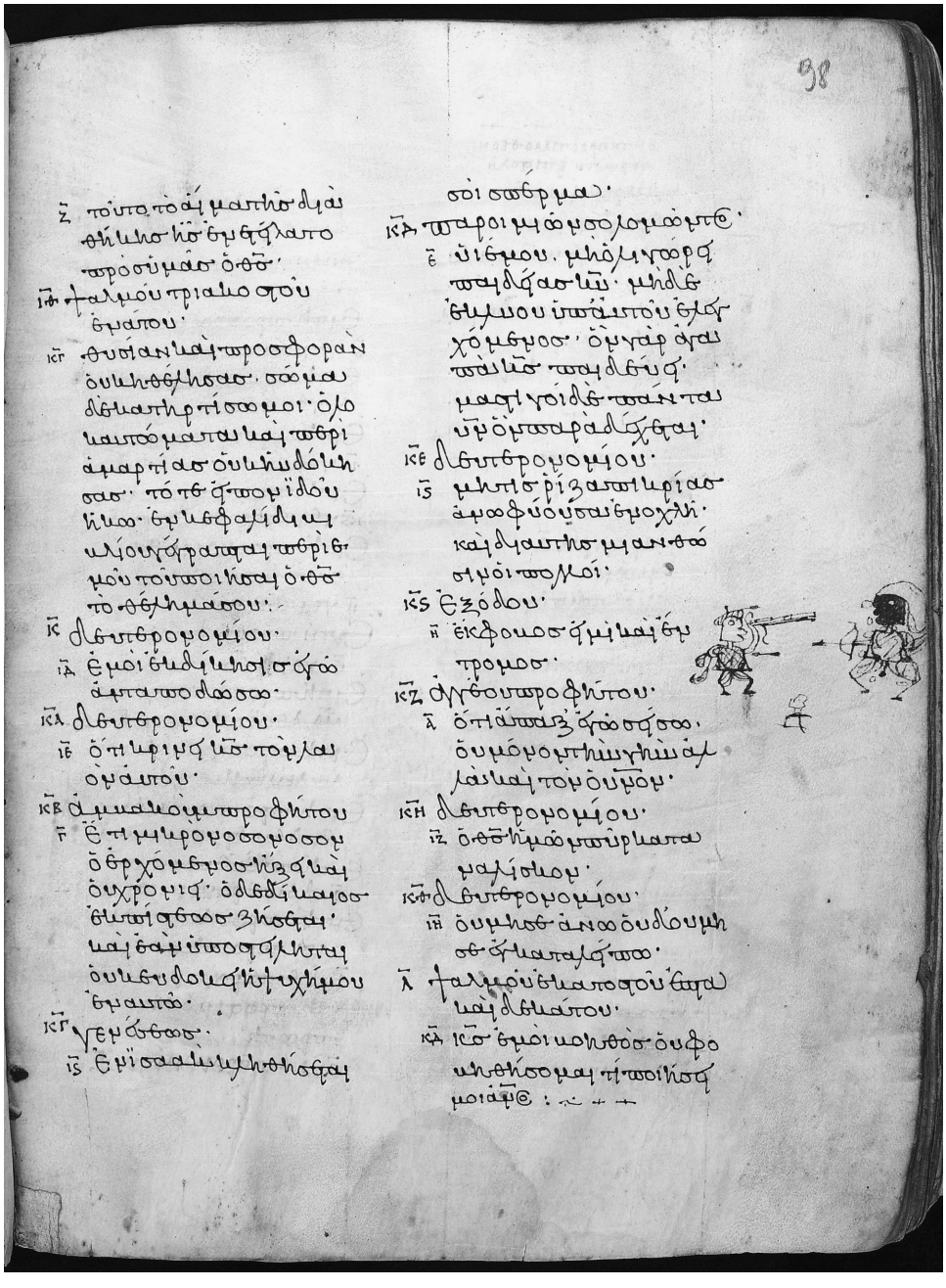

FIGURE 21.3 Patmos, Μονὴ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου 16; parchment; tenth century; *Praxapostolos*; f. 98r: Euthalios's prefatory material.

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version of the Don Quixote, also drawn upside down at an unknown date on an early fourteenth-century manuscript with mainly learned classical and Byzantine poetry (Florence, BML, Plut. 32.52, f. 120r)[20]; the many drolleries of a mid-fourteenth-century miscellany (Vatican, BAV, Pal. gr. 209 with Parpulov, Dolgikh, and Cowe 2010: 201, n. 5); a Westerner pointing a gun at a black pirate who is aiming his arrow, a post-Byzantine scribble added to Patmos 16 (Figure 21.3), a tenth-century parchment *Praxapostolos* with introductory material (Euthalios's prologue, *hypotheseis*, etc.) and occasional *scholia* (the manuscript's many scribbles and later interventions are derided as "misspelled and ugly additions by . . . barbarous hands" and as "pitiful drawing attempts" in the catalog of the Patmos library; Komines 1988: 26–29)[21]; and much more.

In this protean, heterogeneous art, often defying expectations, we encounter the desire on the part of readers (in their many guises) of Byzantine texts to play or to pray, to express themselves, and also to communicate their very real, human need for pleasure, beyond utility or norm.

Suggestions for Further Reading

Cavallo (2006, available also in Italian as well as Modern Greek) is the most comprehensive attempt for a history of the material and contextual circumstances of reading and readers in Byzantium. Beyond the studies cited earlier, see also Wilson (1975b), Reinsch (1991), Hunger and Cavallo (1990), Waring (1997), Odorico (2001), Maltese (2003), Schreiner (2004), Mondrain (2006), Pizzone (2017), and the introduction and several chapters in Shawcross and Toth (2018). The following studies examine the readership and audiences in relation to different "genres" (in the Byzantine and modern conception): Efthymiadis and Kalogeras (2014) and Papavarnavas (2016) (hagiography); Cunningham (2011) as well as chapters in Cunningham and Allen (1998) (sermons); Lauxtermann (2003: 55–59) and Bernard (2014: 59–124) (non-ecclesiastical poetry); Croke (2010) and Markopoulos (2015) (historiography); chapters in Paschalis, Panayotakis, and Schmeling (2009) with Hunter (2008) (the late antique novel); and Beck (1975) with Cupane (2016) (Byzantine "vernacular" literature).

Notes by readers/owners/patrons/copyists of books are collected in the *Σημειώματα-Κώδικες* project (http://simeiomata-kodikon.arch.uoa.gr). Book epigrams are surveyed in DBBE (*Database of Byzantine Book Epigrams*: http://www.dbbe.ugent.be); see also Rhoby (2018). The best resources for Byzantine scribes are the volumes of the RGK, though Vogel and Gardthausen (1909) should also be consulted. For the prosopography

[20] For this ms. see Bernabò and Magnelli (2011), where also further examples, to which we might add a similarly executed drawing that illustrates Theocritus's *Idyll* 1 (a bearded Thyrsis holding a scroll of his verses, and addressing a goatherd who is filling a drinking cup) in Vatican, BAV, Vat. gr. 672, f. 291v, on which Papaioannou 2019: xcv–xcvi.

[21] F. 98r: Euthalios's list of Old Testament citations in the Pauline *Epistles*.

of *anagnôstai*, see Jones, Martindale, and Morris (1971–1992) (early Byzantium) as well as the PmbZ (middle Byzantine period, excluding the eleventh and the twelfth centuries), and the PLP (late Byzantine period).

We lack a comprehensive cultural or literary history of Byzantine reading, though several of the studies cited earlier have opened the way for such work. In this respect, research in comparable cultures may be useful also for the students of Byzantine reading; see, for instance: Green (1994), Coleman (1996), Cavallo and Chartier (1999), Gamble (1995), Goldhill (1999), Johnson (2000), Johnson and Parker (2009), and Taylor (2012); see also Valette-Cagnac (1997) and Johnson (2012) on the (primarily elite) reading practices in the Roman Empire; see further bibliography and discussions in related chapters in this volume: Messis and Papaioannou, Chapter 9, "Orality and Textuality"; Papaioannou, Chapter 4, "Theory of Literature," and Chapter 18, "Sacred Song"; and Drpić, Chapter 16, "Inscriptions" (on the reader as viewer and inscription art). Finally, see the relevant chapters in Selden (1995: 255–403) regarding reader-oriented theories in modern and postmodern literary criticism.

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PART IV

TRANSLATION, TRANSMISSION, EDITION

CHAPTER 22

TRANSLATIONS II

Greek Texts into Other Languages (Fourth–Fifteenth Centuries)

SECTION I LATIN

RÉKA FORRAI

The dialogue of the deaf: most Byzantinists and medievalists would agree that this metaphor aptly describes the history of communications between the Greek East and the Latin West during the long history of the Byzantine Empire, where mutual antagonism and outright contempt permeated countless episodes of religious, political, and commercial interactions. The tensions between Byzantium and the various medieval European kingdoms with Latin-speaking populations (Frankish, German, etc.) were aggravated by the increasing religious divide between Eastern and Western Christianity (Bucossi and Calia 2020). Literary exchange was unavoidably affected by this, and translations were often rendered in the service of war, rather than to build reconciliatory bridges; a two-line poem appended to a manuscript containing Manuel Holobolos's (c. 1245–c. 1310/1314; PLP 21047) translation of the Boethian logical works states the latter explicitly: translations may be used to "capture and strangle the arrogant Italians" (Bydén 2004: 146).

However, conflict was also one of the reasons that translation activities flourished. This is particularly true for doctrinal issues like Monotheletism, the *filioque* question, and the various schisms and repeated attempts to achieve the union of the churches. All these created fertile soil for translations, but this was always permeated by a certain unease and suspicion toward each other's renderings. Perhaps indicative is the case of the tenth-century Neapolitan translator, Cicinnius, who, in the preface of his translation, described a lively dialogue he had when he showed up at some Greek priests' doorstep asking for Greek texts of the miracles of Saints Kosmas and Damianos and for the priests' help in translating the material into Latin. He encountered strong

resistance, with the Greeks repeatedly refusing to cooperate (Dolbeau 1989; Granier 2016). Similarly, Gregory the Great (d. 604) was not enthusiastic about his *Regula Pastoralis* being translated into Greek by Anastasios II of Antioch (550–609). More to the point, on the eve of the Second Council of Lyon, in 1274, Humbert of Romans (c. 1200–1277), master general of the Dominican order, wrote a so-called *Opus tripartitum* for Pope Gregory X (c. 1210–1276) about matters concerning the union of the Eastern and Western churches. In this work Humbert called translations *arma spiritualia* with which to combat the enemy (Brown 1690).

Interaction, Geography, and the Esteem of Greek

Separating the discussion of Greek-Latin cultural interaction in two subchapters—translations into and from Greek, as this *Handbook* necessitates (see Chapter 8, Section I)—raises problems that indicate the artificiality of such a division. When studying actual translation practices, boundaries can become blurred and some cases cannot be neatly categorized. Take, for example, the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebios of Caesarea (c. 263–339): the text was written in Greek and continued in Latin by Rufinus of Aquileia (340–410), who also translated the original, while his Latin chapters were then translated into Greek by Gelasios of Caesarea (d. 395). Therefore, both versions ended up as half-translations. Similar difficulties are presented by the *Acts* of the Lateran Synod of 649, which were meant to give the impression that they were recorded in Latin and then translated into Greek, but were in fact pre-composed in Greek and translated into Latin (Price 2014). Also difficult to place in this division is the case of the eighth-century pope Zacharias (679–752; pope: 741–752; PmbZ 8614), who translated the *Dialogues* of Pope Gregory the Great (c. 540–604) into Greek (BHG 273 and 1445y). He was translating Latin into Greek, but with an obviously Roman agenda: that of imposing on the Greek hagiographical canon a text of papal authority. Different agendas are evident in the case of the twelfth-century Tuscan brothers Hugh Eterianus (1115–1182) and Leo Tuscus (fl. between 1160/1166 and 1182). They were both Latins residing in Constantinople, but one of them was a close collaborator of the papacy, while the other was an interpreter at the Byzantine court of Manuel I Komnenos. Also certain bilingual authors would write their works simultaneously in two languages: Nikolaos-Nektarios of Otranto (c. 1150–1235), the southern Italian abbot of the monastery of Saint Nicholas in Casole (from 1219/1220), wrote a bilingual report of a debate in which he took part on a papal mission in Constantinople in 1205–1207 (*Tria syntagmata*). Similarly, Lorenzo Valla (1407–1457) called Basileios Bessarion (1403–1472), the Greek cardinal of the Roman church, "Latinorum graecissimus, Graecorum latinissimus," and so on and so forth.

The geography of translation activities is also difficult to keep apart. Typically, Greek-Latin interpreters and translators either came from bilingual territories (like southern

Italy) or spent extensive time in places where the other language prevailed. There was a near continuous Greek presence in southern Italy. Furthermore, during the seventh through the ninth centuries Greek-speaking refugees, mostly monks, arrived there as well as in Rome, some of them fleeing the Arab invasions of the eastern provinces of Byzantium, others religious persecution in Constantinople (cf. Chapter 8, "Translations I: From Other Languages into Greek," Messis and Papaioannou, "Section III. Arabic," in this volume). The literary activity of the Greek monasteries of early medieval Rome is well attested (Sansterre 1983: esp. 174–205). The next massive wave of Byzantine refugees arrived in Italy during the Renaissance, on the eve of the Ottoman conquest of the Byzantine Empire. In Constantinople, at least until the mid-eighth century, there was a constant presence of papal legates, the *apocrisiarii*, an important function held by many future popes. From the twelfth century onward, the Crusades provided further impetus for increased Latin presence in Byzantium. The Italian city-states also had their merchant quarters in the city of Constantinople: the Pisans, the Genoese, and the Venetians. The mendicant orders founded monasteries in the area of the capital: the fourteenth-century Kydones brothers—Demetrios (c. 1324–1397/1398; PLP 13876) and Prochoros (c. 1330–1368/1369; PLP 13883)—were both translators and had learned Latin from the Dominicans in Pera. It seems counterintuitive, but some translations from Latin into Greek were made in Rome, while translations into Latin were prepared in Constantinople. This was the case with the eleventh-century hagiographical translations made by certain Amalphitans residing in Byzantine territory: Leo, a monk on Mount Athos, translated the *Miraculum Michaelis* (BHL 5947) and a certain John translated, among others, Ioannes Moschos's *Spiritual Meadow* while residing in the Byzantine capital (Chiesa 1983). Often, translations were carried out by a team: a native speaker of the source language prepared a draft, while the native speaker of the target language polished the final product (Dolbeau 1989).

The history of this interaction can therefore be conceived as a diptych. Not an entirely symmetrical one, however: there was no steady flow of an equal amount of texts coming and going between Rome and Byzantium. The textual traffic on this highway was uneven; the occasional Latin into Greek translation projects were neither parallel nor comparable to the ambitiousness of the translation projects in the opposite direction. This asymmetry of translation output was not unprecedented: the attitude was inherited from the ancient Greeks and Romans.

The Latins continued to hold the Greek literary heritage, whether pagan and Christian, or classical and Byzantine, in very high regard. John Scottus Eriugena (815–877), in his prefaces to his translations, praised the sacred nectar of the Greeks (*sacro Graecorum nectare*), the purest and most abundant sap of the Greeks (*purissimos copiosissimosque Graium latices*), and the clear fountain of Greek wisdom (*praeclarissimis Graecorum fontibus*) (Dümmler 1902). Greek was acknowledged as a holy and wise language. The popular medieval *graeca doctrix–latina imperatrix* distinction captures perfectly the literary prestige of Greek and the powerful appropriation techniques of Latin.

Even if interest in Greek was relatively high, learning the language was not an easy task in this period, since there was virtually no institutional framework for

instruction in foreign languages (Dionisotti 1988b; Ciccolella 2008). Legates arriving to Constantinople were at the mercy of interpreters, about whom they complained all the time. But at least Byzantium had a constant official cohort of imperial interpreters, while at Rome these tasks were always assigned ad hoc to various members or associates of the pontifical court. In the twelfth century, Moses of Bergamo composed a little treatise that discussed the Greek words used by Jerome (*Expositio in graecas dictiones quae inveniuntur in prologis Sancti Hieronimi*) and believed that it would benefit Latin readers. In his preface he claimed that a certain cleric (*quidam clericus*) had approached him regarding the difficulties in Jerome (Gustafsson 1896). His little booklet-dictionary testifies to the level of ignorance of Greek among Latin readers and at the same time to their resourcefulness in overcoming these difficulties. The hagiographical *topos* of learning Greek by miracle is also indicative in this regard. Noteworthy is the legend of Angelo Clareno, who received the gift of speaking Greek by the Holy Spirit, or that of Saint Basil, who miraculously taught Greek to Ephrem in an instant (Cooper-Rompato 2010).

Early Byzantine Period

The first wave of translations was dominated by the gigantic efforts of Jerome (347–420) and Rufinus (340–410), both of whom were fascinated by Origen (184–254). Jerome translated many of Origen's Old Testament commentaries and sermons. Rufinus's translations constitute the most complete body of Origenian writings we have, since many of the Greek originals are now lost (Simonetti 1961). Rufinus was also responsible for introducing Gregory the Theologian to the West, and his works proved incredibly popular, as testified by the more than 150 manuscripts of his translations. Rufinus also translated some minor works of Basil the Great (the *Hexaemeron* was translated by Eustathius around 400; for Basil's works in Latin, see Fedwick 1993–2010). What Jerome and Rufinus accomplished in theological matters, Boethius (d. 524) matched in philosophy. His translations of Greek logical writings (Aristotle, Porphyry) were to serve as handbooks for centuries to come.

In the fifth century, Anianus of Celeda introduced another church father, John Chrysostom, and particularly his *Homilies on Matthew*. The monastery at Vivarium founded by Cassiodorus (d. 585) was responsible for further enriching this canon with not only Chrysostom's *Homilies on Hebrews* (Bouhot 1989), but also two historiographical works: the Latin Josephus and the *Historia ecclesiastica tripartita* (Courcelle 1943). Dionysius Exiguus (470–544) introduced Gregory of Nyssa's *De opificio hominis* to the Latins. His most popular achievement, however, was the translation of the *Life of St. Pachomios* (Cranenburgh 1969). Another key hagiographical text was Athanasios's *Life of Antony the Great* (cf. Figure 20.3 in Chapter 20 of this volume), translated into Latin by Evagrius, bishop of Antioch in the second part of the fourth century. This proved one of the most popular hagiographical texts of the Middle Ages, surviving in more than 300

manuscripts (Bertrand 2005). The interests of these translators were slightly different, but the result of their combined efforts was a relatively complete canon of the Scriptures, church historiography, and some patristic writings. This corpus attests to an interest in the history of early Christianity, its basic texts, its institutions and rules.

These translators also laid down the basic tenets of the translation theory that would be used and abused throughout the Middle Ages. This theory was based on the dichotomy between literal and free translation (*verbum de verbo* versus *sensum de sensu*) (Chiesa 1987). The use of the two methods depended mostly on the authority of the genre: philosophical and theological writings were rendered in an exceedingly literal fashion and their understanding was facilitated by commentaries, while hagiographical or historiographical texts were treated in a more flexible fashion: they were edited, shortened, expanded, or rewritten when necessary. Hagiographical texts in particular often circulated in various consecutive renderings, and the modern scholarship often treats them as dossiers, publishing them together (most recently, Macchioro 2019).

Middle Byzantine Period

The period from the sixth to the eighth century added very little to this late antique canon. Before another translation boom in the ninth century, only several hagiographical texts and further church councils were rendered into Latin (Siegmund 1949); an important exception is the Syriac *Apocalypse* of Pseudo-Methodios, which entered Latin via its Greek translation and became a bestseller (Aerts and Kortekaas 1998; cf. Chapter 8, "Translations I: From Other Languages into Greek," Ubierna, "Section II. Syriac," in this volume).

In the ninth century the major Greek asset for the Latins was no doubt the *Areopagitic Corpus*. Translated by John Scottus Eriugena and equipped with commentaries by Anastasius Bibliothecarius (c. 810–c. 879; PmbZ 341 and 20341), the works attributed to Dionysios the Areopagite had a huge impact on medieval theology. Indeed, according to the Latin *Life* of Saint Dionysios, the night when the book with the original Greek works, sent to Louis the Pious by the emperor Michael II, arrived to Saint-Denis in Paris, nineteen people were cured of their illnesses (Hilduin, *Vita et actus beati Dionysii*; BHL 2192d); in a later version of the same story, recorded in the *Golden Legend*, the works were already translated into Latin and thus the healing miracle is attributed to the translation itself—a singular testimony for such therapeutic power (cf. Ronconi and Papaioannou, "Book Culture," Chapter 3 in this volume). Eriugena also translated Maximos the Confessor's *Responses to the Questions of Thalassios* and his Ambigua, a commentary on Gregory the Theologian that introduced more of Gregory's thought to the Latins.

Maximos the Confessor was an important writer also for Anastasius Bibliothecarius who translated a dossier related to the Monothelite controversy, including writings about and by Maximos (CCSG 39). The corpus of translations by Anastasius is a complex one, including various genres such as hagiography, historiography, theology, and church

councils and reflects an intriguing interest in contemporary Byzantine authors from a vast geographical area. Among his authors one can find patriarchs of Constantinople: Germanos I (c. 655–c. 732), Nikephoros (757/758–828), Methodios I (before 785–847); or scholars belonging to literary circles from the Byzantine periphery for example, Ioannes Moschos from Cilicia, his student Sophronios of Jerusalem, and his disciple from Palestine, Maximos the Confessor. Anastasius turned away from the conventional martyrdom stories (still represented in his translations) to other models of sainthood, in particular figures which could strengthen the image of Rome and the papacy. This would explain his predilection for Roman saints: Acacius, the Roman soldier leader of the martyrs of Ararat; popes Clement (35–99) and Martin (598–655) and also other church leaders such as Basil (the Great) and Amphilochios of Iconium (c. 339–403), and the patriarchs of Alexandria Peter (d. 311) and John the Almsgiver (c. 552–620).

The ninth and tenth centuries witnessed a major hagiographic translation movement in Naples and elsewhere in southern Italy (Chiesa 1990/1991; D'Angelo 2008). Translations of Greek hagiographical works were carried out throughout the Italian peninsula (Leonardi 1981; Vircillo-Franklin 2001, 2004). This was a conscious hagiographical translation movement, undertaken by self-aware translators who penned extensive prologues to their works, reflecting on their methods and giving away precious information about the circumstances of their translation practices. From these prologues we learn not only the translators' names (Paulus diaconus, Athanasius II, bishop of Naples, Guarimpotus, John the Deacon, Bonitus subdeacon, Leo, etc.), but also the names of some of their patrons (emperors, abbots, bishops, fellow clerics, but also laymen, etc.); their intended audiences and usage of the translated texts; and their efforts to make sense of the literal versus the free translation dichotomy that they had inherited from Late Antiquity. The canon of saints shows a predilection for passions of martyrs of foreign (oriental) origins (for example, Febronia from Sibapoli [BHL 2843; Chiesa 1990], Anastasios the Persian [BHL 411], Mary of Egypt [BHL 5415], Samonas, Gurias, and Abibos from Edessa [BHL 8c, 7747e], etc.).

When there is no prologue to be found, it is hard to categorize the texts as translations. From some thirty lives of oriental saints that have come down to us from ninth-/tenth-century Naples, only one-third can be proven to have been based on a Greek original (Granier 2016). Similar difficulties arise also for the history of the Aesopian fable tradition. The various Greek and Latin collections and their relationships are difficult to disentangle, and thus it is hard to categorize fable collections, for example the so-called Romulus from the Latin Middle Ages, as translations proper (Adrados 1999–2003). Research of medieval translations is also made difficult by the fact that in many cases either the original text or the manuscript that the translator used has not survived, thus making comparative study impossible. For the eighth ecumenical council, for example, (879–880, Constantinople), the only documentation we possess today is the Latin translation made by Anastasius Bibliothecarius, as no Greek original has survived (Leonardi and Placanica 2012).

The locus of the revival of Greek-Latin translation activity in the twelfth century was Constantinople, the single common denominator for almost all the translators of

the period. Translators such as Burgundio of Pisa (d. 1193), James of Venice (first part of the twelfth century), Moses of Bergamo (first part of the twelfth century), Hugh Etherianus (1115–1182) and his brother Leo Tuscus (fl. between 1160/1166 and 1182) all spent part of their lives in the Byzantine capital. The results were, among others, the first wave of Latin translations of Aristotle (by James of Venice and Burgundio of Pisa) and new translations of Greek patristic authors such as John Chrysostom and Gregory of Nyssa. Further contributions to the patristic canon were the translations of the enigmatic Venetian translator Cerbanus, who while traveling through Hungary translated Maximus the Confessor's *Chapters on Love*, apparently finding the Greek manuscript in the Hungarian monastery of Pásztó. He is also to be credited with a partial version of Ioannes Damaskenos's *Precise Exposition of the Orthodox Faith* (Buytaert 1955). Hagiographical translations also underwent a small revival as the result of the relic trafficking that flourished in the aftermath of the Crusades (Chiesa 1998).

After 1204

The thirteenth-century translation movement was dominated by the mendicant orders. A Dominican, William of Moerbeke (d. 1286), and a Franciscan, Robert Grosseteste (c. 1168–1253), were its leading figures. Initiated already by Boethius in Late Antiquity, translation of philosophical texts was continued to the twelfth century by such translators as James of Venice and Burgundio of Pisa. Finally, by the end of the thirteenth century, the corpus of *Aristoteles Latinus* was virtually complete by the prodigious efforts of William of Moerbeke (Vanhamel 1989; Brams 2003). The body of Aristotelian works was accompanied by that of his many commentators, some of them from the Byzantine period: Themistios (c. 317–c. 389), Philoponos (490–570), Eustratios (died c. 1120), and Michael of Ephesos (first half of the twelfth century). While William of Moerbeke was interested exclusively in science and philosophy, Robert Grosseteste's translations form a more heterogeneous corpus, including Byzantine commentators of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, theologians like Ioannes Damaskenos, apocrypha (the second-century *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*), and excerpts from the famous tenth-century Byzantine encyclopedia, the *Suda* (Dionisotti 1990 and 1988a; Lewis 1997; Dorandi and Trizio 2014). The libraries of the mendicants show that they also made use of these translations. Toward the end of the thirteenth century, the Florentine libraries of the Franciscan Santa Croce and the Dominican Santa Maria Novella, for example, featured in their collections the following Greek authors in translation: Aristotle, Ioannes Damaskenos, Basil the Great, Didymos of Alexandria, Athanasios, Eusebios, Euclid, and Pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite, as well as some pseudo-Galenic and pseudo-Aristotelian works (Piron and Gentili 2015; Forrai 2014).

A major translator of the fourteenth century was Angelo Clareno (1247–1337), yet another Franciscan monk, leader of the *pauperes eremitae* reform movement. Around 1299 he spent approximately three years in exile in Franciscan houses in Latin Greece, a period that offered him the opportunity of learning Greek. Whether he got his materials

there or back in Italy cannot be known for certain, but he became a prolific translator of patristic authors such as Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa, and Athanasios of Alexandria (Le Huërou 2020). His most popular translation was the *Ladder* of Ioannes Sinaites, the *Scala Paradisi* (Musto 1983).

The last wave of Greek-Latin translations commenced with the events leading up to the Ottoman conquest of 1453 and thus lies outside the time frame of the Byzantine Empire. While Gennadios, the last translator of Latin works into Greek, remained in Constantinople and lived his final years under Ottoman rule, a younger contemporary, Manuel Chrysoloras (1355–1415; PLP 31165), student of Demetrios Kydones, left Byzantium for Italy, bringing with him works not only by his favorite author Lucian, but also by Plato, Ptolemy, and others who were only vaguely familiar to the Latins. There, Chrysoloras composed his famous *Erotemata*, the grammar book that assisted many Humanists in learning Greek and popularized the language to a scale that was unprecedented in the Middle Ages.

Translators, Patrons, Manuscripts

If the prosopography of translators is any indication, the task of translating seems to have been as prestigious an activity in the West as it was in Byzantium. Translators were mostly high-ranking officials of papal or imperial courts, illustrious members of the church, legates, diplomats, and merchants. Some popes were translators themselves: Popes Pelagius (in office 556–561) and John III (d. 574) translated the fifth-century *Apophthegmata Patrum*. I have already mentioned members of the religious orders (the Dominican Moerbeke and the Franciscan Grosseteste) and the twelfth-century Italian intellectuals in Constantinople (Burgundio of Pisa, Moses of Bergamo, James of Venice, Hugh Etherianus, and Leo Tuscus).

Translation initiatives were supported by patrons, both individuals and institutions, and were mostly carried out in the social setting of a medieval court. The Frankish court of Charles the Bald in the ninth century was the setting for Eriugena's translations, and the king himself was the dedicatee of several translations of Anastasius Bibliothecarius. The courts of Norman and Hohenstaufen Sicily are also representative in this regard: the Norman William I (1154–1166) was praised by the Calabrian Henricus Aristippus (1105/1110–1162; translator of Plato's *Meno* and *Phaedo*, among other things) as a great patron (Berschin 1994: 231–235). Bartholomew of Messina, translator of an extensive pseudo-Aristotelian scientific corpus (including, among others, the *Problemata physica*, *De mirabilibus auscultationibus*, *De mundo*, *De signis*, and *De coloribus*), was active at the court of Manfred, the son of Frederick II (de Leemans 2014). Frederick II's court was itself famous as a center of learning (Haskins 1924). While Western courts were ephemeral and rather mobile institutions, there was one court that could boast a continuity and stability greater than that of the others: this was the papal court in Rome, which offered patronage to most major translators of the Middle Ages (Paravicini Bagliani 1991; Forrai 2012).

Without this institutional and social framework, manuscripts would have been extremely difficult to acquire. All were expensive and some were hard to find. Sometimes manuscripts traveled as ostentatious gifts. Louis the Pious, as already mentioned, received a pseudo-Dionysios manuscript from the Byzantine emperor Michael II (Paris, BNF, gr. 437). Pope Paul I sent a letter to the Frankish king Pippin the Short that apparently accompanied a generous gift of Greek books (Gastgeber 2018). Manuel II sent the *Almagest* of Ptolemy to William I of Sicily (Venice, BN, Marc. gr. 313). Most Greek manuscripts of Burgundio were prepared by the monk, *grammatikos*, and scribe Ioannikios Logaras (on whom, see Nesseris 2014: 2,256–2,263); he and his Latin-speaking assistant lived in twelfth-century Constantinople (Degni 2008; Baldi 2011). Other manuscripts were procured further east. Pope Eugen III, patron of Burgundio of Pisa, initiated a quest for the Greek manuscripts of the homilies of John Chrysostom on Matthew (to be then translated by Burgundio): he requested a copy from Aimery, patriarch of Antioch, arguing that the available copies in the West were untrustworthy and confusing. A mysterious batch of highly valuable manuscripts of Neoplatonic philosophy came into the possession of William of Moerbeke in ways scholars still argue about; manuscripts of Alexander of Aphrodisias, Philoponos, Simplikios, and others, produced in the second half of the ninth century in Byzantium, ended up four centuries later in the papal library, probably with an intermediary stage in southern Italy that would connect Nikolaos of Otranto to William of Moerbeke (Rashed 2002). The Monastery of Nicholas of Otranto, Saint Nicholas in Casole, was also a treasure house of Greek manuscripts; the collection was dispersed during the Ottoman invasion (1480–1481), with parts of it allegedly ending up in Bessarion's library in Venice.

While impressive research, with remarkable results and discoveries, is being carried out by specialists, wider non-specialist audiences are still under the impression that, when it comes to literacy, the medieval period was an age of obscurity and isolation. Both Byzantium and the Latin West are still often evaluated as ignorant custodians of a classical heritage that was fortunately salvaged by the Humanists. Yet if we approach this period setting aside the classical canon as built by the Humanists, and look at the ways in which the Byzantines and Latins built their own canons, we find a rich and engaging heritage of texts crisscrossing the Mediterranean. Although I myself opened the discussion with the metaphor of deafness that impaired the dialogue between the two cultures, these pages hopefully show that it was rather a case of selective hearing that did not disallow an interaction featuring valuable texts, intelligent people, and culturally prosperous places.

Suggestions for Further Reading

The essential survey of Greek in the Latin Middle Ages is Berschin 1988; see also the succinct overview of Chiesa (2004). For theories of translation, see Chiesa (1987 and 1995); also Copeland (1991). For information about individual patristic authors, or texts, the

series *Clavis partum graecorum* (CPG) and *Clavis patrum latinorum* (CPL) are essential. One can find critical editions of translations in the volumes of the series *Corpus Christianorum* (*Series Latina*, *Series Latina Continuatio Medievalis*, *Series Graeca*). For hagiographical writings, the *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* (BHG) and *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina* (BHL) are the respective reference volumes. The Bollandist publications *Analecta Bollandiana* and *Subsidia Hagiographica* contain innumerable case studies and editions of individual hagiographic translations.

Translations are edited both in major series and individually. Most important among the series are the following two: *Aristoteles Latinus* (AL; Paris and Leuven, 1951–) and the *Corpus Latinum Commentariorum in Aristotelem Graecorum* (CLCAG; Leuven, 1957–). Exemplary case studies are found in the studies by Dionisotti and Chiesa (see the following bibliography). The *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum* (CTC) has several essential articles on the Latin reception of Greek authors; it is now available and searchable online: www.catalogustranslationum.org. Some further, online resources:

- *E-codicibus* (http://ecodicibus.sismelfirenze.it/): a website of critical editions of minor texts including some translated hagiography (*Passion* of Theodosia, *Life* of John Chrysostom, etc.);
- *Repertorium translationum patrum graecorum* (saec. xiv–xvii) (http://www-3.unipv.it/retrapa/): a database of Latin translations of Greek patristic writings from the fourteenth century onward;
- *Aristoteles Latinus* online (http://www.brepolis.net/pdf/Brepolis_ALD_EN.pdf): the complete medieval Latin Aristotle online through Brepols. Subscription required.

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SECTION II COPTIC

ARIETTA PAPACONSTANTINOU

Following the conquest of Alexander, Egypt became one of the so-called Hellenistic successor kingdoms under the Ptolemies, who ruled it for almost three centuries. During that period, the Greek language penetrated various levels of society, more so in the north than in the south. Under the Roman Empire, the process of Hellenization went further, and by the fourth century Greek was established in large parts of the countryside. The urban elites invariably spoke it and, crucially, wrote in it. After more than 600 years of presence in the country, Greek had become an everyday language for many, but without displacing the Egyptian language, which knew various developments during that period.

Language

The terms *Copt/Coptic* are ultimately derived from the Greek Αἰγύπτιος through its Arabicization, *Qibṭ*. They first appear in Arabic texts in the late ninth century (Zaborowski 2012; Omar 2013). In all Greek texts from Egypt, what we render as "Coptic" was αἰγυπτιστί, and quite appropriately, since it represented the latest stage of the Egyptian language. More importantly, the people whom modern scholars call "Copts" were referred to as Αἰγύπτιοι, a term that described the natives of Egypt, irrespective of their language of communication. Authors writing in Greek, like the prolific early bishops of Alexandria, also called themselves Αἰγύπτιοι, and many of them had mastered both languages. This means that in Late Antiquity, the population of Egypt perceived itself as a bilingual society of a single ethnicity. It is therefore crucial to distinguish language from ethnicity when discussing the reception of Greek literature in

Coptic, a process that overlaps, but is far from being identical with, the reception of non-Egyptian Byzantine literature in Egypt.

A profound societal bilingualism is visible in the very nature of Coptic. Among the characteristics that differentiate it from previous stages of Egyptian are its use of the Greek alphabet and the large number of words of Greek origin in its vocabulary. Previously, Egyptian had been written in the demotic and hieratic scripts, but their inherent difficulty and exclusiveness eventually led to a decline akin to quasi-disappearance. This occurred during the second and third centuries when the Greek language had spread widely enough to fill everyday needs for written communication. Indeed, by the end of the third century, Egyptian had adopted the Greek alphabet, which as shown by surviving papyri, was widely known across the country. The result was the language known as Coptic. Demotic, a priestly script, had been extremely purist and had kept foreign words out of the written language. Coptic, on the other hand, reflected the spoken language much more accurately, which is why a large number of Greek borrowings appeared in Coptic written texts. This was not, however, a sudden and conscious importation. It is clear that this influx of vocabulary had begun much earlier, but had been kept veiled by the conservatism of demotic (Thompson 2009: 399). Coptic therefore reflects the pervasive bilingualism of the country much better than demotic.

Problems and Debates

Coptic literature is a field where consensus among scholars has yet to be reached, even over basic issues. This is largely because the corpus of texts preserved represents only a fraction of what was produced—a much smaller fraction than that of other contemporary corpora. In the words of Anne Boud'hors, one of its foremost students, what we are dealing with are "shreds of literature" (Boud'hors 2012). As a result, the dominant approach to the extant texts is philological, with scholars still laboring to piece together a coherent corpus of literature from what are often scattered material remains. Few attempts have been made to write a history of that literature, and even less to interpret it or apply to it the methods of literary criticism, even of the most straightforward kind, as this is perceived by many scholars as premature. The only full-fledged attempt to sketch a development of Coptic literature has been that of Tito Orlandi in a series of articles from the 1980s onward (Orlandi 1981, 1986, 1991a–c, 1997, 1998, 2016). Orlandi's work has been met with skepticism by some scholars, predominantly philologists, who consider it is impossible to say anything meaningful on the basis of such an incomplete corpus. Historians of late antique Egypt, on the other hand, have generally accepted its broad outlines, and subsequent research has not produced anything that would invalidate or even significantly modify Orlandi's model.

One of Orlandi's most virulent critics has been Enzo Lucchesi, who maintains that there is no original literature written in Coptic and that all texts in that language were translations from Greek (Lucchesi 2000; see Boud'hors 2012; Brakke 2018: 62–63).

Needless to say, this position undermines the very concept of "Coptic literature." Lucchesi, one of the finest connoisseurs of Coptic, relies largely on gut feeling rather than systematic argumentation. At the same time, his position reflects a long line of scholarship with a negative judgment of Coptic as a vehicle of complex or creative thought (e.g., Delehaye 1922; Peeters 1922, 1950). Because it represents the apex of a long-standing traditional view, Lucchesi's claim has gained enough legitimacy that the question of whether a Coptic text was translated from the Greek is addressed in almost every textual edition or discussion. Irrespective of the arguments used, the fact that such a debate persists shows the degree of interconnectedness and the level of cultural fusion in Egyptian Christian culture, whatever the language used. This makes it a rather delicate exercise to discuss "reception" because the term does not quite capture the process, which would be better described as the dialogic emergence of a new culture.

One point that is repeatedly made about Coptic literature, especially when compared it to its Greek counterpart, is its overwhelmingly religious content. This has been understood to reflect the limited interest of Coptic-speakers in secular subjects. In a recent discussion of Damaskios and Nonnos, two stars of the late antique Egyptian firmament, Scott Johnson writes: "In fact, given the surviving corpus of Coptic literature, the idea that Nonnus or Damascius would have chosen to write in any language but Greek seems today almost farcical: effectively no secular literature is extant in Coptic (except the fragmentary, semi-Christianized *Alexander Romance* and *Cambyses Romance*, and the documentary papyri). The insistent usage of Greek for secular genres seems obvious" (Johnson 2015: 36). There is certainly truth to the claim that no secular literature has survived in Coptic, but this can be attributed to the double filter through which we know it: (a) all the extant manuscripts come exclusively from monastic libraries; and (b) a large majority of them are only partially preserved. The predominance of religious works can therefore simply be the result of selection and preservation, rather than an indication of production. The best example of this is the *Chronicle* of John, bishop of Nikiou at the time of the Arab conquest, a work of Coptic secular literature, which has not been preserved in its original language, and would be entirely unknown today but for a late Ethiopic translation of an abridged Arabic version, itself not preserved.

So rather than frame the question of language choice and translation in terms of ethnicity, or by opposing religious and secular, it is more useful to think in terms of intended readership, audience, and transmission, and of the geographical origin of the texts. Greek was a lingua franca that could be read by almost everyone in the eastern Mediterranean. More specifically, it was understood by virtually everyone in the world of learning. The fact that Damaskios and Nonnos wrote in Greek meant above all that they were responding to, and engaging with, the Greek philosophical and poetic tradition. For the same reasons, and also because they attracted students from all over the Mediterranean, the higher education institutions in Alexandria taught in Greek.

One could posit that writing in Greek was the sign of an intended readership that went beyond Egypt, while Coptic was chosen for writings intended for local consumption. This is not to say that there was no Greek writing intended mainly for local consumption; the country was, after all, largely bilingual, and choice of language could signal a variety of

social positioning. But the difference between the two languages in terms of audience offers a fundamental reason why authors with empire-wide ambitions did not write in Coptic—at least not for the works with such ambitions. Since literary Coptic was largely developed in ecclesiastical circles, and since what writings have come down to us reflect the content of monastic libraries, the predominance of religious literature is not surprising.

For all these reasons, the reception of Greek literature in Coptic involves not only translation, but also the transfer, integration, and adaptation of literary techniques, forms, and models. Yet even if we concentrate on the purely linguistic aspect of reception, namely translations of Greek into Coptic, the situation is far from straightforward. There are several different categories of texts in Coptic that are versions of extant, lost, or imagined Greek works. It is difficult at this stage to offer a full historical assessment of the translation movement from Greek to Coptic because of the lack of information, not only on the texts themselves, but also, crucially, on the translators, their techniques, the centers in which they were active, and the *milieux* in which they worked. We only have a selection of the final products to rely on, and these belong to categories that need to be differentiated.

First, it is important to single out the Coptic versions of works by Egyptian authors writing primarily in Greek. In many cases, we have two versions, one in Coptic and one in Greek, written independently by the same author or by members of his circle. These are therefore not translations *stricto sensu*, but two versions saying the same thing rendered idiomatically, often without one of the two being primary (on this phenomenon, see Mullen 2013: 86–87). This is not the only scenario, of course, and presumably some extant translations were also made in the more conventional way, that is, by a translator at a later date. It is not always easy to distinguish between the two processes from the surviving evidence, and much more careful linguistic work will be necessary before we can gain a more comprehensive picture.

Coptic versions of non-Egyptian works, or works by non-Egyptian authors, again come in two different groups, those for which we have extant texts in both languages, and those whose original is lost. The former category indicates that such translations were usually rather straightforward renderings. The latter is more complex due to a phenomenon that became very popular in the seventh and eighth centuries, namely the production of pseudepigrapha purporting to be translations of Greek patristic authors. In most cases, the difference between the two is obvious because the later Coptic writings are very different in content and style from what the chosen eponyms would have written—but that is more a matter of judgment than positive proof. Beyond this small confusion they might introduce, the massive production of a pseudepigraphic corpus referring to Greek patristic authors is in itself a very important aspect of the "reception" of medieval Greek culture in Egypt—a subject which will be discussed in the following.

Texts

In terms of how Greek literature and culture were received in late antique and medieval Egypt, we can distinguish two main periods: one during which Egypt was part of the

Byzantine Empire, and another during which it had become one of the "lost provinces." Arguably the translation, reception, and appropriation of Greek texts did not carry the same significance in the two contexts.

The beginnings of Coptic have been discussed many times and there are still diverging views regarding its earliest development. One view privileges a more organic evolution, the other, currently dominant, favors a more dirigiste model. Indeed, several scholars see Coptic as a deliberate creation intended to facilitate the translation of the Bible and other foundational Christian texts for the large-scale evangelization of the Egyptians (Fournet 2009; Richter 2009; Orlandi 2016). This view rests to a large extent on the observation that some of the earliest texts written in Coptic were biblical translations (overview in Funk 2012).

Even this apparently straightforward process, however, should be put into the broader context of Egyptian engagement with Hellenic culture and Greek textual production. We should not lose sight of the fact that the Greek versions of the Old Testament, from which the Coptic translations were made, had also been produced in Egypt. Indeed, most of these translations follow the Septuagint (Nagel 1991; van Esbroeck 1998: 422–451), and even though other Greek versions also seem to have been used, these were most probably disseminated through Origen's *Hexapla*, another Alexandrian undertaking (Papaconstantinou 2005a; Salvesen 2010: 201–202). Most of the work on the Coptic Old Testament has concentrated on Psalms, which is the most attested book (Horn 2000; Nagel 2000).

The translations of the New Testament have attracted much more attention. The earliest manuscripts date to the early fourth century, perhaps even to the late third, and played an important role in the textual scholarship of the New Testament because of the antiquity of their lost Greek originals. The most substantial early manuscripts reflect an eclectic approach to the biblical text, combining books from both the Old and the New Testaments: thus the famous Crosby-Schøyen Codex (third/fourth century) contains the Book of Jonah and 1 Peter; the contemporary BL Or. 7594 has Deuteronomy, Jonah, and Acts; the fourth-century Papyrus Bodmer III has the Gospel of John, followed by the Book of Genesis and the Epistle of Philip; and only in the late fourth or early fifth century does Papyrus Bodmer XIX seem to contain exclusively New Testament texts, with sections of Matthew and the Epistle to the Romans. The eventual standardization of the New and Old Testaments as two separate canonical collections is perhaps the first important effect that Byzantine biblical normalization had on early Egyptian Christian literature.

While the biblical texts were being busily translated into Egyptian from the fourth century onward, the monastic movement was also gathering momentum. From the start, the "retreat from the world" that it purported to represent was framed above all as an anti-intellectual choice, and therefore a rejection of the "Greek and Roman learning" which, it was claimed, only increased the distance between the individual and God. Egyptian was presented as the language that allowed greater proximity to the Divine because it dispensed with all the rhetorical niceties of Greek. This was, of course, a rhetorical construction which exploited and recycled the old Greek tradition of idealizing Egyptian as a language of wisdom. That tendency was especially prominent in the third

and fourth centuries, in texts such as Iamblichos's *Mysteries* or the Hermetic Corpus (see Fowden 1986: 37–39).

Monastic literature was the most prolific area of textual production in early Byzantine Egypt. Monastic authors wrote in both Greek and Egyptian, all the while reasserting (in both languages) the tenet that Egyptian was spiritually superior to Greek. The symbolic use of this trope by Athanasios in his *Life of Antony the Great* became a topos of later monastic literature: the divine Antony could only understand the Egyptian language and had no education other than his enlightenment by God (cf. Figure 20.3 in Chapter 20). A closer look, however, shows that the knowledge imparted by God was very much in the Greek tradition, so that his surviving *Letters*, even though they were written by Antony in Coptic, not only reflect a classical education and respect of the norms of Greek epistolography, but also betray a familiarity with the Neoplatonic philosophical tradition (Rubenson 1990).

The symbolic opposition between a language that allowed divine understanding unmediated by learning and one so burdened by learning that this understanding was hindered became a standard trope of Egyptian monastic literature, which consistently presented the great figures as monolingual speakers of Coptic, and Coptic as the main language of communication in the monastic world. Such a scenario is contradicted not only by documentary evidence, but also by the monastic corpus itself, not to mention outright plausibility (Papaconstantinou 2014). The social reality of monasteries was multilingual, and this is the main reason why textual corpora such as that of the Pachomian *Vitae* and related texts existed both in Greek and in Coptic. Instead of the long-standing search for the "original version," there is a developing scholarly consensus that the Greek and Coptic versions were composed separately and were both, in their own way, originals (Goehring 1986; Torallas 2010; Papaconstantinou 2014).

Because of its later success and literary legacy in the Byzantine Empire, early Egyptian monastic literature best highlights the inadequacy of the unidirectional notion of "reception" to describe a literary process of cross-fertilization. The texts often reflect this: they mention linguistic mediation in all sorts of contexts, generally putting Greek-speaking Egyptians in the position of cultural brokers who partake of both cultures and render communication possible. In those texts, the non-Egyptians, whom we could call early Byzantines, came to Egypt to acquire the monastic idiom that would allow them a better understanding of God. That idiom reversed the values of traditional high culture and social norms and hierarchies, promoting a counterculture that was closely tied to the Egyptian language and landscape. It thus became the preferred expression of a subaltern identity that radically subverted the Greco-Roman cultural hegemony. Its magnetism was such that it soon developed its own hegemonic culture through its success with the empire's learned urban elites. Therefore the tropes of much monastic literature in medieval Greek were forged in a bilingual milieu whose primary language was Egyptian.

After monastic discourse was established in the early fourth century, it was brought to new heights by the famous abbot of the White Monastery, Shenoute, at the end of that century and the first half of the fifth. Shenoute is the most articulate and prolific author of

Coptic texts—at least so far as we know from the works extant today. He wrote sermons, treatises, commentaries, monastic rules, letters, etc. Even though he is primarily seen as a—if not *the*—founding figure of Coptic literature and a master of the language, he was also literate in Greek. We know from his own works that he preached in both languages and probably wrote in both as well. Just like in the Pachomian corpus, there is evidence that certain of his works were composed in both languages, not as translations, but directly as two versions containing the same content (Lucchesi 1988; Depuydt 1990). Despite this, Shenoute built on the Athanasian symbolic opposition between the two languages, also applying it to the cultural and social spheres. He framed much of his discourse in terms of opposition to the cultural hegemony of Greek-speaking pagans (exploiting rhetorically the double meaning of *hellen*) over Coptic-speaking Christians, and mapping this neatly onto the social tensions between urban elites and the peasantry. The archimandrite of the White Monastery had little patience for philosophical allegories per se, but he knew how to use them to forward his social agenda and optimize his recruitment potential. Sometimes hailed as the father of Coptic literature, Shenoute would equally qualify as an author of medieval Greek literature by virtue of his Greek texts, of which unfortunately only small fragments have been identified. As in the Pachomian monastic milieu, there was at the White Monastery in the early fifth century a textual community that was at least partly bilingual and biliterate, producing texts in both languages.

This cultural exchange between Greek and Egyptian culture did not begin with monasticism: it had been developing for centuries, and a number of earlier Greek literary forms have been understood as having Egyptian inspiration (Rutherford 2016). Monastic literature was to a large extent the culmination of this development, which is also visible in the entirety of contemporary production. In Late Antiquity, Greek education had been functioning in Egypt for centuries at all levels, from basic literacy to rhetoric (Cribiore 2001; Fournet 1999). It is therefore not surprising that texts in Coptic, even those that were not translations, displayed a high degree of intertextuality with, and generic borrowing from, Greek literature. The great categories of texts found in Coptic literature are the same as in Greek, and so is their chronology. Yet they also maintain forms that are specific to the local literature, and that one finds, to a point, also in Greek works produced in Egypt.

The structures, vocabulary, and expression of the new Christian idiom in Coptic were tainted by Greek forms to an extent not known in Egyptian literature before the fourth century. This was greatly facilitated by the numerous translations of Greek texts made in the fourth and fifth centuries. These included a large number of patristic works, and the extent of the undertaking is becoming clearer with time as more and more fragments of such translations are identified. There was a strong preference for the Cappadocians and John Chrysostom (Devos-Lucchesi 1981; Lucchesi 1995, 2004a; Suciu 2012, 2017) as well as for Alexandrian authors, most prominently Athanasios and Cyril, whose festal letters and other writings were known in Coptic (Orlandi 1973; Coquin and Lucchesi 1982a; Coquin 1993; Camplani 1999 and 2011; Lucchesi 2001 and 2004b; Suciu 2011). There is also evidence, albeit mostly fragmentary, for translations of Epiphanios

of Salamis, Evagrios (Lucchesi 1981, 1999), Ps-Athanasios, Ps-Cyril of Jerusalem, Ps-Chrysostom, Severianos of Gabala, Peter of Alexandria (Lucchesi 2009; Suciu 2011, 2014), and, from the sixth century, Severos of Antioch, whose success eventually also involved a number of pseudepigrapha attributed to him (Orlandi 1973; Lucchesi 1979, 2006a, 2006b, 2007). A fragmentary Coptic *History of the Church*, probably composed in the fifth century, based its narrative of the early centuries on the first eight books of Eusebios's *Ecclesiastical History*, either translating it directly or using an existing translation (Orlandi 2007).

Among the patristic literature that was translated were homilies and commentaries, but also monastic and hagiographical works. Various texts from Palladios's *Lausiac History*, the *Historia monachorum in Aegypto*, and the *Apophthegmata patrum* are known in Coptic. Such stories could have circulated in both languages independently and could have been brought together by different Greek authors/compilers in collections that became canonical in the Byzantine tradition. The process of translation is more obvious for works that were eponymous original compositions in Greek, such as the ascetic writings of Basil and Evagrios (Suciu 2017, 2019; Lucchesi 1999), and, of course, the *Life of Antony*. A close study of the Coptic *Life of Antony* shows the level of sophistication that went into its translation: not only did the translator have an excellent mastery of Coptic, he also perfectly understood the nuances of Greek—sometimes better, as G. M. Browne has shown, than most modern scholars (Browne 1971). Other *Vitae*, like that of the hermit Onophrios/Ouanofre, are known in both languages, with little clue as to which version, if any, was original.

The hagiographical literature related to martyrs was thoroughly studied by Hippolyte Delehaye in 1922. The reputation of Coptic martyrologies is still recovering from the negative views expressed by the great Bollandist, who found their reading "repulsive" (Delehaye 1922: 130). This was, of course, precisely because, as a Bollandist, he was interested above all in the historical core of the main character's story, admittedly not the main concern of those narratives. According to the Bollandist model, the "first narrative" of a martyr's story would have been some official or semi-official account recorded soon after the martyr's death, and later embellished and mythologized to become what he named an "epic" passion (see especially Delehaye 1921). This naturally led Delehaye to assume that all Coptic *passiones* stemmed from a Greek *Urtext*, and that the texts that have come down to us had undergone a peculiarly Egyptian version of the transformation into epic passions (Delehaye 1922: 114). The Greek models behind the Coptic texts did not escape Delehaye's attentive eye, although it is now generally admitted that this was the result of the authors' Greek education rather than acts of embellished translation. When Delehaye was writing there was virtually no work discussing the evolution of Coptic literature, and the differences between texts were attributed to origin, whereas today the general tendency is to see such differences as chronological. What is more, most, if not all, of the texts Delehaye found repulsive were late compositions, probably post-dating the Arab conquest (Orlandi 1991a–c; Papaconstantinou 2011), or at least pre-dating it very closely (Baumeister 1972; Papaconstantinou, in press), and were probably written directly in Coptic.

There are, however, Coptic martyr *Acts* and *Passions* that do not fit the model first described by Delehaye and later analyzed systematically by Theofried Baumeister, who baptized it the "Koptischer Konsens" (Baumeister 1972). Several were translations from Greek, others may have been original compositions, but if so they were very similar to Greek acts and *passiones* of the same period. This category includes, among others, the *Acts of Stephen of Lenaion* (van Minnen 1995), the *Passion of Eusignios* (Coquin and Lucchesi 1982b), as well as eponymous works such as the *First Panegyric on Stephen the Protomartyr* and the *Panegyric of Gregory Thaumatourgos* by Gregory of Nyssa (Lucchesi 2004a, 2006c, 2006d). In addition, new texts are regularly being identified.

Normative texts such as the *Apostolic Constitutions*, the *Canons of Hippolytus* (an Egyptian reworking of the *Apostolic Tradition*), canons from various church councils, in particular Nicaea, Ephesos, and Chalcedon, as well as collections of canons attributed to Athanasios of Alexandria and Basil the Great, were also translations from Greek, although some seem to have come from Syria, and were possibly translated from Syriac (Coquin 1991a and 1993; Camplani and Contardi 2016). On the whole, they are only preserved in Arabic, although some Coptic versions are extant, including an entire manuscript containing a compilation of canonical texts (Crum 1915; Coquin 1981), as well as a set of canons transmitted under the name of Athanasios of Alexandria, preserved in Arabic with fragments also in Coptic, which could go back to a fourth-century Greek original (Crum-Riedel 1904; Munier 1920; Coquin 1991).

With time, the need for translations of foundational works diminished, and after Chalcedon (451 CE) new works produced in Byzantine heartlands had little appeal. The long practice of translation, however, had shaped the Egyptian language in a way that allowed it to express all the common Christian notions within the framework of a number of different genres. By the sixth century, many ecclesiastical authors were producing original compositions in Coptic that went well beyond the monastic world. Shedding the symbolic value attributed to Coptic's "lack of sophistication," bishops spearheaded a much more public assertion of the language through their homilies and panegyrics for saints, pronounced in both urban and rural settings, before audiences that were no longer confined to groups of monks and their circles (Papaconstantinou 2008; Camplani 2015; Booth 2018).

This development, however, even though it marked a certain emancipation from Greek as a source—or at least a companion—language, did not mark a radical departure from Byzantine literary forms and tropes: most sixth-century Coptic homilies followed the models of patristic epideictic rhetoric almost to the letter. One of the most refined examples is the *Panegyric of St. Antony* by John the Recluse, written before he became bishop of Hermopolis in the late sixth century. John begins with the reasons that led him to write in praise of Antony, even though the great Athanasios had done this before him. This is followed by a long passage of emphatic praise for the saint's homeland, based on oppositions drawing on Exodus and the Flight to Egypt, and accumulating references and tropes that were common among non-Egyptian authors, such as the gift of fertility, both material and spiritual (Garitte 1943; Papaconstantinou 2001, 2005b).

The panegyric continues following a traditional structure, praising in turn the saint's family, his natural qualities, his education, his way of life, and how he compares to other holy figures. John demonstrates throughout his mastery of rhetorical technique, but at the same time he uses this technique to advance values that oppose those of classical rhetoric: Antony did not want to learn to write, being afraid that it might contaminate his natural virtue. But he was nevertheless literate and impressed contemporary philosophers. John takes the pronouncements of the *Life of Antony* and gives them his own spin in the context of contemporary Egyptian ecclesiastical politics. He cites the great authors who praised Antony before him: Athanasios, Basil, Gregory, Cyril, Severos, and Shenoute. Here again, the Greek connection lies in the literary forms, in the conceptual content, and in the intellectual and ecclesiastical filiation a provincial cleric was claiming for himself.

John was but one of a group of bishops who, under the leadership of Damian of Alexandria (569–605), reinvigorated the party favoring Severos of Antioch in the non-Chalcedonian Egyptian church (Booth 2017, 2018). The texts they produced were largely calqued on the production of the Greek fathers, comprising mainly homilies, panegyrics, and biblical commentaries. This has led to speculation that they were translations from Greek originals, and sometimes to forceful assertions of that hypothesis (Lucchesi 2000). It seems clear, however, that despite their resemblance to parallel Greek literature, they were written directly in Coptic. Gérard Garitte showed, for instance, that the *Panegyric of Antony* cited the Coptic version of the *Life of Antony*, and the Sahidic versions of the Bible (Garitte 1943). Those texts were the products of a circle of scholars who aimed to reinforce links with Antioch as opposed to Constantinople, and to forward the Severan legacy in Egypt. Like Severos, however, the rhetorical means those bishops employed were part of a wider eastern Christian *koinè* that united them as much with Constantinople as with each other.

The first century or so after the Arab conquest, there was very little literary engagement with the new dominant culture. The literary tradition of the previous period lingered to such an extent that the dating of many texts before or after the conquest is still debated. The old rhetorical techniques were still employed to write the *encomia* of saints, and collections of miracles followed the broader evolution of equivalent texts in the rest of the eastern Mediterranean. Authors would often combine the two, incorporating a series of miracle stories into a panegyric, like the *Encomium on Victor the General*, an eighth-century text attributed to Celestinus of Rome, which also plays with the genre of the fable, as at the end of each miracle the author-speaker addresses the audience directly, adding a moral coda to each miracle: "Ye see, O my beloved, that the power of the holy general whose festival we are celebrating this day is great. Let us then cease from every work which is evil, and all violence, and all irregular behavior, and all the guileful deeds which we are in the habit of committing, and let us all make ourselves sons of his" (Budge 1914: 325). This is then followed by a series of moral injunctions before the start of the next miracle. Such creative combinations are the hallmark of authors who mastered those genres rather well, but did not feel compelled to conform to the traditional ways of using them. Their works were produced for local consumption, and

they were much more interested in efficiency than in following rules that would gain them literary recognition beyond Egypt.

It is difficult to know whether translation activity continued after the Arab conquest. Clearly, however, several authors wanted their audience to think so. The period knew an impressive vogue for pseudepigrapha attributed to Byzantine and Roman authors, the previously mentioned Celestinus being one of many examples. Others include Theodotos of Ankyra and the anti-Chalcedonian bishop of Jerusalem Theodosios, who had opposed the Chalcedonian patriarch Juvenal. Texts are also attributed to several imaginary patristic authors, such as Archelaos of Neapolis, Flavian of Ephesos, Agathonikos of Tarsos, Evodius of Rome, and Anastasios of Euchaita. The reason for this phenomenon is most probably the prestige and legitimacy that these figures, rendered venerable through their antiquity, could lend to the compositions of nameless monks (Palombo 2019). To some extent, this practice reflects the early medieval Egyptian perception of early Byzantine Greek culture. Its literary figures, real or imagined, seem to have been symbols still powerful enough to enhance the status of contemporary anonymous works.

Festal letters, traditionally sent out to the empire's churches by the bishop of Alexandria—a prerogative resulting from the city's astronomical expertise—continued to be produced in Egypt under Arab rule despite the political and ecclesiastical separation from Byzantium. A surprising specimen has come down to us, namely the letter sent by bishop Alexander II in 713 or 719 to the then head of the White Monastery (MacCoull 1990). Its 326 lines were written in Greek, in beautiful Alexandrian majuscule, following in form the model set by his predecessors, which consists in a more or less long theological statement before coming to the point of the date of Easter and its associated cycle. At the same time, the letter is addressed to a monastic community in the south of the country, whose remarkable library is today our single most important source on Coptic literature, and whose language of communication at that time was most certainly Coptic. Like the patristic authors of the pseudepigrapha, Greek provided to the festal letter the gravitas of a traditional document intended for universal consumption, as had been its original role. Similarly, starting and finishing formulae in Greek continue to be found in Coptic private deeds until the late eighth century, generating authority and legitimacy (Papaconstantinou 2009; Cromwell 2016).

Literary production in Coptic seems to have decreased significantly from the ninth century, except in the area of liturgy. But it was a long swan song. The tenth-century *Life of John Khamé*, a ninth-century monk who founded a monastery in the Wādi 'n Natrūn, is the last example of a full monastic biography written in Coptic (Mikhail 2014). Modeled entirely on earlier monastic *vitae*, it retains with the Greek tradition the same relation as its earlier avatars. By the end of the tenth century, the Coptic literary tradition was being transferred systematically into Arabic (Rubenson 1996). Because of that, much of what is known as Copto-Arabic literature reflects the initial Greek or Greek-Egyptian models that lie at its origins. This is mainly true of monastic, hagiographical, homiletic, and liturgical literature, which formed the bulk of the translations. From the Fatimid period onward, Copto-Arabic literature slowly integrated the idioms

of other Arabic literatures with which it interacted, especially in theological works (Griffith 1996).

Because all the extant Coptic translations appear in later manuscripts, and because, contrary to Syria and Mesopotamia, we know next to nothing about the circles of scholars and translators who worked on them, it is generally impossible to know when they were produced, and whether the translation of Greek Christian works continued during the Middle Ages. The suggestion that many of them were carried out in the fifth century in the White Monastery is very appealing (Orlandi 1998, 2016), but there is no specific evidence for such activity, except the size of the monastery's library, counting more than 1,000 codices in the twelfth century. These date from the ninth century and after, and each of them contained several texts, including translations of Greek patristic works not known from other witnesses (Crum 1904; Orlandi 2002; Orlandi and Suciu 2016). The activities of the White Monastery scriptorium between the ninth and the eleventh century have been analyzed by Orlandi, who showed that the compilation in which the monks engaged was much more creative than the simple copying of older texts. He also speculated on the presence of some Greek codices in the library, prompted by the fact that it possessed several bilingual manuscripts (Orlandi 2002). Orlandi stopped short of suggesting that the monks may still have been translating Greek texts for their library, but considering the context, this seems entirely plausible. Whatever the case, as we have seen, translation was but one way in which what we call "Byzantine"—in the sense of Greek Christian—literature interacted with Coptic textual production. The reception of Greek culture was a much subtler mix of direct translation, indirect rendition, and, especially, an interpenetration of notions, structures, and worldviews which, although they sometimes declared themselves in conflict, were nevertheless inextricably linked.

Suggestions for Further Reading

Introductions to the general historical background of the formation of Coptic are found in Bagnall (1993), who also discusses the bilingual situation and instances of cultural transfer. The subject is also treated among others in Bagnall (2011), Choat (2009), Cribiore (1999), Fewster (2002), Fournet (2009), and the essays in Papaconstantinou (2010), in particular through the evidence of papyri and inscriptions, not discussed here but essential in understanding the overall sociolinguistic framework. The role of learned Greek in Egypt has been thoroughly investigated by Jean-Luc Fournet (esp. 1999, 2003a, 2003b) and, more recently, Johnson (2015). Recent general overviews of Coptic literature are Boud'hors (2012), Emmel (2007), and Orlandi (2016); introductions to the development of the Coptic church in Davis (2004), Swanson (2010), and Zaborowski (2012).

In terms of research tools, Coquin (1993) offers a handlist of works in Coptic published at the time, divided into translated texts and Coptic originals. The *Bibliotheca hagiographica orientalis* (1910; BHO) is an essential, but outdated, guide to Coptic hagiography, which can now be supplemented by the *Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity* database

(http://csla.history.ox.ac.uk), which is organized by saint rather than by text like the BHO. *The Coptic Encyclopaedia*, published in New York in 1991, is now accessible online at the Claremont Colleges Digital Library (http://ccdl.libraries.claremont.edu/cdm/landingpage/collection/cce). The recently created *Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature* (https://atlas.paths-erc.eu) provides a regularly updated compendium of Coptic texts and manuscripts, including what is known about their places of origin and discovery. Coptic texts are identified with a "Clavis Coptica" number, which was attributed to them in the early corpus of Coptic literature set up by Tito Orlandi (Corpus dei Manuscritti Copti Letterari—http://www.cmcl.it/). Finally, reports on recent work in the fields of Coptic literature can be found in the *Acts* of successive International Congresses of Coptic Studies since 1980. Fournet 2020 appeared too late to be used for this chapter, but is now essential reading on the development of Coptic before the Arab conquest of Egypt.

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SECTION III SYRIAC

PABLO UBIERNA

The Language, Agents, Contexts

Syriac is a dialect of Aramaic, belonging to the northwest group of Semitic languages (Drijvers 1973; Gzella and Folmer 2008). The eve of the Christian era saw the emergence of several written forms of local versions of Aramaic, among them Palmyrene and Nabataean. At that same time, contact with the Greek language became more common, and Greek words entered written versions of Aramaic (Brock 1994). In the second century CE, a stage of the language appeared which is known as Late Aramean and which

eventually split into two major branches: Western Late Aramaic (including Samaritan, Jewish-Palestinian Aramaic, Christian Palestinian Aramaic) and Eastern Late Aramaic (including Syriac, Mandaean, the Aramaic of the Babylonian Talmud). Syriac, originally the language of the (then still pagan) Kingdom of Edessa and the Oshroene in Upper Mesopotamia, became the literary language of Aramaic-speaking Christians (Ross 2001; Healey 2007; Millar 2011) and developed under the mutual influences of both Greek (which will be our interest in this chapter) and Iranian (Ciancaglini 2008; Loesov 2008).

One of the major problems concerning the cultural milieu of Edessa and its region is related to the (much discussed) topic of the extent of Hellenization of pre-Roman Edessa (Drijvers 1998; Healey 2007). Besides the fact that both Edessan culture and Syriac as a literary language were rooted in old Semitic traditions, both inherited the old tradition of contact between Greek and Aramaic which was already present in Old Syriac inscriptions (Drijvers and Healey 1999). In the greater Syrian region, people spoke local Aramaic dialects, while those with a certain education adopted Syriac as their standard literary language. For native Aramaic speakers, literacy included different degrees of knowledge of Greek (Brock 1975; Taylor 2002). On the contrary, for those writers whose native language was Greek, like John Chrysostom, no such parallel knowledge of Aramaic was requisite for their intellectual or pastoral endeavors. One may compare Chrysostom with the ascetics who had almost no knowledge of Greek and are included in Theodoretos of Kyrros's *Philotheos Historia* (mid-fifth century)—such as the hermit Makedonios and Abraham of Cyrrhus, the future bishop of Harran. Others, like Severianos of Gabala or John of Tella, had some (or good in the case of John) classical Greek education (Brock 1994: 150–151).

By far the most important figures in the early days of Syriac literary history were Tatian and Bardaisan. Tatian (c. 120–c. 180), a convert who wrote theology in Greek and produced a harmony of the Gospels, the *Diatessaron*, and who defined himself as an "Assyrios" (on the much debated problem of the meaning of "Assyrios," see Nöldeke 1871; Fiey 1965; Nasrallah 1974). Bardaisan (154–222) was a scholar at the court of King Abgar VIII of Edessa who converted to Christianity late in life. He wrote in Syriac but was well versed in the diverse aspects of Greek science (Murray 2004: 3–9; see further Drijvers 1966; Teixidor 1992; Ramelli 2009). His teachings are recorded in *The Book of the Laws of the Countries*, a dialogue written by one of his disciples. Bardaisan was important in the development of literary Syriac (including his innovative *madrāšē*, hymns in various metrical patterns), greatly influencing Mani (216–274), whose writings survive mostly in Iranian languages (Contini 1995; Griffith 2001; Reck 2005; Pedersen and Møller Larsen 2013: 3–4), and then Ephrem the Syrian (c. 306–373) and Aphrahaṭ (fl. first half of fourth century), the two great classical Syriac authors of the fourth century.

Even if authors like Bardaisan and Ephrem were not completely cut off from Greek influences, the major incorporation of Greek knowledge occurred through a gradual process of acceptance of the Greek language and culture (Brock 1982b; van Rompay 2000; Gignoux 2001) and was due to the translation movement that flourished from the fifth century onward. Several authors, some of them well known—Sergius of Reshaina

and Paul of Callinicum in the sixth century; Severus Sebokht, Phokas, Athanasius of Balad, and Jacob of Edessa in the seventh century; and later figures like Hunayn in the ninth century—undertook the task of translating Greek works into Syriac. Among their translations are included biblical and early Christian texts (Brock 2006; Desreumaeux, Briquel-Chatonnet, and Debié 2008; Weitzman 1999; Koster 2003; King 2007; Williams 2012) as well as classical texts, ranging from grammar (Revell 1972; Talmon 2008), philosophy and medicine (Temkin 1973; Nutton 1984; Wilson 1987; Brock 1993; Huggonard-Roche 1997; King 2013; Fiori 2014b), to rhetoric (Conterno 2014 on Themistios; Rigolio 2015 on Lucian, Plutarch, and Themistios).

The contexts in which translations were undertaken were just as important as the role played by individual translators. Scholars belonging to the Syrian Orthodox Church (originating in Byzantine Syria) received most of their training at monasteries such as Qenneshre on the Euphrates (Palmer 1990; Watt 1999, 2010; Bowersock 2002; Tannous 2013) or Qartmin in southeastern Turkey (Brock 2007a). In the Church of the East (originating in the Sasanian Empire), learning was acquired mostly at schools located within major episcopal sees, like the School of the Persians in Edessa (which was by no means the only school in Edessa since the Acts of the Council of Ephesos in 449 also mentioned schools "of the Armenians" and "of the Syrians"). The school was closed down by Emperor Zeno in 489 because of its alleged ties to Nestorianism. We should also mention its heir, the School of Nisibis in Upper Mesopotamia (Vööbus 1965; Reinink 1995; Becker 2006a: 41–76), and the so-called School of Gundeshapur (in Beth Huzaye/Khuzistan), which was the heir of an old tradition of reception of Greek medicine (Hau 1979; Schöfer 1979; Reinink 2003b; Schultze 2005: 1–13). For Christian scholars east of the Euphrates, these schools were at the top of a pyramidal and complex network of village and monastic schools (Bettiolo 2013).

Translation Practices

The differences between Syriac, a Semitic language, and Greek forced the translators to develop an entire series of translation techniques (Brock 1977). Syriac has no case endings, no definite article, few adjectives, and a completely different verbal system (Taylor 2007a). From the fourth century onward, Syriac translations show a slow shift from a style of more or less free translation, addressing the needs of the reader, to a more complex method, focused on the correct rendition of the text (Brock 1979 and 1991).

The swift Hellenization of the Syriac tradition in the fifth century determined that biblical quotations ought to be very precise, thus marking a radical change with translations from the previous century with its rather free translations, with a preference for paraphrasing. From the sixth century onward the tendency was to take the sentence as the unit of translation, while the seventh century, perhaps the peak in the Hellenization of Syriac culture, saw the final step in the evolution of translation techniques: the word became the basic unit of translation, which increasingly focused on formal equivalences

and paid close attention to Greek particles, even at the cost of producing a somehow odd Syriac text (Brock 1983: 12–13). The revised version of the Bible made in Alexandria and known as "Harklean," as well as the numerous translations of patristic works, are good examples of this literalist approach.

Along with the translation of biblical and apocryphal texts (Desreumaux 2005), the translation of early Byzantine Greek literature is considered one of the pillars of the Syriac discursive tradition. The following overview is arranged according to major genres.

Homiletics, Theology, and Ascetic Literature

The number of translated Greek patristic texts is immense, shaping every aspect of Syriac literature, from vocabulary to theology to ritual practice. In relation to the Byzantine tradition, Syriac translations are significant as they often offer an earlier, possibly better, and sometimes only version of a specific text (Sauget 1978; Debié and Gonnet 2007; for an exhaustive list of such translations, see Gonnet 2007; for the presence of Greek hymnography in Syriac, see references in Papaioannou, "Sacred Song," Chapter 18 in this volume).

Among the first translations of Christian Greek literature were the apologies of Pseudo Justin (Cureton 1855), which the Syriac tradition erroneously attributed to Ambrose, and Aristeides (Harris 1893; Pierre and Pouderon 2003); the latter survives only in Syriac in a sixth-century manuscript from Saint Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai (Ciancaglini 2001b: 1010–1011). Yet not every pre-Nicene father was well represented in Syriac, even if some did receive translations, such as Clement of Rome and Hippolytus, read between the ninth and twelfth centuries by Moses bar Kepha and Dionysius bar Salibi (Brock 1981b and 1995b).

By contrast, almost every major author of the fourth and fifth centuries was rendered also in Syriac (Watt 2007). Among the Cappadocians (Taylor 2007b), the one author who was accepted by both the Syrian Orthodox and by the members of the Church of the East was Gregory the Theologian (Detienne 2000): his *Orations* (forty-seven in the Syriac version), thirty-one of his *Letters*, as well as many of his *Poems* were translated. The translation of the *Orations* (Haelewyck 2001, 2005, 2007, 2011; Schmidt 2002) was revised several times, enjoying a wide diffusion, and was extensively glossed and commented upon. André de Halleux (1985) dated the first translation of the *Orations* to the second half of the fifth century in Edessa. According to others (Taylor 2007b: 52), the translation should be dated later, and probably close to the period of the revised version made by Paul of Edessa when he was a Syrian Orthodox Bishop refugee in Cyprus in the early seventh century (we shall return later to the Cypriot milieu of refugee translators).

The oldest manuscript (London, BL Add 17146) dates from the seventh or eighth century. This version also includes Pseudo-Nonnos's *Mythological Scholia* (CPG 3011; Figure 6.1 in Chapter 6 of this volume) translated by Athanasius of Balad; the *Scholia* themselves survive in two versions (Brock 1971). The first translation of Gregory's *Poems* was produced in the fifth century, while seventeen of these poems received a second and revised edition in the mid-seventh century by Candidatus of Amida. Other translators, like Theodosios of Edessa, a monk at Qenneshre (c. 805), and a certain Gabriel, mentioned by Patriarch Timothy I in his letters (early ninth century), also produced translations of the *Poems* (see Simelidis 2009: 89–90 on these translators and their uncertain relation to the existing Syriac sixth-/seventh-century translations transmitted in the eighth-century Vatican, BAV, syr. 105, as well as a few folia of five BL manuscripts; see also Crimi 1997).

As with Gregory, some of Basil the Great's works received attention from Syriac scholars very early, and these translations were improved over the centuries in order to match the new translation techniques (Fedwick 1981). The number of manuscripts preserving his works is impressive (Taylor 1991). The most influential of Basil's works was the *Homilies on the Hexaemeron* (Thomson 1995). These were fundamental in the development of the Syriac interpretation of the Book of Genesis and consequently of Syriac cosmology and natural science. Basil's *Askêtikon* received continued attention, mostly among monks (and even at times when other works of Basil became less important). The Syriac version is preserved in two manuscripts of the fifth–sixth centuries (see further Gribomont 1953 and Baudry 2008 on the importance of the Syriac versions for constituting the Greek text). Finally, the *On the Holy Spirit* (Taylor 1995) was also translated early—its Syriac translation is preserved in manuscripts dated to the fifth or sixth centuries (Taylor 2007b: 48)—and was very important in the theological training of authors like Philoxenos of Mabbug.

Gregory of Nyssa also occupied a central place in Syriac patristics (Parmentier 1989). The Syriac version of his *Commentary on the Song of Songs* survives in four manuscripts dating from the sixth to the twelfth century (van der Eynde 1939; Tufano 1988; Taylor 2007b: 53–54). The oldest manuscript, Vat. Syr. 106, also contains other works of Gregory, like the *On the Creation of Mankind* and his *Exposition on the Lord's Prayer* (Tufano 1988b; Lucioli Campi 1993; Pericoli Ridolfini 2000). Next to Gregory's *Commentary*, the Syriac translator provided another text (by a certain Symmachos) in order to complete the exegesis of the *Song of Songs* (van den Eynde 1939: 77–89).

Most impressive of all is the position of John Chrysostom in the Syriac tradition. The translation (and adaptation) of his *Commentary on John* (Childers 2013a)—which, as in many other Syriac translations, constitutes an important witness regarding the Greek text—and of his *Homilies* with a focus on pastoral theology (i.e., more pragmatic than abstract) secured for Chrysostom an important position that crossed the ecclesiastical and doctrinal divisions of Syriac Christianity (Childers 2013b, 2013c; cf. also Voicu 2013).

Let us turn, however, to less prominent authors. The Syriac translations of the works of Cyril of Alexandria, for instance, have received special attention in recent years (King 2008). The *Commentary on Luke* (Payne Smith 1858; Chabot 1912; Tonneau 1953; Vööbus

1973; Sauget 1974), lost in the Greek original, is preserved in two Syriac manuscripts of the sixth and seventh centuries; since this important text was left aside by Daniel King in his recent survey, it deserves further study. Some of the works of Cyril of Alexandria, like *De recta fide* addressed to Theodosios II and translated by Rabbula bishop of Edessa in the fifth century, played a special role in the shifting positions from Antiochene to Alexandrian theology in Syria.

The Syrian Orthodox preserved the memory and the works of several other authors no longer extant in the original Greek as middle and late Byzantine book culture lost interest in them for a variety of reasons. Severos, patriarch of Antioch from 512 to 538, is perhaps the most important of these forgotten authors (Kugener 1907; Allen and Hayward 2004; CPG 7022–7081). Severos was condemned by an imperial edict in 536 for opposing the Council of Chalcedon, and his works survived primarily in the Syriac tradition. Most notable are the so-called *Cathedral Homilies* (CPG 7035), translated by Paul of Callinicum in 528 and then by Jacob of Edessa in the second half of the seventh century (Allen and Hayward 2004: 49–52). Jacob's revision resulted in a mixed text, and it is often difficult to tell which parts belong to Severos and where Jacob's commentary begins (Lash 1981). It survives in several manuscripts, with London, BL Add. 12159 being the most important as it contains all 125 Homilies (Graffin 1978). Severos's important *Hymns* (CPG 7072) constitute a missing link in the history of Greek hymnography; cf. "Sacred Song," Chapter 18 in this volume). They were also translated in two stages: by Paul of Edessa between 619 and 629, and then by Jacob of Edessa in 675 (Allen and Hayward 2004: 54–55). Finally, most of Severos's *Letters* (CPG 7070-7071) also survive in Syriac versions (Allen and Hayward 2004: 52–54).

John Rufus, the "Monophysite" bishop of Maiuma (fl. 476–518) and an important figure for Syrian orthodox identity, is another Greek author that survives in Syriac. Of his works, we should highlight the learned biography of his spiritual father, Peter the Iberian (d. 491; CPG 7507/BHO 955), as well as a compilation of short monastic stories under the title of *Plerophoriae* (CPG 7507), where he displayed an uncompromising position against Chalcedon (Steppa 2002; Francisco 2011: 59–80; also Flusin 2011: 207).

Theodoros of Mopsuestia represents another interesting example of how a Byzantine author was received and accepted by Syriac Christians. Contacts between the exegetical traditions of Edessa and Antioch existed since the fourth century (Eusebios of Emesa's *Commentary on the Genesis* is a good example of those links; Haar Romeny 1997). These contacts could have paved the path for the acceptance of the works of Theodoros as well. Translations began already in the fifth century, perhaps made by Ibas, the great opponent of Rabbula of Edessa on Christological matters (Debié and Gonnet 2007: 137). The Church of the East preserved many works of Theodoros of Mopsuestia that ceased to be copied in Greek after his final condemnation at the Council of Constantinople in 553. Already in the sixth century, eastern Syriacs considered him to be the most important interpreter of the Bible, and his influence on theological and liturgical matters was immense. The *Catalogue* of 'Abdisho' (Assemmani 1725) in the fourteenth century kept record of all his translated works; among his most influential we should count the

Commentary on John (Vosté 1940) and the *Cathechetical Homilies* (Mingana 1932–1933; Tonneau 1949; Becker 2006b).

The Egyptian ascetic Evagrios Pontikos (c. 346–399) is a similar case (see the formidable work of Antoine Guillaumont, 1962 and 2004). Evagrios's works, many of which were translated into Syriac (the full list in CPG 2430–2482; cf. Géhin 2011), left their mark on the history of Syriac asceticism, along with other translations of texts of Egyptian origin, like the *Macarian Homilies* (Strohtmann 1981), the *Apophthegmata*, the *Life of Antony the Great*, and the *Lausiac History* of Palladios. Evagrios was translated early into Syriac and his works were well diffused and widely accepted. He was considered a disciple of the Cappadocians and a major representative of Egyptian asceticism until he (along with Origen and Didymos) was condemned by the Second Council of Constantinople in 553.

The last seminal Greek patristic body of texts to be translated into Syriac was the *Areopagitic Corpus*, a group of texts attributed to Dionysios the Areopagite and in circulation by the beginning of the sixth century. The textual transmission of his works is extremely complicated, but recent scholarship agrees that a first edition of the Greek text (called the *editio variorum*) was made around the mid-sixth century. The early Syriac translation made by Sergius of Reshaina (d. 536; Perczel 2000, 2009; Fiori 2011, 2014a) is thus of prime importance since it was made before the *editio variorum*. It does not seem, however, to have enjoyed wide circulation in the Syrian world.

Hagiography and Story Telling

A general survey of Byzantine hagiography in Syriac has been recently provided by Sebastian Brock (Brock 1995b, 2011). In what follows I will therefore concentrate on a handful of representative texts.

As already mentioned, several saints' *Lives* related to the Egyptian ascetic tradition received early translations. This was the case with Athanasios's *Life of Antony* (Draguet 1980), adapted to the interests of Syriac audiences (Brock 2011: 268); the *Life of the Palestinian Martyrs* by Eusebios of Caesarea (which survives in two recensions of which the longer, published in 311, is only extant in Syriac; CPG 3490; Karst 1911); the *Lausiac History* of Palladios (Draguet 1978); the *Apophthegmata Patrum* (Budge 1934) (the Syriac tradition attributed to Palladios both the *Apophthegmata* and Jerome's *Historia Monachorum*); and the *Philotheos Historia* of Theodoretos of Kyrros.

The *Lives of Kosmas and Damianos* survive in fifth- and sixth-century manuscripts (van Esbroeck 1984; Bruns 2004; for their cult: van Esbroeck 1981). The *Passion* of Kerykos and Ioulitta (BHG 313y–318e), survives in several oriental languages (Dillmann 1887); the Syriac version (BHO 194; Terpelyuk 2009) includes a prayer by the boy that is considered to be of Jewish origin (Gressmann 1921), and also carries an Orthodox presentation of the place of the Robe of Glory, thus offering an interesting testimony regarding the Hymn of the Pearl (Brock 1982a). Syriac versions of the *Passions* of the Forty

Martyrs of Sebasteia (BHG 1201; BHO 713, incidentally much longer than the Greek; cf. Weyh 1912) and of Sergios and Bakchos (BHG 1624; BHO 1052) were also widely read. Syrians devoted churches to these saints and reserved for them an important place in their liturgical calendar (Witakowski 1999).

Chalcedonian saints' *Lives* usually did not survive in Syriac—though fragments of some by Cyril of Skythopolis are to be found in manuscripts housed in the monastery of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai (Brock 1995c; Philothée 2008; Géhin 2009; cf. also Flusin 1996). In this context, two texts stand out: the *Life of Symeon the Holy Fool* and the *Life of John the Almsgiver*, both by Leontios of Neapolis. Originally written in Greek in Cyprus in the 640s (Mango 1984; Déroche 1995), they were translated into Syriac. The *Life* of Symeon is unpublished, while the *Life* of John has been edited (BHO 511) from two manuscripts: London BM Add 14645 (which also contains the unpublished *Life* of Symeon) dated to 935/936, from the Monastery of Deyr es-Suryan (the Syrian Monastery in Egypt), where it was offered by a member of the community originally from the Syrian region of Tagrit; and Paris 235, Anc. Fonds 143 (thirteenth century). Whether these translations should be linked with the milieu of Syriac Orthodox émigrés in Cyprus in the seventh century is a question for further research (Ubierna 2011; Venturini 2017 and 2020).

The Syriac version of the Greek *Alexander Romance* of Pseudo-Callisthenes was one of the most widely read Greek stories among Syriac-speaking Christians (cf. van Donzel and Schmidt 2010: 15–16). The Syriac version (Budge 1889), extant in five manuscripts, dates to the seventh century and includes a series of hitherto unknown stories, like Alexander's journey to China (which could suggest that the translator and adapter was a member of the Church of the East) (Ciancaglini 2001a). Alexander played a major role in other Syriac texts with apocalyptic and eschatological ideas (in general, see Reinink 2003a): these include the *Syriac Alexander Legend* (included as an appendix to the manuscripts of the *Alexander Romance*), which was written in Syriac after the victories of the emperor Heraclius over the Persian king Khusraw II and contained the story (appearing for the first time) of Alexander's Wall against Gog and Magog (Reinink 1985); the *Syriac Poem on the Pious king Alexander* (Czeglédy 1957; Reinink 1985); and the well-known *Apocalypse* of Pseudo-Methodios (Reinink 1992).

Historiography

Syriac historiography has recently received a great deal of attention, and the links with early Byzantine historiography have been well summarized (Debié 2015: 288–340). Though Syriac historiography was rooted in the annals and courtly records of the Edessan court, the foundational work of Eusebios of Caesarea was most important in the development of Syriac historiography. His *Ecclesiastical History* was translated before the fifth century (serving as the basis also for an Armenian translation; McLean and Wright 1901; Debié 2009a; Greatrex 2009), but was not widely used (cf. van

Rompay 1994a), while his *Chronicle* was of prime importance (Witakowski 1987: 76–89). Other works of Eusebios, such as the *Theophania* (lost in Greek) and the *History of the Martyrs of Palestine* (of which the Syriac tradition preserves a longer redaction; Cureton 1861) are preserved in the earliest Syriac manuscript (from 411), the BL Add 12150, which also contains Titos of Bostra's *Against the Manichaeans* that survived only partially in its original Greek (Roman et al. 2013). Other Byzantine ecclesiastical authors were also translated or at least summarized: Sokrates Scholastikos (cf. Debié 2009a: 25), Sozomenos, Theodoretos, Zacharias Scholastikos/Rhetor (Brooks 1919, 1924), and even Malalas (Witakowski 1990; Debié 2004).

In the western Syriac tradition, the influence of patterns and texts related to Greek historiography were much more important than among the eastern Syriacs (whose historiography mostly developed from biographical and hagiographical traditions, cf. Debié 2009a: 14–18). The early Byzantine tradition of ecclesiastical history and chronography is evident in the *Chronicle* of Zuqnin (also known as the *Chronicle* of Pseudo-Dionysius; Chabot 1927–1933) through the influence of Eusebios's *Chronicon* (CPG 3494), which was also important for the *Chronicles* of John of Ephesos (Brooks 1935–1936) and Jacob of Edessa (Brooks 1905–1907) (for an overview of the influence of Eusebian tradition on Syriac historiography, see Witakowski 1999–2000). Ecclesiastical historiography proved an important tool in the building of a communal identity that opposed the Council of Chalcedon (Blaudeau 2006; Debié 2009b; Francisco 2011). In this respect, of prime importance was also the Syriac translation and adaptation of the work of Zacharias by a pseudonymous author (Greatrex 2006 and 2009; Francisco 2011: 37–59).

Suggestions for Further Reading

Baumstark (1922) and Barsoum (2003) are the two most comprehensive surveys of Syriac literature; see also Riedel (2012) and Brock (2016); also Tannus 2020 (on Syriac epistolography). Several recent online resources cover a wide range of related topics and often may provide a good starting point for studying the subject:

- Manuscript catalogues:
  http://syri.ac/manuscripts
- Syriac Manuscripts available online:
  http://www.syriac.talktalk.net/On-line-Syriac-MSS.html
- Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana-Digitalized Syriac Manuscripts:
  http://www.mss.vatlib.it/gui/scan/link1.jsp?fond=Vat.sir.
- *e-GEDSH*, an electronic version of the 2011 edition of the *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage*, published by Gorgias Press on behalf of the *Beth Mardutho: The Syriac Institute*:
  https://gedsh.bethmardutho.org/index.html
- Syriac Studies Reference Library
  http://cpart.mi.byu.edu/home/ssrl/

- A comprehensive bibliography on Syriac Christianity: http://www.csc.huji.ac.il/db/browse.aspx?db=SB&stY=2011&etY=&sT=years
- *Hugoye*, Journal of Syriac Studies: https://hugoye.bethmardutho.org/index.html
- The Syriac Gazetteer: http://syriaca.org/geo/index.html
  This site has announced the publication of:
  The Syriac Biographical Dictionary (SBD, eds. D. Michelson, N. Gibson, Th. Carlson, and J.-N. Mellon Saint-Laurent).
  Bibliotheca Hagiographica Syriaca Electronica (BHSE; eds. J.-N. Saint-Laurent, D. A. Michelson, U. Zanetti, and C. Detienne).
- An annotated bibliography of Syriac resources online, maintained by Scott Johnson and Jack Tannous: syri.ac. This site, hosted by the University of Oklahoma, gives a list of open access resources for the study of Syriac Christianity.

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SECTION IV ARMENIAN

THEO MAARTEN VAN LINT

Language and Culture in Artašēsian (Artaxiad) and Aršakuni (Arsacid) Armenian society

The Armenian kingdom, ruled since the Compromise of Rhandeia in 63 CE by a scion of the Parthian Arsacid royal house crowned by Rome, was syncretic in culture and religion, with a deeply rooted Iranian layer next to a more recently introduced Hellenistic stratum. Since Achaemenid times, Armenians had adhered to a form of Zoroastrianism, to which Hellenistic elements were gradually added. These included cities, international trade, and coinage on which the Artaxiad (Artašēsian) kings of the second and first century BCE declared themselves Philhellenes. Greek inscriptions from the same period, found in Armawir, one of the successive capitals, show familiarity with the Macedonian calendar and with Greek literature, while bronze statues of Greek gods were imported, and their names were used interchangeably with Zoroastrian ones. They stand next to gods of Semitic origin. Armenia began to form part of the international networks of the wider Mediterranean world. Nevertheless, the Iranian element of Armenian society remained strong, featuring Iranian court ritual and a social structure based on a tight

network of noble families with very considerable influence and a propensity for living on their estates rather than in cities.

The linguistic situation shows a similar syncretic picture. Greek and Aramaic were official court languages. One of the Greek inscriptions at Armawir preserves a poem lamenting the death, in 200 BCE, of Armenian king Ervand (Orontes IV), which may have been composed by an itinerant Greek poet for the occasion (De Lamberterie 1999). The active knowledge of Greek by Armenians was probably restricted to an educated elite. A century later, at the court of Tigran II the Great (r. 95–55 BCE), Greek philosophers and rhetoricians were present and Greek drama was performed. King Artawazd II (55–34 BCE) wrote tragedies in Greek that were still known in the second century CE.

With the rule of the Parthian dynasty of the Arsacids over Armenia, one may assume that the elite spoke both Parthian and Armenian, while the latter would be the language of the larger part of the population. Other languages were spoken as well. Outside court circles, knowledge of Greek spread through participation of Armenians in academic life in the eastern Mediterranean. In the Athenian school of rhetoric, the Armenian Prohaeresius (276–369) was professor of Gregory the Theologian and Basil the Great. In fourth-century Antioch, Libanios counted many Armenians among his students. In the sixth century, Armenians were educated at the Neoplatonic school in Alexandria. A century later, the polymath Anania Širakac'i was a pupil of Tychikos in Trebizond, while Step'anos Siwnec'i (d. 735) translated the works attributed to Dionysios the Areopagite into Armenian in Constantinople, where he met many other Armenians (Calzolari 2016; Thomson 1987). Literary works written and performed in Greek may thus have had a reception in Armenia that is only partially traceable, and which will have varied in intensity over time. It does underline the fact that translations from Greek into Armenian, which start to be produced in written form immediately after the invention of the Armenian alphabet in the early fifth century CE, do not constitute the beginning of Armenian engagement with the Greek written tradition.

Christianity was present in Armenia well before King Trdat adopted it as state religion in c. 314. This was the final result of evangelization by Syriac-speaking missionaries from Mesopotamia and Persia, and in Greek, from Cappadocia, by Saint Gregory the Illuminator (*Surb Grigor Lusaworič'*), as related in Agat'angełos's *History of the Armenians* (Thomson 1976). Several variants of the *Life of Saint Gregory* soon were translated into Greek and other languages of the Christian world (Thomson 2010).

During the fourth century, the liturgy was celebrated in these two languages, followed by an oral translation, in the vein of oral transmission of the religious and heroic traditions that had been customary in the country. This also fitted with the tradition of commentary on the Hebrew Bible for Aramaic-speaking Jews in the various *targum*s. Armenian borrowed the root of this word to express the idea of interpretation and translation (*t'argmanut'iwn*): the "Holy Translators" who made the Bible available in Armenian are called the *Surb T'argmanič'k'.*

However, circumstances made more effective communication of the Christian message and its liturgical celebration necessary. In c. 387, Armenia was divided into a smaller

Byzantine and a much larger Sasanian sphere of influence. Strict Sasanian adherence to Zoroastrianism rendered Christianity suspect as inherently undermining the order of the state and as a potential pro-Byzantine force. A unified Armenian language was required to overcome dialectal variety, as well as an alphabet to write it in. These would be effective in countering rival religions and interpretations of Christianity considered non-orthodox, such as Arianism and Marcionism. Moreover, they would enhance cultural cohesion among Armenians living in the various entities under Byzantine and Sasanian control.

Toward the end of the fourth century, a more tolerant Sasanian religious policy opened the possibility for the creation of an alphabet. The efforts of the ascetic Mesrop Maštocʻ (d. 439) and his pupils, as well as the Armenian patriarch Sahak Partʻew (the Great, r. 387–439) and King Vṙamšapuh (r. 389/401–417), led to the invention by Maštocʻ of a writing system accurately reflecting Armenian phonetics (c. 405). It initiated a comprehensive translation program by Maštocʻ and his disciples, beginning with the Bible, next to which original works quickly began to be written. The first of these may have been Koriwn's *Life of Maštocʻ* (dating from the 440s), which sets out the events leading up to the invention and the ensuing translation activities (Norehad 1964; Winkler 1994).

Formation of a Matrix for the Inculturation of Greek Religious and Secular Texts

Direct access to Greek texts, as well as their translations, led to familiarity with Greek models of composition. These were quickly absorbed for original composition (Muradyan 2014a, 2017; Calzolari 2016; Orengo 2016; Tinti 2016b). Movsēs Xorenacʻi's *History of Armenia* (in its current form, probably eighth century) owes much to Eusebios of Caesarea (Thomson 2006). Movsēs adheres to the principle of chronology it propagates, and only admits information from the Iranian world if Greek sources are lacking, and that solely insofar as he considers them reliable. Another phenomenon is that of "hybrid" texts, containing a mixture of original material and translated matter, such as in the *Book of Chreiai*, a Christianized redaction of Aphthonios's *Progymnasmata*, for educational purposes (Muradyan 1993), or the incorporation of a translated discourse in a polemic text, as is the case of Methodios of Olympos's (d. c. 311) *De Autexusio*—Eznik of Kołb translates this partly literally and partly in a very free manner, and integrates it almost in its entirety into his *Refutation of the Sects*, also known as *De Deo*, written in the fifth decade of the fifth century (Orengo 2016).

Greek texts reached Armenian also through intermediaries. For instance, parts of the Bible and also Basil the Great's *Hexaemeron* reached Armenia in translations from Syriac (Thomson 1995a). Others Greek texts were first translated in Armenian Chalcedonian circles from Georgian: in the thirteenth century, Simēon Płndzahanecʻi translated

Proklos's *Elements of Theology*, Ioannes Damaskenos's *Fountain of Knowledge*, Ioannes Sinaites's *Ladder*, and the Greek *Book of Hours*. Arabic was the source language of the ninth-century translation of the *Commentary on the Gospel of John* by Nonnos of Nisibis, and is indebted to the Syriac commentary tradition—including also its own absorption of Greek writing, in its miaphysite orientation (Thomson 2014). In the course of the centuries, more translations—among others from Middle Iranian, Persian, Latin, Italian, and Norman French—were made, in a variety of genres, reflecting the contexts in which relations developed, following the vicissitudes of politics, theology, trade, and cultural interaction, alongside which translations from Greek continued to be undertaken.

Relevance of Translation into Armenian for Greek Philology and Literature

A number of texts that are not known to be extant in the original Greek have been preserved in an Armenian translation only, or together with translations into one or more other languages. From the point of view of Greek philology, a very precise rendering into Armenian opens up possibilities for text reconstruction.

Morani (2011) lists a series of texts preserved in Armenian but not in Greek; the following enumeration is not exhaustive. These include: works by Philo of Alexandria (Mancini Lombardi and Pontani 2011); books four and five of Irenaeus of Lyons's *Adversus haereses* (of better quality than the preserved Latin version; CPG 1306), and his *Demonstratio apostolicae praedicationis* (CPG 1307); Eusebios of Caesarea's *Chronicon* (CPG 3494); John Chrysostom's *Commentary on Isaiah* (better preserved in its Armenian translation than in Greek; CPG 4416), as well as several homilies ascribed to Chrysostom (CPG 5160 and 5165–5166 and 5170).[1] Further, one may mention Hesychios of Jerusalem's *Commentary on Job* (CPG 6551) and Cyril of Alexandria's *Scolii de incarnatione unigeniti* (CPG 5225); a number of homilies by Severianos of Gabala and by Eusebios of Emesa—the latter's *Commentary on the Octateuch* (CPG 3542), of which fragments are extant in Syriac and Greek, is preserved, at least for Genesis, in its entirety in Armenian, albeit under the name of Cyril of Alexandria (Petit, Van Rompay, and Weitenberg 2011: 183). Among Basil the Great's spuria are *De eleemosyna et*

[1] Among them, and wrongly ascribed to Chrysostom, are a *Panegyric of Saint Gregory the Illuminator* and another work, also falsely attributed to Chrysostom's pupil Theophilos, works known since the twelfth century only. Both may have been composed originally in Greek; however, their patriotism points to Armenian patronage and possibly authorship—they cannot, in any case, precede Grigor Narekac'i' (c. 950–c. 1003). The two texts were highly influential on post-twelfth-century panegyrics on Gregory the Illuminator (Terian 2005).

precatione (CPG 2982) and *De eleemosyna et in-eleemosyna*, the latter of which is sometimes attributed to Yovhannēs Mandakuni (Fedwick 1996: vol. II.2, 1217). Important for the Christological controversies is the *Refutation of the Conclusions of the Council of Chalcedon* by Timotheos Ailouros. A text sometimes thought to be Zeno's *On Nature* was published under the title *Pseudo-Zeno's Anonymous Philosophical Treatise* (Stone and Shirinian 2000).

Moreover, translations may be based on a Greek text that precedes, sometimes by several centuries, the oldest surviving Greek version of the text. The Armenian version thus preserves an older textual situation than the Greek copies do. Examples include the *Alexander Romance*, the α recension of which in its Armenian transmission is of better quality than the Greek witness (Wolohojian 1969; Simonyan 1989); the *Progymnasmata* by Theon (Patillon [and Bolognesi] 1997), for the edition of which the Armenian witness often presents better readings than the Greek manuscripts do (Morani 2011: 28); and Georgios Pisides's *Hexaemeron* (Uluhogian 1991). Further instances are the Armenian versions of Nemesios of Emesa's *On Human Nature* (CPG 3550) (Morani 1987), Sokrates's *Ecclesiastical History* (Hansen and Shirinian 1995), and the Armenian Aristotle (Tessier 1979), while Eznik's *Against the Sects* was used for the critical edition of the Greek text of Methodios *De Autexusio*, as was its Slavonic version (Orengo 2016). The critical editions of the works of Gregory the Theologian take the oriental versions into consideration (Lafontaine and Coulie 1983), and Bonfiglio (2011) has shown the benefits of such an approach for the critical edition of John Chrysostom as well.

Translation Technique and Matters of Chronology

Written translations were instrumental in the process of Christianization. Fundamental is the use of two different techniques that scholars initially deemed to have followed one another chronologically. This view has come under increasing pressure.

In the first approach, initiated by the rendering of the biblical text into Armenian, the sense of a phrase was translated, *sensus de senso*. In the words of Brock (1979), the reader is brought to the text, as was the case in the earliest phase (fourth–fifth centuries) of translation from Greek into Syriac, and likewise, from Greek into Slavonic: the Greek is rendered into idiomatic Armenian, Syriac, and Old Slavonic. The Armenian translators were led by the principles set out in the introduction to Eusebios of Emesa's *Commentary on the Octateuch* (Yovhannisean 1980)—the original Greek of which is lost—which is worth quoting here (from Muradyan 2012: 1; cf. Petit, Van Rompay, and Weitenberg 2011: 22–23):

> Each language has specific phrases which, although seeming to their users nice, clear, expressive and fitting in their place, when they are translated to another language with the same words, they do not express the meaning . . . because it is necessary to

> give up the specific idiom of each language and translate and renarrate the meaning of the language. . . . If one is not guided by this principle of translation, one causes great trouble to the readers.

The other approach is perhaps best called the Grecizing approach (cf. Muradyan 2012), rather than the habitual Hellenizing or Hellenophile School (*hunaban dproc'*), since scholarship is divided over the existence of a form of organization into a particular "school." The translation technique used is characterized as *verbum e verbo*, copying syntax, word building, and other grammatical characteristics of Greek into Armenian. In its most extreme variant, translation was undertaken morpheme by morpheme, which together with the calquing of Greek syntactic constructions alien to, or only limitedly applied in Armenian, made understanding difficult in the absence of the Greek original. In this case, Brock (1979) speaks about bringing the text to the reader.[2]

According to the traditional view, the first approach would have dominated most of the fifth century, while the second would be characteristic for translations made from the late fifth century to c. 730. Scholars have devoted much energy in particular to the second approach, which has led to a revision of the division into three chronologically sequential groups of texts set out in Manandean's fundamental study *The Hellenising School and the Periods of Its Development* (1928). Akinean (1932) soon added a fourth group, while a group of texts—in particular, the orations of Gregory the Theologian (Coulie 1994; Sirinian 1999; Coulie and Sirinian 1999; Sanspeur 2007)—were identified and named "pre-hellenizing" (pre-hellénophile, *naxahunaban*) by Lafontaine and

[2] Some examples may bring out the considerable differences between the approaches. These are culled from the Bible, biblical citations from Philo of Alexandria and the anti-Chalcedonian treatise by Timotheos Ailouros (all taken from Muradyan 2014a: 321–322). The first translation represents the Classical, *ad sensum* technique, with examples from the Bible, followed after the slash by a Grecizing one:

1. ἐπίσκοπος (Acts 20:28) – *tesuč' / vera-ditoł* (Timotheos Ailouros 1908 [Tim.])
   Tim.: Greek prefix rendered by a prefix existing in Classical Armenian;
2. καταβήσεται (Rom. 10:7) – *ijanic'ē / stor-ekesc'ē* (Tim. 306)
   Tim.: Greek prefix rendered by a newly invented prefix;
3. εἰρηνοποιήσας (Col. 1:20) – *arar zxałałut'iwn / xałał-a-gorceal* (Tim. 313)
   Bible: Greek compound with two roots rendered with an expression made of the same lexical compounds
   Tim.: this Greek compound rendered by a neologism (literally);
4. μία αὐτῶν ... καὶ μία αὐτῶν (Deut 21:15–16 = Philo, Legum Allegoriae 2.48) - i noc'anē min . . . ew miwsn / mi sac'a . . . ew mi sac'a (Philo, Aylabanut'iwn)
   Bible: Partitive ablative
   Philo: Feminine forms of demonstrative pronouns (gender is absent in Armenian, *sac'a* is therefore an artificial form based on dem. pron. *sa*; and partitive genitive);
5. ἐκ . . . ἀκολουθούσης πέτρας (1 Cor. 10:4) - *i vimēn, or ert'ayr zhet noc'a / i . . . hetewec'eloy vimēn* (Tim. 307)
   Bible: attributively used participle rendered by a relative clause
   Tim.: this participle rendered by a past participle; different lexical units in the two versions.

Coulie (1983). Criticism of the traditional view included the observation that the criteria applied for assignment to a particular group proved not exclusive, while the phenomenon was not absolute. Weitenberg (2001–2002) distinguishes two fundamental criteria for a text to be considered Hellenizing: the specific type of word-formation must be present, and the text must show the expected transposition of Greek syntax into Armenian. He identified twenty-one peculiarities of syntactic Grecisms, fourteen of which are exclusively attributable to imitation of Greek, while the remainder can be explained as developments of elements present in the Armenian language, but extrapolated or driven to their limits.

While the date for Grecizing elements entering the language usually given is imprecise, the final date, associated with the work of Step'anos Siwnec'i (d. 735), is arbitrary as well, in particular if one would cease to speak of a "school" of translation. It is a fact that Grecisms in Armenian abound in the original work of the eleventh-century layman erudite Grigor Pahlawuni Magistros (d. 1058), as well as in what may possibly be identified as his translations. One probably has to allow for periods, areas, and monastic schools where Grecizing tendencies were stronger than at other times and places, and envisage a situation whereby translators, as well as authors of original work, would choose their style as they preferred or as they considered the situation called for. Various explanations for the occurrence of the Grecizing tendency have been proposed. Muradyan (2014a: 323) relates it to the change in contents of the translated texts, complemented by the general pattern in the literary process, as demonstrated by typological parallels observable in, e.g., Armenian, Syriac, and Old-Slavonic. Muradyan also considers Mahé's more precise view (Mahé 1988: 252–253), embraced by Weitenberg (2000: 447), here set out in the latter's words:

> The change of paradigm may reflect a change in exegetical outlook from factual Antiochene to allegorical Alexandrian, the latter requiring the availability of precise textual renderings. This Alexandrian influence in turn is chronologically related to the religious disputes leading to the final rejection of the doctrine of Chalcedon by the Armenian Church [at] the second Council of Dvin in 555. Mahé's perspective is culturally well embedded and therefore preferable to the alternative view, according to which the new paradigm rather originated in Constantinople around 570 (Terian 1982: 183).

While this correlation gives a plausible explanation for the more radical occurrence of Grecisms, the degrees of its occurrence varied over time, as Shirinian has pointed out (2001). This even extends to different copies of the same translation, showing active scribal intervention. Coulie (1994–1995) stresses that there was no linear development from the first approach to the other, without discrediting, and in fact underlining, the relation of this phenomenon to the two exegetical schools mentioned by Mahé (1988).[3]

[3] See further Muradyan (2005) that examines the case of the *Physiologos*.

The Texts

Translations from Greek cover a range of areas in Armenian literature. They comprise, first, biblical texts (not addressed here; see Cowe 2012 and Cox 2014) and, second, the related corpus of liturgical and patristic texts, including commentaries, homilies, apologetics, martyrs' *Passions*, and saints' *Lives* (some of the most prominent were mentioned earlier; here the *CPG* and the *BHO* form important reference guides; see further Mahé 1995 and Cowe 2011). In between these two groups, in terms of narrative texts, we encounter biblical pseudepigrapha and apocrypha, which were very popular in Armenian, with its rich tradition of texts "embroidering the Bible" (Stone 2014; and, further, Terian 2008a; Calzolari 2014; and DiTommasso, Henze, and Adler 2018).[4]

A third area consists of the religious correspondence mostly gathered in the *Book of Letters*[5] (recent studies on the earliest relations with the Church in Jerusalem [Terian 2008b] have underlined the importance of this collection, of which a complete translation into English remains a *desideratum*[6]) and a fourth strand comprises historiography, on which it may be worthy to dwell here.

The two authors that the Armenians considered most important in Christian Greek historiography are Eusebios of Caesarea, with his *Chronicle* and *Ecclesiastical History*, and Sokrates Scholastikos, who continued Eusebios's work with his own *Ecclesiastical History*, beginning with the reign of Constantine and running to 439. Both works were translated early, while it is interesting to note that Eusebios's *Ecclesiastical History* was translated from Syriac, not from the Greek original. The person of Constantine was not the least reason for Sokrates's popularity in Armenia, but also the period described, set before the Council of Chalcedon in 451 which the Armenian Church—much later—rejected, was held in high regard as one of perceived universal agreement in the Christian Church. Around Sokrates's *History* a cluster of texts amalgamated over the centuries, giving this important Greek witness of Christian historiography a significant role in the Armenian literary tradition.

[4] Such apocrypha and pseudepigrapha began to be studied in earnest only at the end of the nineteenth into the early twentieth century, and then again from the 1960s onward. For instance, Armenian preserves the widely popular *Acts of Thekla,* in a translation from Syriac. Together with the *Apocryphal Correspondence of Paul with the Corinthians* and the *Passion* of Paul, the *Acts of Thekla* formed part of the *Acts of Paul*, written in Greek in the first half of the second century, but not preserved as a whole in the original language. These are all extant in Armenian. The *Acts* have been subject to various interpretations, its study subject to the caveats of the linguistic turn as well as feminist approaches, and the Armenian version has informed original writing about female saints such as Sanduxt and Hřip'simē, representing two different aspects of Thekla, that of holy virgin and of holy preacher (Calzolari 2017).

[5] Editions: Գիրք թղթոց [*The Book of Letters*], published in Tiflis 1901; and Połarean 1994.

[6] Terian (2008b) rectifies the erroneous view that the letter of Macarius of Jerusalem to the Armenians is a product of the sixth century, and dates it instead to 335, thereby restoring a document of primary importance to its rightful place, witnessing to the early development of Christian liturgy and to reforms required in Armenia.

In Armenian, Sokrates's *Ecclesiastical History* exists in two different versions, a first one, close to the Greek, referred to as SI (also called the *Longer Socrates*), of which the translator remains anonymous and the date approximate,[7] and a later version (SII, or *Shorter Socrates*), prefaced by an adaptation of the translation of the *Life of Sylvester*, which is not preserved independently (Thomson 2005).

The second version, about half as long as SI, is based on the existing translation (although the adaptor may have known the Greek text), containing additions to it as well. A twelfth-century colophon states that in the year 144 according to the Armenian era (namely, 695/696 CE) P'ilon Tirakac'i adapted the text. The Hellenizing morphology and syntax of both versions point to a date for the translation sometime between 500 and 650, possibly in Constantinople. SII is, as noted, prefaced by an adaptation of the *Life of Sylvester*, about which another colophon in the same manuscript states that it was translated (from Greek, itself a translation from the original Latin) in 678 by the abbot Grigor Dzorap'or. SII had a wider circulation than SI and had significant impact (Shirinian 2003, 2004). An important aspect of the relevance of the stories transmitted therein lies in the elaboration and re-actualization of the relations between Constantine, the emperor of the Roman Empire, and Trdat, king of Armenia, as well as their ecclesiastical counterparts, Pope Sylvester and Saint Gregory the Illuminator.[8]

A further area of Armenian texts translated from the Greek clusters around what are conventionally known as the seven *artes liberales*, divided in the *trivium* and *quadrivium*.[9] Pertaining to the *trivium* is the Armenian version of the textbook of grammar in Byzantium, Dionysios of Thrace's (c. 170–c. 90 BCE) *Art of Grammar*, which gave rise to a string of commentaries, as well as to the invention of, e.g., morphological categories absent in Armenian, such as gender (Adontz 1970; Clackson 1995). The rhetorical handbooks of Theon's *Progymnasmata* and the *Book of Chreiai*, texts mentioned earlier, belong here as well. Dialectic (or logic), in its late antique, Neoplatonic form, is also well represented in Armenian translation. Neoplatonic philosophy was known in Armenia through the works of the sixth-century author David the Invincible Philosopher (Davit' Anyałt') that commented on the Aristotelian corpus.[10] Finally, education in the

[7] The faithful rendering of the Greek in SI made it a valuable witness in the establishment of a critical text of the Greek original, published in 1995 by Hansen, with contributions on the Armenian by Širinjan.

[8] This became particularly pressing in the period of the re-establishment of an Armenian kingdom, in Cilicia, which came about in 1198. A text using, among several others, this complex is the *Letter of Love and Concord* (Pogossian 2010), which is dated by the editor between 1190 and 1204. Details in the *Letter* show that the author may have been familiar not only with the Armenian VS, but with the Greek text as well.

[9] A recent comprehensive probe into the field is Širinian's *Antique and Hellenistic Elements of Christian Teaching [On the Material of the Comparison of Armenian and Greek–Classical and Byzantine–Sources]* (2005).

[10] His works are beginning to become available in translation in modern languages; his *Definitions and Divisions of Philosophy* in English (Kendall and Thomson 1983) and in Italian, with introductory survey and study of the "Hellenizing School" (Contin 2014). Since 2009 the series *Commentaria in Aristotelem Armeniaca: Davidis Opera*, led by Calzolari and Barnes, has seen the publication so far of an introductory volume (Calzolari and Barnes 2009); David's *Commentary* on Aristotle's *Prior Analytics*, which gives the Old Armenian text with English translation, introduction, and notes (Topchyan 2010);

quadrivium in Armenia is associated with the only fragmentarily preserved *K'nnikon* of the seventh-century scholar Anania Širakac'i, and revived by Grigor Pahlawuni Magistros in the eleventh century (Mahé 1987).[11]

Suggestions for Further Reading

Surveys and edited volumes discussing trends and works, and tracing the developments in scholarship, with excellent bibliographies, are given in Ter-Petrossian (1992), Mahé (1996 and 1998), Finazzi (2012), Muradyan (2012,) and Tinti (2012, 2016a, and 2016b), and Gazzano, Pagani, and Traina (2016). Zuckerman (2001) lists published works translated from Greek. For general bibliographies, see Thomson (1995b and 2007). McCollum (2015) touches briefly on Armenian translations from Greek. For Byzantine juridical texts, see Kaufhold (1997), Mardirossian (2004), and Shirinian, Muradyan, and Topchyan (2010).

It may be added here that Armenian texts also were translated into Greek. Two are the most notable cases: a mid-fifth-century version of Agat'angełos's *History of the Armenians*, which offers a version of the *Life of Gregory the Illuminator* (BHG 712) (on the complicated relationships among versions, that include Syriac and Arabic, see Garitte 1946; Lafontaine 1973; Winkler 1980; Thomson 2010; and Cowe 2011: 303–307) and also a pro-Chalcedonian Armenian history, dated to c. 700, preserved only in a pre-eleventh-century Greek version, known under the title *Narratio de rebus Armeniae* (Garitte 1952 and Mahé 1994–1995).

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and following the same format, to which the Greek original is added, David's *Commentary* on Porphyry's *Eisagoge* (Muradyan 2015).

[11] The plausibility of an ascription to the latter of the Armenian translation of Plato's *Timaeus* is the subject of recent research by Tinti (2012, 2016a). For the reception of Galen in Armenian (to name one more pre-Byzantine text, taught in the context of the *quadrivium*), see Greppin (1985) and Orengo and Tinti (2019); for Armenian medical literature in relation to the Greek tradition, see also Jouanna and Mahé (2004).

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SECTION V GEORGIAN

NIKOLOZ ALEKSIDZE

Medieval Georgian literature is overwhelmingly defined by translations of Greek texts, a fact that renders it a veritable wellspring for the study of the Byzantine literary tradition (Coulie 1994).[1] It was with Byzantium that the Georgians retained their closest cultural contacts and the process of translation of Greek literature into Georgian continued even after the political end of the Byzantine Empire. In spite of the fascination with Byzantine culture, the intensity of translation activity by and for Georgians was not always the same. An abundance of translations in all genres within a short period of time alternated with periods of long and persistent silence. Often, when Georgians were not exposed to the original material, Byzantine texts were translated through the medium of Arabic, Armenian, and, in some rare and disputable cases, Syriac, and later Russian. Due to this irregularity, constructing a coherent narrative of the history of medieval Georgian translations is a difficult task. This is particularly true for the earlier period: from the first attested pieces of Georgian writing in the fifth century to the tenth century, just before the Athonite translators (see later discussion) began their work.

Another typical feature of Georgian translations is that a large number of texts, particularly those with extensive liturgical usage, even if translated early on, were often re-translated by the Athonites and later by their students and followers. Some of the early translations disappeared entirely, surviving only in fragmented palimpsests, or in reworkings incorporated into various collections, but having lost all their archaic

[1] Georgian proper names and words are transcribed according to the system adopted by the *Library of Congress*.

features. In other cases, several translations of the same text survived in their entirety. The practice of multiple translations was usually justified by the fact that initial translations were not executed directly from the Greek or they were inadequate, or else they did not fit within the general mission of a specific "school." Here different trends may be identified: in the tenth century the Athonites attempted to expose a large number of texts to wide audiences; in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries highly stylized versions for very limited audiences were created, particularly at the Gelatʻi monastic school.

The best example of such different approaches is evident in the Georgian fate of the works of Gregory the Theologian, which were translated within virtually all literary schools, both independently and as each other's continuation (on this, see later discussion; for the editions, see Metreveli et al. 1998, 2000, 2001, 2004, 2007, 2013; Coulie 1987). Other examples include: Basil's *Hexaemeron*, which was first translated in the eighth century (Abuladze 1964) and again in the eleventh by Georgios Hagiorites; the four independent translations of Basil's *Askêtikon* translated between the tenth and eighteenth centuries (Kajaia 1992); and the three translations of the *Great Kanôn* of Andreas of Crete—first by Euthymios the Iberian, then by Georgios Hagiorites, and finally by Arseni of Iqʻalto in the twelfth century.

Despite these complications, Georgian translations from the Greek are conventionally ascribed to three chronological periods:

(a) The period before the Athonite translators (from the fifth through the tenth century) is identified as *pre-Athonite*. During this period, Georgian monastic communities flourished in Palestine, on Sinai, and in Georgia proper, particularly in the Tao, Klarjetʻi and the Šavšetʻi regions.
(b) The *Athonite* period, otherwise known as the "golden age" or the "Byzantine period" of Georgian literature (tenth–eleventh centuries), refers mostly to the work undertaken by Euthymios and Georgios III Hagiorites, together with their students and followers at the Iveron Monastery on Mount Athos. This period was the apogee of the Georgian literary translation activities that included work on almost all genres of Byzantine literature.
(c) The third period is initially marked by the appearance of Georgian communities and literary schools in the vicinity of Antioch. This period (from the eleventh through the thirteenth century), is usually referred to as the "hellenophile" period and is represented by Ephrem Mcʻire and Arseni of Iqaltʻo. Its apogee occurred in the twelfth through the thirteenth centuries in the Gelatʻi monastic school in western Georgia, represented chiefly by Ioane Petrici, "the Platonic Philosopher."

Translation activity seems to have ceased after the Mongol invasion in the thirteenth century, only to flourish anew in the eighteenth century, when the translation of Greek literature was revived with new rigor, this time mostly through the Russian medium (Coulie 1994: 334).

Pre-Athonite Period (Fifth–Tenth Centuries)

The earliest period of Georgian literature remains largely a *terra incognita*. Georgian writing seems to have appeared by the fifth century, as attested in the earliest Georgian inscriptions in Palestine. Thereafter translation of Greek literary texts was initiated. The earliest translations were made in the monasteries of Palestine and particularly at the Lavra of Mar Saba during the fifth and sixth centuries (Mgaloblishvili 2001). An important collection of some of these works survives in the so-called *Vienna Codex*, with early translations of books of the Bible, the *Protoevangelium of James*, and the *Passions* of Kyprianos and Ioustina, and of Christina (Gippert et al. 2007). Most works were translated from the Greek, but several texts were translated through an Arabic medium (once this language appeared on the scene) and were preserved either in these two languages or in Georgian only (Nanobashvili 2003; Pataridze 2013). Apart from a number of hagiographical works, a notable example of a translation through the Arabic is the *Sack of Jerusalem* by Antiochos Strategos (CPG 7846; Garitte 1960). Similarly, the Georgian version of Ioannes Moschos's *Spiritual Meadow*, preserved in a tenth-century Sinaitic manuscript (O/Sin.geo.549), was most probably translated from the Arabic *Al-Bustān* (Gvaramia 1965).

The Lavra of Mar Saba remained the preeminent center of Georgian writing until the tenth century, when due to the continual Arab raids, most Georgian monks migrated to Mount Sinai, where a strong Georgian community was established. Later, in the first half of the eleventh century, Prokhoros the Iberian founded a new Georgian monastery near Jerusalem, the monastery of Holy Cross, with a large library of Georgian manuscripts (Blake 1924). Meanwhile, in Georgia proper, with the expansion and centralization of the Georgian kingdoms, new and old monasteries flourished in the Tao, Klarjet'i, and Šavšet'i regions, such as Oški, Xaxuli, Šatberdi, Opiza, and Xanžt'a. These and many other centers nurtured and educated the monks and writers who later founded the Georgian monastery on Mount Athos (Martin-Hisard 1983). Perhaps the most famous manuscript stemming from these southeastern Georgian provinces is the so-called Šatberdi codex, which contains pre-tenth-century translations of patristic authors, including Hippolytos of Rome (CPG 1871; Garitte 1965), Epiphanios of Cyprus (CPG 3748, Blake and De Vis 1934; CPG 3766: the *Physiologos*, attributed to Epiphanios) and Gregory of Nyssa (CPG 3154, *On the Creation of Man*; Abuladze 1964).

The library of Saint Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai has preserved the largest number of codices containing pre-tenth-century translations, particularly rich in hagiographical collections, ascetic literature—such as an alphabetical redaction of the *Apopthegmata Patrum* (O/Sin.geo 8; tenth century) and other collections of ascetic and hagiographical texts (O/Sin.geo 25; O/Sin.ge 35; O/Sin.geo 80)—, homilies of the early Church Fathers (O/Sin.geo 32; O/Sin.geo 36; O/Sin.geo 68), etc. Some of these codices

present particularly noteworthy material; e.g., O/Sin.geo 25 and O/Sin.geo 35 include the complete letters of Antony the Great (Garitte 1955).[2]

The Bible

The earliest testimonies of the Georgian version of the Bible are the so-called *Xanmeti* palimpsest fragments (c. seventh century) that survived as lower layers of several codices (see, e.g., Gippert et al. 2007). The direct source for the Old Testament books is a controversial subject, with views differing over whether they were translated directly from the Greek or through a Syro-Armenian version. The oldest surviving and only complete collection of biblical books is the so-called *Oški Bible* (dated to 978) commissioned by John Tornikios (d. 985), copied in the Oški Monastery and sent to Mount Athos. It includes the earliest translations, some of which are dated to the fifth century (Kharanauli 2004; Childers 2012).

Similar to other translations, the history of the Georgian Gospels is also divided into pre-Athonite, Athonite, and Hellenophile versions. Two redactions of the pre-Athonite Gospels have been further identified: the Adiši (dated to 897) and the Opiza redaction (dated to 913). The antiquity of these two redactions is witnessed by the seventh-century *Xanmeti* fragments, which reveal affinities with both of these recensions (Childers 2012, 166–167; Kajaia 1984, 2014; Gippert et al. 2007). The source of the translation (Greek, Armenian, Syriac?) remains debatable (for an overview, see Childers 2012).

Liturgical Collections

Perhaps the greatest contribution of the Georgian translated corpus is to the study of the early liturgical tradition and the Jerusalemite rite (Verhelst 2006; Frøyshov 2012). The Georgian tradition covers all the liturgical books of Jerusalem from the fifth until the eleventh century, when the Georgian Church replaced the Jerusalem liturgy with the so-called Byzantine one (Chronz 2009; Frøyshov 2012). Most of the relevant liturgical manuscripts (fifty of the Old Collection) are housed on Sinai. They include the Jerusalem lectionary (Tarchnišvili 1950–1960 and Gippert 2004–2007 with Leeb 1970: 23–26 and Galadza 2013), the *Euchologion* (Chelidze 2006; Brakmann 2004), the *Typikon*, the *Hôrologion* (Frøyshov 2003), a calendar (Garitte 1958) and a *Synaxarion* (Marr 1926), other liturgical collections (Jeffery 1994), and hymnals.

The Georgian version of the Jerusalem hymnal is known in two distinct versions: the Ancient and the New *Iadgari.* The etymology of the word *Iadgari* is unclear, but it most

[2] For a full description of the old collection of Sinaitic manuscripts, see Garitte (1956); for the new collection, see Aleksidze et al. (2005); also Gippert (2010).

certainly derived from Middle Persian *yadgar* (= memory, commemoration). A colophon in O/Sin.geo. 11 identified the *Iadgari* with the Greek early liturgical book called *Tropologion*. *Iadgaris* must have appeared in the eighth century as complements to the *Lectionaries* and included hymns for the entire liturgical year. As complete hymnals, they are known only in Georgian (Renoux 1993, 2000, 2007, 2014). In time the *Iadgari* was entirely separated from the *Lectionary* and evolved its own characteristic features. As a result of the 1975 finds on Sinai, thirty-nine manuscripts of *Iadgaris* were identified, most of which are dated to the tenth century and were copied in Palestine or Sinai. The Ancient *Iadgari* has no immediate Greek equivalent and is a witness to the ancient hymnals of Jerusalem, known in their fullness only in Georgian (Metreveli, Cankievi, and Khevsuriani 1980; Khevsuriani 1984; Frøyshov 2012; cf. also Shoemaker 2018). From the ninth and tenth centuries, a new redaction of the *Iadgari* was made and supplied with new translations. The New *Iadgari* remains unedited except for certain parts (Mahé 1987). The Sinaitic Codex O.Sin-34, the fullest witness of the Sabaitic liturgy, includes both Ancient and New *Iadgari* (Renoux 2008; Frøyshov 2012: 255).

The pre-Athonite Georgian liturgy is also crucial for the reconstruction of the Jerusalem Lectionary, which has survived only in the Caucasian Albanian, Armenian, and Georgian versions. The latter version is usually dated to the sixth to seventh centuries; its earliest fragments date to the seventh century (Cod.Graz.geo.2058/1) (Shanidze 1944), followed by two fragments of an eighth-century text. Most other manuscripts of the complete *Lectionary* are dated to the tenth century. Finally, we should mention the *Liturgy of St. James* (in longer and shorter versions) which has been preserved in four redactions in Georgian (Khevsuriani, Shanidze, Kavtaria, and Tseradze 2011; Conybeare and Wardrop 1913, 1914) and was probably translated in the seventh or eighth century. All Georgian manuscripts of the *Liturgy of St. James* are dated to the tenth century, apart from two that can be dated to the ninth century.

The *Mravalt'avi* Codices and Greek Homiletics

The earliest Georgian translations of homilies of the Church Fathers are preserved in the so-called *Mravalt'avi* collections (literally "many chapters," also referred to as homiliaries) (van Esbroeck 1975). *Mravalt'avis* are not confined to specific topics, but rather represent randomly arranged readings on diverse subjects. The earliest *Mravalt'avi* manuscript, known as the *Xanmeti Mravalt'avi* of the early eighth century, has survived only in fragments and consists of translations of John Chrysostom, Hesychios of Jerusalem, and also fragments of Severianos of Gabala (van Esbroeck 1978) and Antipatros of Bostra (Shanidze 1926; van Esbroeck 1975: 14).

The earliest dated Georgian manuscript is the Sinai *Mravalt'avi* of 864, copied in Mar Saba and donated to Saint Catherine's Monastery (Shanidze 1959; Mgaloblishvili 1991). It contains over fifty homilies written by eighteen authors, including Gregory Thaumatourgos, Athanasios of Alexandria, Cyril of Jerusalem, Meletios of Antioch, John Chrysostom, Timotheos of Jerusalem, and Epiphanios of Cyprus, who were

translated at various times between the sixth and eighth centuries. Other *Mravalt'avis*, specifically that of Udabno (ninth–tenth century) (Shanidze and Chumburidze 1994), Parxali (unedited), Klarjet'i (Mgaloblishvili 1991), and Tbet'i (unedited) in the tenth century, and of Athos (unedited) (eleventh century) are large collections of homilies translated or composed between the fifth and the ninth centuries (van Esbroeck 1975: 212–231). In total, the *Mravalt'avis* comprise 226 individual texts, some of which were translated independently twice or even four times. Over seventy texts within the *Mravalt'avis* are still without a Greek or any other parallel, which could partially be the result of wrong attribution (van Esbroeck 1975: 303–25). There have been attempts to date multiple translations judging by the style, although the results are not entirely convincing and the dating still remains a desideratum.

It should be noted that the *Mravalt'avi* had yet another meaning in the eleventh century. In Ephrem Mc'ire's short biographic note on Symeon Metaphrastes, appended to the metaphrastic *Life of Menas*, *Mravalt'avi* appears as a translation of an unknown Greek term and was used synonymously with *kimeni*, a term that stood in Georgian for pre-metaphrastic hagiography, "the earliest acts of the Saints written in simple form." Ephrem notes that "Symeon Metaphrastes took earlier passions, called *kimeni*, that is to say 'lying' and changed them into a *metaphrasis*" (Kekelidze 1957b: 212–226; van Esbroeck 1975: 8). Paul Peeters attempted to translate the Georgian word back to Greek as *polykephalaion*, although such a word is not attested anywhere in the Greek corpus.

The Athonite School (Eleventh–Twelfth Centuries)

The arrival of Ioannes the Iberian (c. 930–1005; PmbZ 22942) and his son Euthymios on Mount Athos in the 960s and the foundation of the monastery of Iveron initiated a new period and indeed a revival of Georgian translated literature with a greater attention to contemporary Constantinopolitan discursive and liturgical culture.[3] The old Jerusalem rite was rejected and the Constantinopolitan tradition was adopted; old translations were retranslated, new genres were introduced, and the classical Georgian literary language was standardized. Iveron, the monastery "of the Georgians," acted as the gravitating center and source of influence for Georgian monks and intellectuals

[3] Ioannes (or Abulherit,' his name before he became a monk) belonged to the aristocracy of the Tao region. Soon after the birth of his son Euthymios, he became a monk, eventually arriving at Olympos in Bithynia, where in c. 965 he was rejoined by his son (who had been brought up in Constantinople as a hostage, learning Greek as his primary language), and soon thereafter (c. 966–969), together with his son and disciples, entered the Great Lavra of Athanasios on Mount Athos. Eventually, in 979, Ioannes and his Georgian "entourage" founded the monastery of Iveron on Mount Athos, where he and then his son would serve as abbots; their stay there was often interrupted by trips to Constantinople, on monastery business.

from Sinai to Georgia proper. The impetus to the foundation of this monastery was provided by the newly founded and thriving monasteries in southwestern Georgia, in the Tao, Klarjet'i, and Šavšet'i regions. Continuous support from the local aristocracy and the Bagratid monarchy provided material and intellectual endorsement toward the new colony. As Georgios Hagiorites's *Life of Ioannes and Euthymios* (composed c. 1040) narrates, Ioannes envisaged for himself and his son the mission to found a monastery on Mount Athos. In Ioannes's view, the Georgians, compared to the Greeks and Romans, lacked books. Therefore his mission was, on the one hand, to translate previously untranslated texts and to introduce new genres into Georgian and, on the other hand, to re-translate texts that were previously either inadequately translated or translated from an intermediary language. The intensive and methodical translation of a wide spectrum of Byzantine literary texts is especially connected to the two Athonite abbots, Ioannes's successors: his son Euthymios and, later, Georgios III (Blake 1932; Boeder 1983; Grdzelidze 2009; Metreveli 1983; Martin-Hisard 1983, 1991; Gippert 2013).

Euthymios "the Iberian" or the Hagiorites (Mt'acmindeli)

Without doubt, Euthymios (c. 955/960–May 13, 1028 [Constantinople], abbot of Iveron since 1005; PmbZ 21960) was the most prolific translator in Georgia's history. Over 160 of his translations in almost all genres of Byzantine literature have survived (van Esbroeck 1988). Fortunately, we possess a detailed account of his life and literary career, as described by Georgios III Hagiorites (Martin-Hisard 1991; Grdzelidze 2009).

Euthymios, who was active at translation by 976 at the latest (the earliest dated ms. testimony of his translations, Iveron, Geo. 32, dates to 976/977) heavily modified the original texts. Apparently aiming for less educated readers, he tended to remove from the translation complicated theological passages, substituting them with his own commentaries and interpretations. He thus took extreme liberties in editing, cutting, and merging various texts, which often resulted in entirely new redactions. A number of compilations were created by him: the *Guide*, which consists of chapters from Ioannes Damaskenos's (conventionally titled) *Fountain of Knowledge* and Anastasios Sinaites's *Guide*, together with passages from other authors (Chkonia and Chikvatia 2007); and also another work entitled *Spiritual Teachings*, a compilation of excerpts from Gregory the Theologian's homilies (Bezarashvili 2004: 88).

Euthymios's methodology is particularly evident in his treatment of Gregory, in whose texts he often intervened, rewriting and shortening them. For instance, he removed the mythological references from Gregory's *On the Holy Lights* and the *Funeral Oration for Basil the Great* (Or. 39 and 43; cf. Otkhmezuri 2002) and rhetorical passages from the *Encomium of the Holy Martyr Cyprian* (Or. 24). These latter passages were then reused in order to create a new text, an *Encomium of St. Demetrios of Thessalonike* (Bezarashvili 2004: 467). This rather "free" approach to translation brought Byzantine criticism (i.e., that Georgian translators took extreme liberty with highly authoritative

texts) and prompted Ephrem Mc'ire (on whom see later discussion) to retranslate the entire corpus of Gregory's so-called sixteen liturgical homilies. It should also be noted that while some of Gregory's writings had been translated well before the tenth century into Georgian, Euthymios was the first to compile a corpus of Gregory's works together with the commentaries of Pseudo-Nonnos (CPG 3011; cf. Figure 6.1 in Chapter 6 of this volume) and a compilation of commentaries by Maximos the Confessor (Otkhmezuri 2002 and 2009; Smith and Otkhmezuri 1993). This corpus was later expanded by David Tbeli (eleventh century) in Tao-Klarjet'i or on Athos, with ten homilies and three encomia by Gregory, and was finalized by Ephrem Mc'ire (Lafontaine 1980; Bregadze 1988; Matchavariani 1999, 2000).

Among other notable translations by Euthymios are texts attributed to Makarios of Egypt (Ninua 1982), five homilies from the corpus of the so-called *Ephraem Graecus* (Outtier 1975), a collection of John Chrysostom's homilies entitled "The Pearl" (*Margaliti*; Μαργαρῖται in Greek) (Melikishvili 2015), Chrysostom's commentaries to Matthew and John, a collection of Basil the Great's homilies, titled *Ethika* (Fedwick 1981: 492503; Kajaia 1992: 223), and Basil's *Homilies on the Psalms* (unedited). Euthymios was particularly eager to create a Georgian corpus of Maximos the Confessor, which included his *Ad Thalassium* (van Esbroeck 1994; Khoperia 1996; Chantladze 2009), the *Disputation with Pyrrhos*, and other selected writings; to these, Euthymios added a *Life of the Virgin*, which he also attributed to Maximos (Shoemaker 2012), but the Greek text (BHG 1102g–h, 1123m, 1143c) he revised was actually penned by Ioannes Geometres (Constas 2019: 340 and Simelides 2020). Euthymios also translated five *Orations* of Andreas of Crete (wrongly attributed to Basil the Great) and produced a separate translation of the *Ladder* of Ioannes Sinaites and the *Askêtikon* of Isaak the Syrian. Euthymios's other paramount achievement is the so-called *Lesser Nomocanon*, which includes translations of four texts: the acts of the Sixth Council of Constantinople, "The Canons of John the Faster," "Canons of Basil the Great" and the "Canons of the Council of Constantinople concerning the Icons" (Giunashvili 1972). In addition, Euthymios was the first writer to introduce texts from Symeon Metaphrastes's *Mênologion* into Georgian, later systematized by Ephrem Mc'ire.

Compared to his successor Georgios, Euthymios was not so much concerned with biblical translations—although he did produce the first Georgian translation of the *Apocalypse of St. John*, together with Andreas of Caesarea's commentary. According to Georgios, he also translated the Psalms, but the text was supposedly corrupted by negligent copyists and did not survive.

Georgios the Iberian or the Hagiorites (Mt'acmindeli)

No less of a prolific translator was Georgios III Hagiorites (c. 1009–1065 [Constantinople]; PmbZ 22259), who in 1044/1045 became the abbot of Iveron. As did many of his contemporaries, Georgios started his career in the Tao region at Xaxuli Monastery, and continued his studies in Constantinople and on the Black Mountain

near Antioch before arriving at Iveron. Although Georgios claimed to be Euthymios's follower, in practice he often re-translated texts previously translated by Euthymios in order to achieve a more precise rendering as, unlike Euthymios, he was a proponent of more literal translations. This approach was also determined by the source material he was working with, which mostly comprised liturgical and biblical texts.

Among his translations, the *Mênaion* is exceptional in its completeness, as unlike Greek *mênaia*, each saint was supplied with as many hymns as Georgios could collect. Georgios did not hesitate to mention in his colophon that his *Mênaion* was the most complete, compiled on the basis of various *Mênaia* of the Constantinopolitan tradition, "of the Churches of Saint Peter, St Symeon, and Hagia Sophia" (Tarchnišvili with Assfalg 1955 = Kekelidze 1955: 167; Jghamaia 2007: 9 and 15). Indeed, Georgios used four or five Greek editions as his sources and added older material from the *Iadgari* collections. This makes his *Mênaion* larger than any surviving Greek *mênaion*. The complete text, except for the month of September (Jghamaia 2007), is still unpublished.

Apart from a number of other liturgical books, Georgios also produced a *Synaxary* (composed in 1042–1044), which according to his own testimony, was translated from the so-called *Great Synaxary*, as opposed to Euthymios's *Lesser Synaxary*, based on an unidentified Greek source. The Greek original of the *Synaxary*, to which Georgios was referring, has not survived. The difference between the two is that Euthymios's *Lesser Synaxary*, although Constantinopolitan in character, was edited in a Jerusalemite fashion, that is to say, the *Triodion* was incorporated into the main text and not set apart, whereas Georgios composed his *Synaxary* according to the Constantinopolitan rite, separating immovable and movable feasts. Georgios's *Synaxary* was in usage until the fifteenth century, when it was substituted by the thirteenth-century *Šio-Mġvime Typikon*. This was based on the older Mar Saba *typikon* and is the oldest witness to the Sabaitic tradition (Kochlamazashvili and Giunashvili 2005).

Despite Georgios's keen interest in liturgy, he made translations of other religious works. Particularly noteworthy are his versions (many of which are re-translations) of patristic texts: exegetical and homiletic works by Basil the Great (e.g. his *Homilies in the Hexaêmeron* [CPG 2835]; Kakhadze 1947) and similar works by John Chrysostom, Gregory of Nyssa, Theodoros Stoudites, and Sophronios of Jerusalem. Regarding Gregory of Nyssa, Georgios is widely considered to have introduced this author into the Georgian tradition. Notable are his translations of *On the Creation of Man* (CPG 3154; Shalamberidze 1968), *Apologêtikos to His Brother Peter Regarding the Hexaêmeron* (CPG 3153; Chelidze 1989), and the *Homilies on the Song of Songs* (CPG 3158; Kiknadze 2013).

Georgios was the last editor of the Georgian Gospels, the *Acts*, and the Pauline Epistles, finalizing the various earlier redactions. He also revised the Psalms according to the Greek text, particularly where the earlier versions had been corrected according to the Armenian text and thus deviated from the Greek (Kharanauli 2000). Georgios was particularly eager to promote his version of the Bible and avoided references to the older versions. His edition remained the most authoritative translation for

the centuries to come, often referred to as the Georgian vulgate (Kharanauli 1996; Gippert 2013).

A notable contemporary of Georgios is Theophilos the Hieromonk, who was active in Constantinople in the 1080s. Apart from several translations in various genres (e.g., John Chrysostom's commentary on Genesis), Theophilos also produced a more complete translation of metaphrastic hagiography, by the order of King Giorgi II of Georgia (1072–1089) (Goguadze 1986, 2014; Makharashvili 2002) and provided an invaluable commentary on the Byzantine metaphrastic tradition and Symeon Metaphrastes's work (Kekelidze 1957a). Theophilos also re-translated the so-called thematic *Apophtegmata Patrum* (Dvali and Chitunashvili 2014), earlier translated by Euthymios (Dvali 1966; Outtier 1977).

The "Hellenophiles" (Eleventh–Thirteenth Centuries)

Compared to the Armenian and Syriac traditions, what has been termed "hellenophilism," as a literary style and cultural vogue, started in Georgia considerably late: in the second half of the eleventh century. While Georgian monasticism continued on Athos, Georgian monks and writers became numerous in the vicinity of Antioch, where the school of the Black Mountain emulated, but also deviated from, the Athonite tradition. The Antiocheans retained close contacts with the Athonites, particularly with Georgios Hagiorites, who was educated on the Black Mountain before coming to Athos. Old centers in the Tao-Klarjet'i region also flourished and new ones appeared in Byzantium, e.g., the Petriconi Monastery (Bachkovo) founded by Gregory Pakourianos/Bakurianisże in 1083 (Bezarashvili 2003). The unification and centralization of Bagratid power in the late eleventh century created an opportunity to transfer the centrifuge of Georgian cultural life back to Georgia. Having unified most of the south Caucasian principalities, David IV the Builder (1089–1125) founded the monastic schools of Gelat'i and Iqalt'o, which soon became major centers of Georgian literary activity, particularly in the realms of theology and philosophy. The revival of cultural life and royal sponsorship attracted scholars and translators from abroad, bringing Georgians from Antioch and the Black Mountain communities.

Two main trends can be identified within Georgian hellenophilism: (a) the school of the Black Mountain, championed by Ephrem Mc'ire (d. 1101) and his student, Arseni of Iqalt'o (d. 1127); and (b) the Gelat'i monastic school in Georgia, where Arseni spent the rest of his life and which culminated in the work of Ioane Petrici (eleventh–twelfth centuries), "the Platonic Philosopher." Georgian hellenophilism was first and foremost a movement to achieve a more precise translation style, moving away from the Athonite reader-oriented creative approach to a text-oriented search for formal equivalency, where the unit of translation was usually a word or even a morpheme. In spite of

this rather surgical intervention to the language, the philosophical and theological terminology coined during the "hellenophile period" was widely adopted by pre-modern Georgian authors and still remains valid in Georgian philosophical vocabulary. As for genres, whereas the early hellenophiles, similarly to the Athonites, were interested in all contemporary Byzantine genres, the school of Gelat'i was particularly concerned with the Classical and early Byzantine philosophical heritage and was influenced by similar trends in Constantinopolitan schools and intellectual circles. Initially, a number of collections of quotations from ancient philosophers appeared, which later culminated in Petrici's groundbreaking translation and commentary of Proklos's *Elements of Theology* (Aleksidze and Bergemann 2000).

Ephrem Mc'ire (the Lesser) (d. 1101)

The beginning of Georgian hellenophilism is usually associated with Ephrem Mc'ire. Ephrem most probably belonged to a Georgian noble family who, due to the perpetual warfare between the Byzantine emperor Basil II and Georgia's King Bagrat IV (1027–1072) over the Tao-Klarjet'i region, emigrated to Constantinople. From there Ephrem moved to the Black Mountain, where he stayed for the remainder of his life.

Ephrem is usually considered as a figure of transition from the "free" Athonite approach to the exceedingly literal translations of the Gelat'i school. He is also the first Georgian author who explained his translation technique and principles. His extensive commentaries and colophons introduced a new trend in Georgian translation theory and practice (Tvaltvadze 2009). More specifically, Ephrem discussed contemporary Byzantine rhetoric and stylistics in an attempt to create a systematic Georgian theological terminology (Rapava and Coulie 1991; Bezarashvili 2004: 155–159; Otkhmezuri 2014). Due to the extreme liberty taken by Euthymios, Ephrem was forced to re-translate some major texts. We have already mentioned his work on Gregory the Theologian.[4] Another new translation is Ephrem's more complete version of the Catholic Epistles, joined with John Chrysostom's homilies on them (CPG 4450). While translating commentaries to the *Acts of the Apostles* and the New Testament *Epistles*, Ephrem also revised the old translations in a typical hellenophile way, but this version never supplanted the Athonite edition (which remained the Georgian "vulgate") in liturgical practice (Birdsall 1988; Childers 1996).

As with Euthymios and Georgios, Ephrem's corpus of translations was immense, comprising almost all genres of contemporary and classical Byzantine literature, and numbering over 120 texts, from the early church fathers to Theodoros Stoudites, and from *Ephraem Graecus* to Palladios's *Lausiac History* (Khintibidze 1996: 64–68;

[4] See further Otkhmezuri (2010); also on Ephrem's translation of the rhetorical commentaries by Basil the Lesser, see Otkhmezuri (2002); on his version of the mythological commentaries by Pseudo-Nonnos, see Coulie (1998) and Otkhmezuri (2002).

Bregadze 1971). Ephrem's important contribution to biblical exegesis was his translation of the *Metaphrasis in Ecclesiasten* (CPG 1766) attributed to Gregory Thaumatourgos and the *Significatio in Ezechielem* (CPG 3060), both of which were attributed to Gregory the Theologian within the Georgian manuscript tradition. Notably, unlike Euthymios, Ephrem turned also to purely philosophical texts. Among others, he translated the complete *Areopagitic Corpus*, together with the scholia attributed to Maximos the Confessor and Germanos of Constantinople (Aleksidze 2009), as well as Ioannes Damaskenos's *Fountain of Knowledge*—the latter text was later retranslated by Ephrem's student Arseni of Iqalt'o in an even more precise rendering. Finally, Ephrem translated a large number of metaphrastic hagiography, supplying these works with a rich commentary, parts of which are particularly important for the history of the metaphrastic movement, especially with reference to Symeon Metaphrastes (Kekelidze 1957a, 1957b; Högel 2002).

The School of Gelat'i: Arseni of Iqalt'o and Ioane Petrici

The monastic school of Gelat'i, known as the "Academy," located near the capital of western Georgia, Kutaisi, was founded by David IV the Builder in the early twelfth century, following the successful campaigns of unification and centralization undertaken by this ruler. Gelat'i immediately became Georgia's largest and most influential literary and philosophical school, acting as a direct heir to the Black Mountain tradition.

As the Gelat'ians were attempting to establish a full-fledged school according to Constantinopolitan standards, there existed a strong tendency among them to create compendia for the school curriculum. Such was, for example, the translation of Ammonios's *Concerning the Five Words of Porphyry* and *Concerning the Ten Categories of Aristotle* (Rapava 1983), joined together with Arseni of Iqalt'o's translation of Ioannes Damaskenos's *Dialectics*. Correspondingly, the translations of Georgios the Monk's *Chronicle* (Kaukhchishvili 1926) and Josephus's *Jewish Antiquities* (Melikishvili 1987 and 1988) must have served as history textbooks.

The Gelat'ians also embarked upon a new translation of biblical books, supplying them with extensive commentaries and exegesis—a project that they partially completed. The Gelat'i Bible (Octateuch and the Prophets) of the late eleventh century survives in two manuscripts (Georgian National Center of Manuscripts, A 1108 and Q 1152) and is furnished with rich catenae and ample patristic commentaries.

Full translations by the Gelat'i school survived of the *Commentaries of the Ecclesiastes* of Olympiodoros of Alexandria and another attributed to Metrophanes of Smyrna (the latter has not survived in Greek) (Kekelidze 1920); *Commentaries on Mark, Luke, and John* by Theophylaktos Hephaistos, archbishop of Ochrid; an anonymous exegesis of the *Song of Songs* (Shanidze 1924); and a commentary to Romans 8:29 attributed to Michael Psellos (Mtchedlidze 2007, 2010).

The most authoritative figure of the school was Arseni Vač'esże of Iqalt'o, who may have also been associated with the monastic school of Iqalt'o in Georgia's eastern

Kakheti region. Arseni had studied in Constantinople, in Mangana, and then under Ephrem Mc'ire on the Black Mountain. Arseni's magisterial achievement is the translation of dogmatic and polemical treatises, a compilation known as the *Dogmatikon*, which survives in over twenty manuscripts. Arseni must have initiated the project while still living in Constantinople near the end of the eleventh century. The collection, together with its later additions, includes over seventy individual Greek texts (Outtier 2001; Aleksidze 2012; Rapava 2014). Along with authors such as Cyril of Alexandria and Ioannes Damaskenos, it comprises ten homilies by Niketas Stethatos (Rapava 2013), the *De Sectis* by Pseudo-Leontios of Jerusalem (here attributed to Theodore Abū Qurra), together with other treatises often wrongly attributed to Theodore (Datiashvili 1980), and a number of unidentified texts against Jews, Muslims, Monophysites, Jacobites, and Nestorians (Outtier 2001). Arseni's other major contribution is his translation of patriarch Photios's *Great Nomocanon* surviving in eight manuscripts, most of which are dated to the eleventh and twelfth centuries (Gabidzashvili, Giunashvili, Dolakidze, and Ninua 1975).

The Gelat'i school produced another prominent author and translator, the Katholikos-Patriarch Nikoloz I Gulaberisże (1150s), who translated Maximos the Confessor's dogmatic and exegetical letters and other short polemical treatises against the Monophysites and the Monotheletes (for an overview of Maximos's tradition in Georgian, see Khoperia 2015). Within the same school, Peter of Gelat'i (most probably) translated Ioannes Sinaites's *Ladder*, together with scholia attributed to Photios.

The pinnacle of the development of the Gelat'i literary school was marked by the work of Ioane Petrici, "the Platonic Philosopher." Whereas the early Hellenophiles still applied themselves to older translations and attempted to emulate the Athonites, Petrici did not imitate his predecessors' work, but rather created an entirely new philosophical language. Along with the translation of Nemesios of Emesa's *On Human Nature* (CPG 3550), his most acclaimed work is the *Commentary on The Elements of Theology by Proklos Diadochos*—both a translation and an important independent philosophical study (Aleksidze 2014; Aleksidze and Bergemann 2000; Gigineishvili 1994–1995, 2007). Petrici was convinced that Proklos was the single most important philosopher in Christian thought, and he wished to codify Georgian philosophical terminology specifically according to this philosopher.

Decline and (Partial) Rebirth (Fourteenth–Eighteenth Centuries)

The Mongol invasion in the 1220s put an abrupt end to the translation process and dealt a severe blow to Georgia's cultural life in general, which re-emerged only sporadically in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The fall of Byzantium cut off the disintegrated Georgian kingdoms from the Christian world. At the same time, the secularization

of Georgian writing resulted in a greater interest in and exposure to Persian literature. With the decline and eventual loss of Georgian monasteries abroad and the Islamization of southwestern Georgian regions by the Ottomans, the only prominent center of Georgia's cultural life was the monasteries in the Davit' Gareja desert in southeastern Georgia, where the copying of older manuscripts, rather than the translation of Byzantine texts, became the main task. In Georgia proper, literary activity moved from monasteries to the royal court, particularly at the time of Vaxtang VI (1703–1724), and was increasingly less preoccupied with Byzantine literature. The revival of Georgian Christian writing was the prerogative of the eighteenth-century "Renaissance" when Georgians were once again exposed to old and new Byzantine texts (predominantly liturgical), either directly from the Greek or, more often, through a Russian medium (Otkhmezuri 2007).

Suggestions for Further Reading

For interested students and scholars, learning Georgian, especially modern, may be the first suggestion, as the overwhelming majority of studies and publications are and in the near future may remain in this language. Unfortunately, there exist very few grammars of medieval Georgian (e.g., Fähnrich 1994) and a handbook of classical Georgian is still nonexistent, although under preparation by the present author.

Those with some command of Georgian should first apply themselves to the full description and bibliography of medieval Georgian translations edited by Gabidzashvili in six volumes and arranged according to genres (Gabidzashvili 2004, 2006, 2009a, 2009b, 2011, 2012). The Russian *Orthodox Encyclopedia*, which is also available online (www.pravenc.ru), offers a precise introduction and overview of Georgia's literary centers, with a particularly brilliant chapter on Georgian liturgical translations by Lili Khevsuriani (2006). The German translation of Kekelidze's *History of the Georgian Literature* (Tarchnišvili with Assfalg 1955 = Kekelidze 1955) will serve as a good if only slightly outdated introduction to the translation history and the Georgian literary tradition in general; for a recent supplement, see the research collected in Rapp and Crego (2012). Jost Gippert's overviews of the Georgian manuscript tradition, codicology, paleography and cataloguing can be found in Bausi (2015).

Numerous studies and translations have appeared since Paul Peeters's and Gerard Garitte's introduction of the Georgian material to Western scholarship. These include editions and studies by Bernard Coulie, particularly of the Georgian *Nazianzene Corpus* (1987, 2000a) and general issues of Georgian reception (1987, 1994, 2000b); the series of articles and studies by Michel van Esbroeck of individual translations or entire corpora (especially 1975); the detailed study of Georgian liturgy and its context by Charles Renoux (e.g., 1993, 2000, 2007, 2010a, 2010b, 2014, and others); Ketevan Bezarashvili's numerous works on general and specific problems of medieval Georgian translations (e.g., 2005); Bernard Outtier's studies of multiple aspects of Georgian translations (e.g.,

2001, 2007); Tamar Otkhmezuri's publications on the Georgian reception of Gregory the Theologian and the Georgian hellenophile tradition (e.g., 2002, 2009); Levan Gigineishvili's work (2007); Lela Aleksidze's and Magda Mtchedlidze's publications on the Georgian reception of Byzantine philosophy and theology (2009, 2014); Tina Dolidze's articles on the Georgian reception of patristic authors (e.g., 2015). Jost Gippert has extensively published on Georgian codicology, manuscript tradition, and writing centers in and outside Georgia (2010, 2013).

Although there are no electronic resources for medieval Georgian, Gippert's *Titus* Project is perhaps the most important database of medieval Georgian texts (http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/indexe.htm). The National Center of Manuscripts of Georgia (www.manuscript.ge) has recently initiated a creation of several bilingual electronic databases of manuscripts and other resources for the study of the medieval Georgian literary heritage, some of which are currently under construction.

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SECTION VI ARABIC

ALEXANDER TREIGER

After the Muslim conquest of the Middle East in the seventh century, indigenous Middle Eastern Christian populations gradually adopted Arabic as their principal spoken, written, and—in varying degrees—liturgical language. As part of this process, they translated thousands of Christian texts from their ancestral languages (Greek, Syriac, and Coptic) into Arabic. The present contribution offers a survey of one subset of these translations: Arabic translations of Greek (primarily early Byzantine) Christian literature. We shall look first at important centers and translators and then turn to a review of different genres and types of texts.

Centers and Translators

The vast majority of Arabic translations were produced by Orthodox Christians belonging to the Patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. These Middle Eastern Christians were in liturgical communion with Byzantium and were therefore historically called Melkites (literally: "the [Byzantine] Emperor's people") or Rūm (literally: "Romans" or "Byzantines"). In the early period (late eighth–tenth centuries), the main translation centers were the Chalcedonian monasteries of Palestine and Sinai (Treiger 2014b, 2015a: 190–191 and 198–203).[1] These early Arabic translations were, for the most part, anonymous, with the exception of those produced by Yannah ibn Iṣṭifān ("John, son of Stephen") al-Fākhūrī (fl. c. 910 at the Palestinian Lavra of Mar Saba), who translated Leontios of Damascus's *Life of St. Stephen of Mar Saba* (BHG 1670) and works of Barsanouphios of Gaza (only the former has been edited: Lamoreaux 1999; on the latter, see Treiger 2015a: 197).

[1] The famous Greco-Arabic translation movement (750–1000), carried out under the auspices of the ʿAbbāsid élites in Baghdād, focused on *non-Christian* and mostly *pre-Byzantine* philosophical and scientific literature (Gutas 1998). However, occasionally, Christian works of a philosophical nature were translated there as well—e.g., Nemesios of Emesa's *On Human Nature* (CPG 3550), translated into Arabic by Isḥāq ibn Ḥunayn (Haji-Athanasiou 1982; Samir 1986a; Starr 2018), and some works by Ioannes Philoponos (Kraemer 1965; Chase 2012, who also addresses the question of their influence on Arabic Islamic philosophy). See also the Suggestions for Further Reading at the end of the chapter.

After the Byzantine re-conquest of northern Syria in the 960s, the center of Greco-Arabic translation activity moved to Byzantine-controlled Antioch and the surrounding monasteries (Nasrallah 1979–2017: III.1 196–220, 273–310, 387–391; Treiger 2015a: 192, 203–208; Treiger 2020a; Roberts 2020b). There we find exceptionally skilled and prolific translators—such as Chariton (abbot of the monastery of the Theotokos Arshāyā), the *protospatharios* Ibrāhīm ibn Yūḥannā ("Abraham, son of John," fl. c. 1025),[2] Antonios (abbot of the monastery of Saint Symeon the Wonderworker on the Black Mountain near Antioch in the first half of the eleventh century),[3] and deacon ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl (fl. 1050).

These writers translated into Arabic an entire library of monastic and theological works. Chariton translated sections of Theodoros Stoudites's *Little Catechesis*. Ibrāhīm ibn Yūḥannā translated *Orations* of Gregory the Theologian, as well as *On Good and Evil*, attributed to Dionysios the Areopagite (= *Divine Names*, chap. 4, paragraphs 18–35; see Noble 2020). In addition to these, he penned an important Arabic hagiographic work, the *Life of the Patriarch of Antioch Christopher*, who was murdered as a result of political intrigues during the night of May 22–23, 967 (Lamoreaux 2010; Mugler 2019; modern feast day: May 21 [Bīṭār 1995: 373–390; Saliba 2010: 508]). The abbot Antonios translated works of Ioannes Damaskenos (the *Dialectics*, the *Precise Exposition of the Orthodox Faith*, and several shorter treatises; see Ibrahim 2020). Finally, ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl translated select works of John Chrysostom, Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, Pseudo-Kaisarios, Ioannes Damaskenos, Andreas of Crete (*Encomium to St Nikolaos*), Isaak the Syrian (from an earlier Greek version produced c. 800 at the Palestinian Lavra of Mar Saba), Maximos the Confessor, and the sacro-profane florilegium *Loci communes* (Noble and Treiger 2011; Treiger 2011, 2019; Roberts 2020b).

Translations were also carried out in other locations. The Melkite priest al-ʿAlam (ninth or tenth century) from Alexandria translated the Septuagint Greek version of the Prophets (Vollandt 2015: 59). The tenth-century Melkite bishop of Old Cairo Tawfīl ibn Tawfīl ("Theophilos, son of Theophilos"), a native of Damascus, translated the Gospels and John Chrysostom's homily, "On punctual attendance of the liturgies" (the ninth homily on penitence, CPG 4333.9) (Treiger 2015a: 191). A certain Athanāsī al-Miṣrī ("Athanasius the Egyptian" or "Athanasius of Old Cairo") translated a selection of liturgical hymns (στιχηρά) (Sinai ar. 245; Nasrallah 1979–2017: III.1 389), perhaps at Sinai. We

[2] Nasrallah (1979–2017: III.1 289) identified him with the *protospatharios* and *mystikos* Abramios, in charge of the imperial "bedchamber" (κοιτών), who attended the trial of the Jacobite Patriarch John VIII bar ʿAbdūn in Constantinople c. 1029 (http://db.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/pbw2011/entity/person/108789). Probably the same Abramios is mentioned in a Syriac colophon as a sponsor of liturgical translations from Greek into Syriac (Brock 1990: 62, 66–67). For a detailed analysis of Ibrāhīm ibn Yūḥannā's biography and translation activity, see Mugler (2020) and Noble (2020).

[3] Earlier scholarship had incorrectly dated Antonios's works to the second half of the tenth century, a view based on a misreading of the colophon of Vatican ar. 436. On Antonios's translation activity, see Ibrahim (2020).

also know of an Arabic translation of the *Sabaite Typikon*, produced in 1335 in Cairo by a certain Qusṭanṭīn ("Constantine") ibn Abī l-Maʿālī, who later became a monk at Sinai under the name Antonios (Sinai ar. 264 and two other manuscripts; Nasrallah 1979–2017: III.2 148–150 [cf. III.1 383]; Samir 1991; Roggema and Treiger 2020: 3; cf. Lüstraeten 2017). Finally, Ibn Saḥqūn from Homs/Emesa (fl. 1010 in Damascus) translated the *Areopagitic Corpus* (Treiger 2005, 2007; Bonmariage and Moureau 2011; Parker and Treiger 2012), as well as a collection of "sessional hymns" (καθίσματα) for the major feasts of the year (*not* the Psalm sections, as erroneously stated in Treiger 2015a: 193n21). The translation of the sessional hymns is extant in Sinai ar. 252 (the translator's autograph) and deserves careful study because it may shed light on Orthodox liturgy in Syria and Palestine prior to its Constantinopolitanization (i.e., the process of gradual replacement of local Antiochene and Jerusalemite liturgical practices by those of Constantinople; cf. Galadza 2018).[4]

These translators frequently coined new Arabic terms for Greek Christian religious vocabulary. While some of these terms were borrowed from Syriac (e.g., the Arabic term for hypostasis, *uqnūm*, is derived from the Syriac *qnōmā*), others represented direct attempts at rendering the Greek (e.g., the Greek ascetic, originally Stoic term ἀπάθεια was sometimes translated as *ʿadam al-ālām*, literally: "absence of passions"; Treiger 2014a: 190); Greek terms were, of course, also freely used in Arabic (numerous examples in Graf 1954). While in most cases the translators aimed at a faithful rendering of Greek texts into Arabic, no translation can be identical to its prototype, and every translation necessarily involves interpretation and, occasionally, misinterpretation. To take one example, Ibn Saḥqūn's translation of the *Areopagitic Corpus* abounds in misinterpretations, some of which resulted from the translator's misunderstanding of Dionysios's terminology or complex syntax, while others may reflect a conscious attempt on the part of the translator to suppress Dionysios's radical ideas. For example, Ibn Saḥqūn may have felt uncomfortable about the Dionysian concept of "union" (ἕνωσις) with the supra-essential Deity and therefore replaced it with a more innocuous phrase, "*contemplation* of the [divine] oneness" (Treiger 2007: 377; cf. Treiger 2015b: 449).

Arabic translations of Greek Christian literature were often produced not directly from Greek, but from Syriac or (occasionally) Coptic intermediaries. For example, the earliest known *dated* Arabic translation—that of Ammonios's *Report on the Martyrdom of the Fathers of Sinai and Raithu* (CPG 6088; BHG 1300) (one of the two Arabic translations of this text still extant; the other is preserved in the Antiochian *Mênologion*, on which see below)—was translated from Syriac (in 772, probably at Sinai), though corrected against the Greek (Treiger 2016). Similarly, the early Arabic translation of Evagrios's (Pseudo-Neilos's) *Chapters on Prayer* (again, one of the two Arabic

[4] It is significant that the liturgical year in Sinai ar. 252 begins at Nativity (December 25). Compare this with the only other known manuscript of the text (Sinai ar. 244, ff. 161v–233v), where the material is rearranged according to the sequence of the Byzantine liturgical year (September–August).

translations of this text still extant) was translated from a Syriac intermediary (Treiger 2014b: 108–109). One of the three known Arabic translations of Basil's *Hexaemeron* was produced by the Coptic monk Jurayj ibn Yuḥannis ("George, son of John") al-Rarāwī, in 1248, at the monastery of Saint Makarios in Scetis, from a (now lost) Coptic intermediary (Roberts 2020a: 225–230).

In turn, Arabic translations of Greek Christian literature often served as intermediaries for further translations into Georgian and Ethiopic. For example, the early Arabic translations of Ammonios's *Report* and of Evagrios's (Pseudo-Neilos's) *Chapters on Prayer* were both translated *from Arabic* into Georgian (Gvaramia 1973; Outtier 2003; cf. Samir 1976; Pataridze 2013). In each case, we have a Greek work translated into Georgian via two intermediaries: Syriac and Arabic.[5] Similarly, Nikon of the Black Mountain's *Mega Biblion* was translated from Greek into Arabic and thence into Ethiopic (Gebremedhin 2005). Isaak the Syrian's ascetic works were translated from Syriac into Greek at the Palestinian Lavra of Mar Saba (c. 800 by the monks Patrikios and Abramios), then from Greek into Arabic by ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl (c. 1050) in Antioch, and—in the fifteenth century—from ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl's Arabic into Ethiopic (Berhanu 1997; Bausi 2007: 998; Weninger 2007).

Biblical Translations

The Old Testament

Books of the Old Testament were translated into Arabic from a variety of languages, usually Greek and Syriac (less frequently Coptic or Latin, and also Hebrew by Jews and Samaritans) (Griffith 2013; Vollandt 2015 on the Pentateuch; Hjälm 2016 on Daniel). These versions easily crossed communal boundaries. For instance, Melkite translations—as well as the tenth-century Arabic translation of the Pentateuch by the Jewish scholar Saʿadia Gaon—were widely used by the Copts in Egypt, while Muslim scholars routinely cited Arabic biblical translations (both Christian and Jewish) in their polemical works and occasionally even in Qurʾān exegesis (Saleh 2008). In fact, texts of different provenances often coexist in one and the same manuscript. For example, as stated by Ronny Vollandt (Vollandt 2015: 240), in the sixteenth-century manuscript Paris, BNF, ar. 1:

> translations from Hebrew, Syriac, and Greek *Vorlagen* are found side-by-side. The first textual unit, the Pentateuch in the version of Saadiah Gaon, begins with an

[5] If Ammonios's *Report* was originally written in Coptic, as the text claims, then this work's translation into Georgian was produced via three intermediaries: Greek, Syriac, and Arabic. The putative Coptic original has not been found.

anonymous preface. The second textual unit, covering Joshua through Job, derives from a Syriac prototype. The third section is the Psalter of ʿAbdallāh ibn Faḍl of Antioch, a translation from Greek. The next section is al-ʿAlam of Alexandria's translation of the Prophets. The remaining books, too, were translated from Greek. Finally, the last text, an Arabic epitome of the originally Judaeo-Arabic translation of the Hebrew *Sefer Yosippon*, known as 5 Maccabees in modern research, is appended to the codex.

The majority of the Arabic Pentateuch manuscripts represent translations that derive from either Syriac or Hebrew (see "Inventory of Manuscripts" in Vollandt 2015: 221–279). Several Arabic Christian scholars, however, insisted that the Pentateuch should be translated from Greek. The main reason for this was the discrepancy in the ages of the patriarchs (from Adam to Terah) between the Greek Septuagint version of Genesis on the one hand and the Hebrew Masoretic text (along with the Syriac Pəshīṭtā translation done from the Hebrew) on the other, which led to divergent calculations of the "age of the world" since creation. Arabic Christian scholars (e.g., the tenth-century historian Agapius, Melkite bishop of Manbij) accused the Jews of having tampered with the chronological data in the Hebrew text so as to create the impression that the world was younger than it actually was and that, consequently, it was not yet time for the Messiah to appear (Lamoreaux 2014; Treiger 2018a: 21–26). One notable Arabic translation that reflected the Septuagint chronology was produced by al-Ḥārith ibn Sinān from Harran (fl. c. 900). Interestingly, however, it was not translated directly from the Septuagint, but rather from the so-called Syro-Hexapla, i.e., from Paul of Tella's Syriac translation (produced c. 617) of the Septuagint column of Origen's *Hexapla* (Vollandt 2015: 60–62, 253–264).

The Arabic translations of the Psalms have not received sufficient attention (with the exception of the ninth-century Arabic version produced from Latin, in Spain, by Ḥafṣ ibn Albar al-Qūṭī, i.e., "the Goth"—edition and translation: Urvoy 1994; cf. Vollandt 2015: 70–71). The most widespread Arabic version of the Psalms seems to be the one produced from Greek and traditionally ascribed to the eleventh-century Melkite translator ʿAbdallāh ibn Faḍl from Antioch (Polosin, Serikoff, and Frantsouzoff 2005). This version is, however, older than ʿAbdallāh ibn Faḍl, because it is attested in the "Violet fragment" (a bilingual Greek-Arabic manuscript bifolium discovered in the late nineteenth century in Damascus and analyzed by the German scholar Bruno Violet). The "Violet fragment" is unique in that it presents the Arabic translation of the Psalms *in Greek letters*, i.e., Arabic transcribed into Greek characters (Violet 1901). Because of this seemingly archaic peculiarity, some scholars endeavored to assign the "Violet fragment" to early Islamic (seventh or eighth century) or even pre-Islamic times (sixth century). The date of c. 900 appears, however, much more likely (Mavroudi 2008; Vollandt 2015: 55–58; Treiger 2018a: 18–20; Al-Jallad 2020).

It is also noteworthy that several Arabic manuscripts of the Psalms are bilingual (Greek-Arabic) (cf. Figure 1.1 in Chapter 1), trilingual (Greek-Syriac-Arabic or

Greek-Latin-Arabic), and even, in one case, quintilingual (the fourteenth-century manuscript Vatican, Barb. or. 2, written in Ethiopic, Syriac, Coptic, Arabic, and Armenian in parallel columns (Treiger 2018a: 20–21).[6]

The New Testament

Books of the New Testament were translated into Arabic from a variety of languages, most frequently from Greek and Syriac (and less frequently from Coptic and Latin). For the Arabic translations of the Gospels, we have a superb study by Hikmat Kashouh, which surveyed 210 manuscripts, dividing them into a variety of "families" based on their text type (Kashouh 2012; on Arabic Gospel lectionaries, see Turnbull 2019). Kashouh argued that one of these families reflects a translation produced in pre-Islamic times (family *h*, represented by the ninth-century manuscript Vatican ar. 13), but such an early dating of the translation remains questionable (Kashouh 2012: 168–171; Griffith 2013: 114–118; cf. Monferrer-Sala 2014).

The oldest *dated* manuscript of the Gospels in Arabic is Sinai ar. NF Perg. 14+16, with two additional leaves in Leipzig, Univ. Or. 1059A (unfortunately, now lost), and an additional illustrated folio in St. Petersburg, Academy of the Sciences Q557. This manuscript belongs to family *a* translated from Greek and was copied in 873 (on the date, see Swanson 1993: 133–134; Morozov 2008). It features remarkable illustrations of the evangelists Luke and John (Meimaris 1985: 146). Significantly, the liturgical rubrics in this and other early Arabic Gospel manuscripts reflect the "Jerusalem lectionary" system of readings, which differed from Constantinopolitan usage. They thus complement the evidence for the Jerusalem lectionary available in Greek, Georgian, Armenian, and Syriac sources (Galadza 2013, 2014, and 2018).

The most widespread of the families is the so-called Arabic Vulgate (family *k*). According to Kashouh, this version was "originally translated either from Syriac and Greek with some of its witnesses later corrected against the Coptic version, or from Syriac and then corrected on some occasions against the Greek and on other occasions against the Coptic" (Kashouh 2012: 205). Kashouh further explained (2012: 206):

> By the end of the thirteenth century the Arabic Vulgate superseded all other Arabic translations. And since it was an eclectic recension, which has taken into account Greek, Syriac, and Coptic versions, it met the needs of the Arab Christians and became the standard text for many generations to come. It was also the source for most if not all the printed editions of the Gospels in Arabic between the sixteenth and the

[6] Two of these manuscripts—the trilingual London, BL, Harley 5786 (in Greek, Latin, and Arabic, copied in Palermo before 1153) and the quintilingual Vatican, Barb. or. 2 are viewable online: http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=harley_ms_5786_f001r and http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Barb.or.2, respectively.

nineteenth centuries, the chief of which are the Rome edition of 1591, Erpenius's edition in Leiden in 1616, and Lagarde's edition of the Vienna manuscript in 1864.

Inspired by Kashouh's research, Sara Schulthess surveyed 197 manuscripts of Paul's Epistles in Arabic (Schulthess 2019; cf. Schulthess 2014; also Zaki 2019). The most ancient *dated* version extant is the one translated from Syriac by the Melkite translator Bishr ibn al-Sirrī, in Damascus in 867 (Sinai ar. 151, containing Paul's Epistles, Acts, and Catholic Epistles; edition and translation: Staal 1983 and Staal 1984; cf. Brock 2004; Féghali 2005). Other, roughly contemporary Arabic versions of Acts and Epistles are preserved in several ninth-century Arabic manuscripts.[7] Schulthess examined in detail the aforementioned manuscript Vatican ar. 13 (which, she argued, may have been copied in Homs/Emesa) and provided an edition and detailed commentary on its rendering of 1 Corinthians (cf. recent edition of Philemon from the same manuscript: Monferrer-Sala 2015).

The Melkite Epistle lectionary—preserved in several manuscripts at Sinai (e.g., Sinai ar. 164 and 168, both dating to 1238) and elsewhere—deserves special study. It is the text of this lectionary that underlies (for the Epistles) the famous nineteenth-century Protestant Arabic translation of the Bible prepared by Eli Smith and Cornelius Van Dyck in collaboration with the Lebanese Maronite scholar Buṭrus al-Bustānī (cf. comparison of ancient and modern versions of 2 Peter 1:4 in Treiger 2018a: 38–40; on the Protestant Arabic translation, see Grafton 2015).

While we have a solid foundation for future research on the Arabic versions of the Gospels and the Epistles, a comprehensive examination of the Arabic versions of Revelation remains a desideratum (Graf 1944–1953: I 182–184; cf. Davis 2008).

Saints' *Lives*

Mark Swanson's masterful survey of Christian hagiography in Arabic highlights the complexity of the field and provides a wealth of examples (Swanson 2011). Swanson notes that "the Arabic hagiographical corpus is, in the first place, a literature of translation" and that "the Arabic language came to be something of a 'catchment field' for the principal literatures of the Christian East, as texts in Greek, Syriac and Coptic came to be translated into Arabic" while many of these Arabic versions were further translated into Georgian and Ethiopic (Swanson 2011: 346–348).

Virtually every collection of Christian Arabic manuscripts has an abundance of hagiographic material. The Sinai collection is particularly significant because it contains

[7] E.g., Acts and Catholic Epistles in Sinai ar. 154 (edition: Gibson 1899); Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, and Ephesians in Sinai ar. 155 (edition: Gibson 1894; Richard M. Frank edited the Arabic version of Ben Sira/Ecclesiasticus from the same manuscript: Frank 1974); Paul's Epistles in St. Petersburg, NLR Ar. N.S. 327 (edition: Stenij 1901).

a few dozen extremely early parchment manuscripts dating to the ninth and tenth centuries. Despite its importance, this collection remains inadequately cataloged (Atiya 1955, 1970; Kamil 1970; Meimaris 1985). We are fortunate, however, that several scholars—Joseph-Marie Sauget, Joseph Nasrallah, Samir Khalil Samir, Michel van Esbroeck, Mark Swanson, Juan Pedro Monferrer-Sala, André Binggeli, and others—have provided painstaking analyses of individual manuscripts and texts. Here is a sample of the early (pre-1000) Melkite hagiographic collections extant at Sinai (with only the hagiographical content indicated). It remains to be seen which of these texts were translated from Greek and which derived from other prototypes, such as Syriac.

- Sinai ar. 428 and *membra disiecta*: Leontios of Neapolis's *Life of St. John the Merciful* (BHG 886), translated at Mar Saba (also in Sinai ar. 431), the *Life* of St. Serapion of Scetis, the martyrdom of St. Arethas/al-Ḥārith of Najrān and companions (Binggeli 2016: 85–87);
- Sinai ar. 431: Leontios of Neapolis's *Life of St. John the Merciful* (mentioned earlier), the miracles of St. Basil, the miracles of St. Nikolaos (Nasrallah 1979–2017: II.2 175–6);
- Sinai ar. 457: the martyrdom of St. Shānūb and companions (also in Sinai ar. NF Perg. 1), the miracles of St. Basil, the martyrdom of Sts. Adrianos, Natalia, and companions, the *Life* of St. Thekla, the martyrdom of St. Eusebia, the *Life* of St. Ephrem (also in Sinai ar. 520), the martyrdom of Sts. Viktor and Stephanis, the martyrdom of St. Paphnoutios (Sauget 1972);
- Sinai ar. 460: the *Life* of St. Xenophon (also in Sinai ar. 545 and Vatican ar. 71; cf. Swanson 2011: 351, 361), the martyrdom of St. Babylianos (= Babylas), one of the Arabic versions of Agathangelos's *History of the Armenians* (Jamkochian 2016; review: Treiger 2018b; cf. Garitte 1946);
- Sinai ar. 461 [same copyist as Sinai ar. 460]: the martyrdom of Sts. Gurias, Samonas, and Habib; the martyrdom of St. Peter, patriarch of Alexandria; the martyrdom of St. George; the Arabic Sibylline prophecy (cf. Swanson 2009); the martyrdom of "the Great Martyr John" of Kafr Sanyā, authored by a certain "monk Julius Hexapontos" (reading uncertain) and translated from Greek into Syriac and from Syriac into Arabic (this John was said to be from Africa, born to parents from Ephesos and martyred under Maximian in Kafr Sanyā near Antioch) (cf. Graf 1944–1953: I 527–528; Fiey 2004: 120; Sauget 1969: 322); Pseudo-Philotheos the Deacon's account of the Jews of Tiberias mocking an image of Christ (BHO 450; cf. D'Agostino 2016); Apocalypse of Paul (cf. Bausi 1999);
- Sinai ar. 513: the *Lives* of Sts. Theodoros Stratelates (cf. van Esbroeck 1967b: 151), Thekla, Eirene, Eustathios (translation: van Esbroeck 2013: 721–727), Sergios and Bakchos, Barbara;
- Sinai ar. 514: story of Eustratios of Cyprus and his disciple Theodosios of Tiberias (other recensions are extant in Sinai ar. 561, Sinai ar. NF Perg. 42, and Vatican ar. 175); martyrdom of Sts. Kerykos and Ioulitta; martyrdom of St. Sharbel and his sister;

- Sinai ar. 520: the martyrdom of Mary the Maccabean and her sons (also in Sinai ar. NF Perg. 1), the *Life* of St. John Chrysostom, the martyrdom of St. Viktor, the martyrdom of St. Epimachos of Pelousion/Farama (van Esbroeck 1966, 1967a), the *Life* of St. Ephrem, the *Life* of Sts. Kosmas and Damianos (also in Sinai ar. 545);
- Sinai ar. 542: Ammonios's *Report on the Martyrdom of the Fathers of Sinai and Raithu* (Treiger 2016), Anastasios Sinaites's *Narrations*, the story of bishop Paula and priest John (Binggeli 2007);
- Sinai ar. 545: the martyrdom of Sts. Eustratios, Auxentios, Eugenios, Orestes, and Mardarios, the *Life* of St. Xenophon (mentioned earlier), Cyril of Scythopolis's *Lives* of Sts. Euthymios, Sabas, Theodosios, and John the Hesychast, the *Life* of Chariton, the *Life* of Aba Jeremiah (cf. van Esbroeck 1998), the story of the finding of the head of St. John the Baptist in Homs/Emesa, the martyrdom of Sts. Kosmas and Damianos (mentioned earlier);
- Sinai ar. NF Parchment 1: the martyrdom of St Shānūb (mentioned earlier), the martyrdom of Maryam/Sulaymāna the Maccabean and her sons (mentioned previously), the story of the seven youths in Ephesos, Ammonios's *Report on the Martyrdom of the Fathers of Sinai and Raithu* (Treiger 2016);
- Sinai ar. NF Parchment 66 and *membra disiecta*: Cyril of Scythopolis's *Lives* of Sts. Euthymios, Sabas, Abramios, and Theodosios, Leontios of Damascus's *Life of St. Stephen of Mar Saba* in Yannah ibn Iṣṭifān al-Fākhūrī's translation, and Pseudo-Athanasios of Alexandria's *Life* of Stephen and Nikon (CPG 2311) (Binggeli 2016: 100–106);
- Sinai ar. NF Paper 17: the *Life* of St. Mary of Egypt, the *Life* of St. George, the martyrdom of apostles Peter and Paul.

The Antiochian *Mênologion*

Whereas the Melkite *Synaxaria* have been carefully studied by Joseph-Marie Sauget (Sauget 1969), the much more extensive Melkite Antiochian *Mênologion*—entitled "Book of the Wheel" (*Kitāb al-Dūlāb*)—had, until recently, received virtually no attention. It is now possible to say that this monumental eight-volume compilation, extant in the series of manuscripts Sinai ar. 395–403 and 405–409 (and in a one-volume abridgment in Sinai ar. 423) and in an eight-volume set in St. Petersburg, NLR, Ar. N.S. 92, was penned by a certain Yūḥannā ibn ʿAbd al-Masīḥ ("John, son of Christodoulos") in the first half of the eleventh century. From the few autobiographical indications provided by the compiler, we know that he was a priest and a monk in the region of Antioch and was elected to be the Melkite catholicos of Romagyris and Shash (near modern Tashkent). Presumably he rejected the appointment, preferring monastic life and scholarly work as a translator and compiler to the episcopal dignity (Treiger 2017; Ibrahim 2018; on the date and further details about his life, see now Treiger 2020a).

The Antiochian *Mênologion* includes several translations by Yūḥannā ibn ʿAbd al-Masīḥ himself (most of them from Syriac), a vast amount of material translated from

Greek (much of it Metaphrastic), as well as several pieces of authentically Arabic hagiography (such as Ibrāhīm ibn Yūḥannā's *Life of the Patriarch of Antioch Christopher*, mentioned earlier, and Michael al-Simʿānī's *Life of St. Ioannes Damaskenos*—on which see Treiger 2013; the latter text was incorporated into the *Mênologion* after its author's time). The Antiochian *Mênologion* is probably a collective work: Yūḥannā ibn ʿAbd al-Masīḥ would have been in charge of a team of translators, perhaps fellow-monks at his monastery (the monastery of the Theotokos Arshāyā near Antioch). This is all the more likely since many of the texts contained in the *Mênologion*—particularly the Metaphrastic lives—seem to originate with it (they make their first appearance in Arabic in the *Mênologion* itself and were most probably translated into Arabic specifically for it). This would have hardly been possible if the *Mênologion* had been the work of one man. Even when older Arabic translations of a given text exist (as is the case, for instance, with Ammonios's *Report on the Martyrdom of the Fathers of Sinai and Raithu*), the *Mênologion* often features a new translation. As such, the Antiochian *Mênologion* deserves a careful and detailed study.

Homiletics, and Theological and Ascetic Literature

Arabic translations of Greek homiletics and theological and ascetic literature number in the hundreds, but with a few exceptions—several orations of Gregory the Theologian, the *Spiritual Meadow* of Ioannes Moschos, and a few short texts by other authors—remain unpublished.[8] Reliable studies of these translations are also few and far between.[9] Moreover, about 95 percent of the Arabic translations are anonymous, which makes it difficult to assign them to a specific time and place and thus establish a reliable history of the translation process. Nonetheless, a systematic analysis of Greco-Arabic translation methods can assist us in assigning anonymous translations to translation centers, and even, in certain cases, to individual translators (Treiger 2015a). In what follows, I shall offer some general remarks and outline the most fruitful avenues for future research.

As with hagiography, it is worth focusing, first, on the earliest translations extant in ninth- and tenth-century patristic anthologies at Sinai, as well as on anthologies from a later age which reflect early material (e.g., Sauget 1970 on Milan, Ambrosiana, X.198

[8] Overview: Treiger (2015b); Gregory the Theologian: Grand'Henry (1988, 1996); Tuerlinckx (2001); Grand'Henry (2005, 2013); Ioannes Moschos: Gvaramia (1965).

[9] Samir (1973a, 1973b, 1974, and 1978) and Sauget (1976) on *Ephraem Graecus*; Nasrallah (1979) on Basil; Haji-Athanasiou (1982) and Samir (1986a) on Nemesios; Bonmariage and Moureau (2011) on pseudo-Dionysios's *Divine Names*; Graf (2013–2014) on Ioannes Damaskenos; Roberts (2020a) on Basil's *Hexaemeron*; Treiger (2015b: 449–450) on the Greek church fathers' influence on Arabic and Islamic philosophy. See now the "Bibliographical Guide to Arabic Patristic Translations and Related Texts" (Roggema and Treiger 2020: 377–418).

Sup.). The tenth-century manuscript Sinai ar. 549, for instance, features a wide selection of texts by John Chrysostom, Basil the Great, Dorotheos of Gaza, Diadochos of Photike, *Ephraem Graecus*, Markos the Monk, Neilos of Ancyra, Evagrios (under the name of Neilos), the *Macarian Homilies*, Anastasios Sinaites, and Ioannes Moschos (under the name of Sophronios), in addition to Arabic translations of Syriac authors such as Isaak the Syrian (a Syro-Arabic translation produced at Mar Saba, distinct from and earlier than ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl's eleventh-century Greco-Arabic version) and John of Apamea (Treiger 2014b).

Second, it is necessary to systematically survey the vast amount of translations produced in and around Antioch from the tenth through the thirteenth century and to study the style and translation methods of individual translators (cf. Treiger 2015a and Ibrahim 2016 and 2020 on Antonios; Roberts 2020b on ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl; Glynias 2020 on Yānī ibn al-Duks).

There are some fascinating works no longer extant in the original Greek, but preserved in Arabic. One notable example is *The Noetic Paradise* (*al-Firdaws al-ʿaqlī*). This is an anonymous ascetic and mystical treatise, originally written in Greek, probably in Palestine in the eighth century and translated into Arabic, probably in the region of Antioch in the eleventh century (the earliest Arabic manuscript, Sinai ar. 483, dates to 1178). This treatise, very much in the tradition of Greek ascetic literature (of Evagrios, the *Macarian Homilies*, Dorotheos of Gaza, Barsanouphios, and Ioannes's *Book of the Ladder*), describes the fall of the human mind (νοῦς) that took place in tandem with the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Eden. It then delineates the way in which the human mind could regain access to the "noetic paradise": "tilling the earth of the heart" (a distinctly Macarian image) and eradicating the "tares" of the passions. Consequent to this ascetic struggle, the individual could reach a state in which his or her mind becomes united with God's light (Treiger 2014a, 2020b).

Equally fascinating is ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl's translation of the sacro-profane florilegium *Loci Communes*, under the title "Book of the Garden," *Kitāb al-Rawḍa*. The translation is interspersed with ʿAbdallāh ibn al-Faḍl's own commentary in which he highlights philosophical aspects of the text and comments on the grammar of the Greek and on his own, extremely eloquent Arabic (Treiger 2019).

There are relatively few Christian Arabic translations of related works written in Greek after the year 1000. Nonetheless, two significant examples can be mentioned. First, three works of the eleventh-century Greek writer Nikon of the Black Mountain—the *Mega Biblion*, the *Taktikon*, and the *Mikron Biblion*—are available in twelfth-century Arabic translations (Nasrallah 1979–2017: III.1 110–122; Rassi 2009). It is noteworthy that the Arabic translation of the *Taktikon* (Sinai ar. 385, Vatican ar. 76, Dayr al-Shuwayr 165, and St. Petersburg, IOM B1221) was commissioned by a certain "God-worshipping father, renunciant ascetic, the luminary of the Syrians (*al-suryān*, i.e., Syriac-speaking *Melkites*; cf. Nasrallah 1979–2017: III.1 118) dwelling on the mountain of the monastery of St. Symeon the Wonderworker" (i.e., the monastery of St. Symeon on the Black Mountain near Antioch). The Arabic translation of the *Mikron Biblion* (extant in the same four manuscripts, as well as in Dayr al-Mukhalliṣ A.C. 47) indicates that it was commissioned by "the shining luminary, the monk," named "Basil al-Ṣākillus (= ὁ σακελλίου, as pointed

out to me by Joe Glynias) ibn al-Shatwī, the virtuous philosopher" (Sinai ar. 385, ff. 449r and 452r), who is otherwise unknown. It is tempting to identify these two individuals, given that the Arabic translator of both the *Taktikon* and the *Mikron Biblion* is evidently one and the same.

Second, mention should be made of an Arabic translation of a hitherto unidentified Byzantine chronicle (or, less likely, an Arabic compilation based on Byzantine historical sources; see Sinai ar. 390 and Sinai ar. 391). Entitled "The Book of the Holy Canons" (*Kitāb al-Qawānīn al-muqaddasa*), it covers the period from Creation to 1164, with special attention to the sequence of Roman emperors up to Manuel I Komnenos (r. 1143–1180) and to the councils, ecumenical and local, convened by each. The first council is, predictably, the council of Jerusalem, described in Acts 15, which the author assigned to the twenty-second year of Emperor Tiberius. The last council, according to the anonymous author's knowledge, is the one that deposed Soterichos Panteugenos on May 12, 1157. The author informs us that he completed his work on Friday, May 15, 6672 AM, i.e., 1164 CE.[10] Following this historical exposition—one of the most extensive treatments of Roman and Byzantine history in all of pre-modern Arabic literature—the author proceeds to translate from "the Greek Roman language," i.e., from Byzantine Greek, a vast array of the canons of ecumenical and local councils (on Arabic translations of canon law, cf. Kaufhold 2012; Pahlitzsch 2007; Pahlitzsch 2014).

Liturgy and Hymns

The Arabicization of Orthodox church services must have been a gradual process. In Palestinian monasteries with significant Arabophone populations (such as Mar Saba), scriptural readings (the Gospel, the Epistle, the Prophets, and the Psalms) seem to have been done in Arabic as early as the ninth century. Nonetheless, Greek liturgical books do not seem to have been translated into Arabic before the twelfth century. This suggests that until that time (with the exception of these scriptural readings) Orthodox liturgy was conducted in Greek and/or Syriac rather than in Arabic. The fact that the Crusaders called the Melkites "*Graeci et Suriani*" strongly supports this conclusion (Pahlitzsch 2001; Pahlitzsch 2006).

The earliest translation of a piece of Greek hymnography into Arabic is that of the twelve *troparia* for the office of the Hours of Holy Friday, ascribed (in the Arabic version) to Cyril of Jerusalem (in the ninth-century manuscript Sinai ar. NF Perg. 35; cf. Leeming 2003; Binggeli 2016: 84–85; also extant in the tenth-century Sinai ar. 330). It is noteworthy that this translation appears in two manuscripts of patristic content, which suggests that the twelve *troparia* were translated as simply another patristic text.[11]

[10] I gratefully acknowledge Raimondo Tocci's help in attempting to identify this work.

[11] Kate Leeming's conclusion that "if such a service [the Hours of Holy Friday] was celebrated in Arabic, we can confidently surmise that other services were held in Arabic as well" (Leeming 2003: 244) seems therefore unwarranted.

Ibn Saḥqūn's translation of the "sessional hymns" (καθίσματα), produced in Damascus in 1010, has already been mentioned. This translation as well was not made for liturgical use, but for personal use of the commissioner, a certain ʿAbd al-Masīḥ ibn ʿAmr, "whose soul has longed to understand them in Arabic" (*man tāqat nafsuhu ʿalā l-wuqūf ʿalayhā ʿarabiyyan*) (Sinai ar. 252, ff. 1r and 163v). This implies that the liturgy in Damascus at the time was still conducted in Greek.

In fact, the earliest Arabic liturgical manuscripts belong to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Nasrallah 1979–2017: III.1 359–386; cf. Nasrallah 1987). Here are some examples (all of them virtually unstudied).

- Jerusalem, Holy Sepulchre 85 (thirteenth century): *Euchologion* (*Book of Prayers*) in Greek and Arabic (Graf 1944–1953: I 626–627);
- Leiden, Or. 14.239 (*olim* Hiersemann 500/45; twelfth century): bilingual Greek-Arabic manuscript of the funeral office (the Greek column has musical notation);
- Princeton, Scheide M141 (*olim* Hiersemann 500/46; twelfth century): bilingual Greek-Arabic manuscript of the funeral office (see https://pulsearch.princeton.edu/catalog/3763359);
- Sinai ar. 180 (year 1242): *Hôrologion* (*Book of Hours*) (Nasrallah 1979–2017: III.1 379, with references to several other manuscripts);
- Sinai ar. 237 (thirteenth century): *Hôrologion*, the liturgies attributed to John Chrysostom and Basil the Great, the liturgies attributed to the apostles Mark, Peter, and James (Nasrallah 1979–2017: III.1 380–381; Mikhail 2015);
- Sinai ar. 239 (twelfth or thirteenth century): bilingual Greek-Arabic manuscript of the *Kanôn* of Andreas of Crete and the *Akathistos*;[12]
- Sinai ar. 244 (year 1272): an excerpt from the "books of the ordinances of the Church" regarding the feasts on which "God is the Lord" is sung at *Matins*;
- Sinai ar. 253 (thirteenth century): στιχηρά from the Lenten *Triodion* (from Sunday of the Publican and the Pharisee to Lazarus Saturday);
- Sinai ar. 258 (thirteenth century): bilingual Greek-Arabic *Euchologion* (includes, among other texts, a blessing of the waters of the Nile, said on the Sunday before Pentecost);
- Sinai ar. 265 (thirteenth century): *Typikon* in Greek and Arabic (Nasrallah 1979–2017: III.1 380–381; distinct from the fourteenth-century translation of the *Sabaite Typikon* in Sinai ar. 264, mentioned earlier; cf. Lüstraeten 2017);
- Sinai gr. 2147 (thirteenth century): liturgy of St. Mark in Greek and Arabic (Samir 1986b: 35).

[12] Andreas's *Kanôn* is also extant in Sinai ar. 236 (year 1298), Sinai ar. 250 (year 1287), Sinai ar. 452 (thirteenth century), Sinai ar. 466 (thirteenth century). The *Akathistos* is also extant in Sinai ar. 534 (year 1225), Sinai ar. 170 (year 1285), Sinai ar. 227 (c. thirteenth century), Sinai ar. 442 (c. thirteenth century), Sinai syr. NF X26N (thirteenth or fourteenth century; bilingual Syriac-Arabic); Sinai gr. 1911 (fourteenth century; bilingual Greek-Arabic), and several later manuscripts (cf. Graf 1944–1953: I 631; edition: Peters 1940).

As many of the texts mentioned previously, these Arabic liturgical translations still await their researchers.

Suggestions for Further Reading

Volume one of Graf (1944–1953) remains the most comprehensive account of Arabic translations of Christian literature; however, it is to be complemented and corrected by more recent research—most significantly: Nasrallah (1979–2017) and further works referenced in the "Bibliographical Guide to Arabic Patristic Translations and Related Texts" (Roggema and Treiger 2020: 377–418).

On Arabic translations of the Bible, Kashouh (2012), Griffith (2013), Vollandt (2015), and Schulthess (2019) are particularly recommended. On hagiography, Swanson (2011) provides an excellent overview; Sauget (1969) is an indispensable analysis of the Melkite *Synaxaria*, whereas Treiger (2017), Ibrahim (2018), and Treiger (2020) provide a starting point for future research on the Antiochian *Mênologion*. Important references on the Arabic translations of the church fathers are contained in the relevant entries of CPG; Treiger (2015b) provides an overview, while Treiger (2015a) lays out a methodology for further study; cf. also Roggema and Treiger (2020). On translations of canon law, Kaufhold (2012) and Pahlitzsch (2014) are to be consulted. Christian Arabic liturgical translations remain practically unstudied, but the relevant sections in Nasrallah (1979–2017) provide a useful starting point.

In contrast to Christian Greco-Arabica, Arabic translations of Greek *non-Christian* and mostly *pre-Byzantine* texts, produced under the auspices of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs, courtiers, and scholars in Baghdad, have been extensively studied. Gutas (1998) provides the most authoritative analysis and extensive references; for more recent scholarship, one can consult Gutas, Schmidtke, and Treiger (2015), the relevant entries of Goulet (1989–2018), and the open-access journal *Studia Graeco-Arabica* (http://learningroads.cfs.unipi.it/sga/); see also Mavroudi (2017). Of non-Christian *Byzantine* texts, special mention should be made of the Arabic translations of Proklos (Endress 1973; Zimmermann 1994; Wakelnig 2006; Arnzen 2013), including the famous *Liber de Causis* (D'Ancona Costa 1995).

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SECTION VII SLAVIC

SERGEY A. IVANOV AND ANATOLII TURILOV

Translations played a much larger role in medieval Slavic literature than in any modern literature: the corpus of translated texts constitutes the very basis of Old Bulgarian, Old Russian, and Old Serbian literatures, and the overwhelming majority of literary texts in those languages were translated from Greek (the number of translations from Latin and Hebrew is comparatively small) (Ševčenko 1991).[1] The very language of the southern and eastern Slavs, in its literary form, is unthinkable without Greek loanwords, which pertain to all spheres of life, but dominate in the intellectual and religious ones; even the alphabet of the Slavs was a Byzantine creation, with the aim of translating the Christian canon. For the Slavs, that is, learning how to read and write meant becoming acquainted with translated Greek texts.[2]

[1] The authors are grateful to Fr. Thomson, M. Dimitrova, and R. Romanchuk for their advice.

[2] In the following survey we leave out those translations which were made in Muscovy after 1453, as well as translations of some Early Christian writers and of Byzantine legal texts, both secular and canonical (including monastic typika), which were translated profusely, from the very first breath of Slavic literacy until the demise of Byzantium.

Ninth to Thirteenth Century

If we leave aside the very first translations made by Methodios (c. 805/815–885; PmbZ 4975 and 25062) and his disciples in Moravia, the peaks of the translation activity can be registered among the Bulgarians from the end of the ninth until the mid-tenth century (Ivanova 2003), among the Rus' from the late eleventh to the first third of the thirteenth century (Pichkhadze 2011a), and among the Serbs especially at Mount Athos in the thirteenth century (Trifunovich 2009).

The question of what was translated by the southern Slavs and what by the eastern Slavs is difficult to solve because the number of manuscripts from Old Bulgaria proper does not exceed three hundred, and the vast majority of Bulgarian texts have survived in later Russian copies whose language has been gradually "russified" by the scribes; by our estimation, there exist altogether less than a thousand Slavic manuscripts (including the smallest fragments) which date before the beginning of the fourteenth century. Only about a dozen translated texts have direct indications of the time and place when the translation was done and thus, here, we shall not go into the detail of the long debates of where this or that translation was done.

The vast majority of the translated texts are related to liturgical needs; the Gospels, the Epistles, and the Psalms account for nearly 40 percent of the total amount of early Slavic manuscripts. After these follow selections from the Old Testament (Thomson 1998), hagiographical encomia, panegyrics on Christian feasts, sermons, and other similar texts read during church services, while another vast layer of translated texts consists of ascetic writings, to which we will return later.

The Slavic translations of some books of the Bible are ascribed to Methodios, the "apostle of the Slavs," and some were translated anew in Bulgaria; yet, during the early period, no unified corpus was created (cf. Cooper 2013: 189). The Slavs were equally (if not more) interested in translating the non-canonical books which were also regarded as part of the Bible (DiTommaso and Böttrich 2011; Kulik and Minov 2015): e.g., the *Second Enoch* (Macascill 2013), the *Revelation of Baruch* (Kulik 2010), the *Protoevangelium of James* (Khristova 1992), the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas* (Rosen 1997), numerous Apocalypses (De Santos Otero 1978: 43–213), etc. With the course of time, this corpus was supplemented by non-canonical penitential rules, prayers, and *Questions and Answers*: e.g., the *Conversation of the Three Hierarchs* (Krasnoseltsev 1890), *The Questions of John the Theologian to Christ on the Mount of Olives* (Miltenov 2007), the *Gospel of Bartholomew* (BHG 228; Mochul'skij 1893), and so on (cf. Thomson 1999: I 108–109). Some of these texts have disappeared in Greek while they survive in Slavonic versions (Tăpkova-Zaimova and Miltenova 2011).

The liturgical poetry of the Byzantine Rite was adapted in Slavic toward the end of the ninth century, and within a century or so the Slavic hymnographic corpus was complete. The earliest hymns are paraphrastic translations or imitations with no evident Byzantine prototype. Simultaneously, the formal peculiarities of Greek liturgical

poetry (for instance, the acrostic or the isosyllabic principle) were often retained by the earliest Slavonic hymns; the placement of hymns in accordance with the liturgical calendar and the relevant liturgical books reflected also Byzantine liturgical practice. Next to *euchologia* and various *hymnals*, other related liturgical books, such as *Panegyrika* (*Torzhestvenniki*) and *Synaxaria*, were also very popular. At the earliest stages, the structure and the content of Slavonic liturgical miscellanies are patterned in accordance with West-Byzantine, i.e. Italian, provincial models; over the course of the tenth century Constantinopolitan influence becomes stronger (Podskalsky 2000: 425–447; Hannick 2006; Krivko 2011, 2011–2012, and 2013; cf. also Papaioannou, "Sacred Song," Chapter 18 in this volume, in relation to Slavonic *Kontakaria*).

Since the ninth century, didactic and admonitory sermons were also popular among the Slavs, who eagerly translated Gregory the Theologian (Bruni 2010), Ioannes Damaskenos (Sadnik 1967–1983), Theodoros Stoudites, Theodoros Daphnopates, and others (the homilies of Photios, though translated, were not widely copied). The absolute favorite was John Chrysostom who, in his own context, had addressed a recently Christianized society and was therefore useful for neophytes like the Slavs. Around 300 of his works were wholly or partially translated (Thomson 1999: I 109). His numerous sermons can be found both in calendar collections (*homiliaries*) and special miscellanies titled *Zlatostruj (Chrysorroas*) (Thomson 1982; Miltenov 2013), *Zlatoust (Chrysostom)*, *Margarit* (*Pearl*; Μαργαρῖται in Greek), and *Andriant* (*Statue*; Ἀνδριάντες in Greek)—reflecting similar Byzantine Chrysostomic collections. Pseudepigraphic compilations ascribed to him were also profusely copied (Granstrem, Tvorogov, and Valevicius 1998), while some sermons preserved in Slavonic are unattested or poorly attested in Greek (Thomson 2008). In Francis Thomson's estimation, "of the hundreds of sermons 50% are merely brief, moralistic and pietistic exhortations made up of excerpts from complete patristic homilies, 20% are devoted to eschatology, 20% are monastic in inspiration and 10% festal" (Thomson 1999: I 109). Attempts were also made to imitate in Slavonic translation the rhythmical structure of Greek rhetoric (Valiavitcharska 2013: 142–181).

Ascetic texts grew more popular with the development of monasticism among the Slavs—the whole volume of ascetic literature amounts to 3,000 manuscript pages (Veder 2003: 359)—but the relation between the Slavonic corpus and its Byzantine prototype was peculiar, as not all the great writers of the desert were noticed. Among those authors and texts that were translated are numerous *Paterika* (the overall amount of manuscript pages exceeds 1,400), Antiochos of Mar Saba's *Pandects* (CPG 7842–7844; Popovski 1989), Cyril of Jerusalem's *Catecheses* (CPG 3585), Dorotheos of Gaza's *Doctrinæ and Epistulæ* (CPG 7352–7353; Hannick 1981: 261–262), Ephrem the Syrian's *Parainesis* (CPG 3942; Bojkovsky 1984), the *Ladder* of Ioannes Sinaites (CPG 7850–7853; Popova 2012), and others (notably, Isaak the Syrian became known, first in Bulgaria, at the very end of the thirteenth century). On the other hand, the writings by Nikon of the Black Mountain remained virtually unnoticed in the Byzantine world, but his *Mega Biblion* and his *Taktikon* enjoyed great popularity among the southern and eastern Slavs;

they were translated twice, were profusely copied, and are known in various redactions (Hannick with Plank, Lutzka, and Afanas'eva 2014; cf. Pavlova and Bogdanova 2000).

More generally, ascetic literature among the Slavs was perceived as literature "of general interest." Such broadening of the reference group is observable in, for instance, the fact that, in Rus,' a version of the *Synaxarion* was augmented with excerpts from the *Ladder*, Antiochos's *Pandects* and Nikon's *Mega Biblion*, Ephrem's *Parainesis*, as well as materials from anonymous *Apophthegmata* and *Paterika*, as well as the *Lausiac History* by Palladios, the *Spiritual Meadow* by Ioannes Moschos, and the *Life of Andrew the Fool*. In the twelfth century, this collection constituted the *Prolog*, an enormous work which existed in numerous redactions (Prokopenko et al. 2010–2011; for the importance of the *Prolog* for the history of Byzantine *Synaxaria*, cf. Papaioannou 2021).

Theological literature was translated mostly in excerpts: Slavic literati tried to avoid long and complicated texts (Sels 2008); preference was given to the earlier period and to the genre of *Questions and Answers* (Miltenova 2011). Indeed, the second oldest surviving dated Slavonic book is the *Izbornik* (*Collection*) of 1073 (also known as *Simeonov Sbornik*), a compilation on the basis of the second redaction of the *Questions and Answers* by Anastasios Sinaites (Bibikov 1996: 256; Sieswerda 2001; Moldovan et al. 2009) which had been translated for the Bulgarian Tsar Symeon (PmbZ 27467; r. 893–927). A part of the *Praeparatio* by Theodoros of Raithu (CPG 7600) included in this collection (Johannet 1991: 63–96) attracts our attention as a unique specimen of a logical treatise in Slavic letters. Also popular were Ps.-Athanasios's *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem* (CPG 2257; De Vos and Grinchenko 2014; Lytvynenko and Gritsevskaya 2017), Theodoretos of Kyrros's *Quaestiones in Octateuchum* (CPG 6200), the *Historia mystica* (CPG 8023) by patriarch Germanos (Afanas'eva 2012: 228–275), and Pseudo-Kaisarios's *Dialogues* (CPG 7482; Miltenov 2006).

Exegetical treatises, represented in more than 120 manuscripts, were selected based on the popularity of the respective biblical books. Thus, the Bulgarians translated Hippolytos's commentary on the *Book of Daniel* (CPG 1873; Iliev 2014), Andreas of Caesarea's commentary (abridged) on the *Revelation* (CPG 7478), and Olympiodoros's commentary on *Job* (CPG 7453, unpublished; Alexeev 1999: 24). Another group of translations comprises commentaries on *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, *Ezekiel*, and the *Minor Prophets* (CPG 6208; Miltenov 2009; cf. further bibliography in Dimitrova 2014: 408–409).

Byzantine *Hexaemera* were the Slavs' main source of knowledge about cosmogony and the organization of the universe. Early in the tenth century, at the court of Tsar Symeon, mentioned earlier, the local Bulgarian version of *Hexaemeron* was compiled by John the Exarch (Aitzetmüller 1958–1978), whose main sources were Basil the Great's nine *Homilies on the Hexaemeron* (CPG 2835) and Severianos of Gabala's six *Homilies on the Creation of the World* (CPG 4194), and the most recent source Meletios the Monk. Out of all the geographic literature of Byzantium, only the *Christian Topography* by Kosmas Indikopleustes was translated, although it is not clear when and where (Golyshenko and Dubrovina 1997).

Hagiography (for bibliography, see Podskalsky 2000: 271–272) served for both liturgical and monastic purposes; it was also a sort of private reading of the medieval Slavs. A repertoire of South-Slavic translated hagiography includes 220 items (Ivanova 2008). Large numbers of Byzantine lives of saints were translated as parts of complete collections, such as *Mênologia*. Pre-Metaphrastic *Mênologia* often occur in Slavonic literature (see, e.g., Helland 2009; Ivanova 2013: 80), the most famous being the *Codex Supraliensis* (Zaimov and Capaldo 1982–1983), a March *Mênologion*, that contains many texts unattested in Greek; similarly, the Slavonic set for February–July goes back to the library of the Stoudios monastery (Afinogenov 2000). Although the corpus of Symeon Metaphrastes was also known (Kenanov 1997), it is indeed the abundance of pre-Metaphrastic hagiography that makes Slavonic corpus so important. More than sixty such texts are known in manuscripts written in Rus' between the eleventh and the fourteenth centuries; the most important among them are those of John the Theologian (BHG 916), Antony the Great (BHG 140; Angelov 1967), Sabas the Sanctified (BHG 1608), Theodore Stoudites (BHG 1755), Pankratios of Taormina (BHG 1410), Epiphanios of Cyprus (BHG 596), etc. (see further Ivanova 2008 and Tvorogov 2008).

Furthermore, some Byzantine hagiographical texts have survived only in Slavonic, among which are the *Lives* of Alexander of Side (Zaimov and Capaldo 1982: 155–166), Aninas (Ivanov 2005), the transvestite St. Eupraxia of Olympos (Ivanov 2008), Stephen of Sugdeya (Ivanov 2006), Theoteknos of Antioch (Ivanova 2004), Theodosia (Afinogenov 2000/2001), Dorotheos of Alexandria (Helland 2006), Onesimos the Wonderworker (Ivanov 2019), Thaddaios (Afinogenov 2001), and Zenobios and Zenobia, certain miracles by Saints John the Baptist, Demetrios of Thessalonike, Nicholas of Myra, George the Great Martyr, etc. There also exist versions of the *Lives* of Patapios, Agathe, Trophimos, and Eukarpion (Zaimov and Capaldo 1982: 209–213), Basil and Capiton of Cherson (Zaimov and Capaldo 1983: 532–543), the *Apocalypse of Anastasia* (Miltenova 1998), the *Passion* of Polykarpos (Khomych 2018), and others, known only in Slavic. In some cases, the Slavonic translation of a hagiographical text goes back to a Greek source older than the extant one: e.g., Saints Dionysios the Areopagite (Ivanova and Pileva 2006), Nazarios, Gervasios, Protasios, and Kelsos, Karpos, Papylos, and Agathonikos, etc. The colossal task of identifying all Slavonic versions that are more complete (Podskalsky 2000: 272) than the extant Greek ones has yet to be undertaken.

Especially striking is the great popularity of a specific group of rather long *Lives* of exotic saints, containing eschatological material, compiled in Constantinople during the tenth century: those of Saints Basil the Younger (BHG 264a; Pentkovskaya, Shchegoleva, and Ivanov 2018), Andrew the Fool (BHG 115z; Moldovan 2000), and Nephon of Konstantiane (BHG 1371z; Ristenko 1928). All were translated soon after being composed and were copied many times, playing an important role in Old Rus' culture. This tells us something about the interests of Slavic readers: they wanted literature that would ingrain popular eschatology into everyday life. Simultaneously, we observe a related difference between the eastern and the southern Slavs: in Rus,' Andrew the Fool

was perceived as a role model for local "holy foolery," whereas in Bulgaria this cultural phenomenon did not take roots, and his *Life* was cherished as a source of *Questions and Answers* and *Revelations* (Miltenova and Stammler 2012: 253–262). The *Barlaam and Ioasaph* (Lebedeva 1985) and the *Tale of Aphroditian—De gestis in Perside* (CPG 6968; BHG 802–805g), which survives in 58 Russian and only 29 Greek copies (Veder 2011) also should be mentioned in this context.

Some bits and pieces of pagan wisdom, mixed with biblical and Christian maxims, reached the Slavs, in gnomological collections like the *Melissa* (Pichkhadze and Makeev 2008), *The Wisdom of the Wise Menandros*, *Theosophia*, etc. (Kuzidova-Karadzhinova 2011 and 2012a; Bulanin 1991: 61–70). Some collections, such as the 199 *Narrationes de sapientia philosophica* or the 72 *Sententiae* ascribed to a certain Barnabas the Anomoean have no extant Greek original (Thomson 1999: VII, 332–336; A,47); notably, Barnabas's popularity is testified by one of his maxims written as graffito on the wall of the Saint Sophia Cathedral in Kiev at the end of the eleventh century (Rozhdestvenskaya 1988), whereas his manuscript tradition is not earlier than the fourteenth century. Relatedly, the genre of what among the Slavs was called the *Palaia* (retellings of Old Testament history), which emerged in Byzantium at the end of the ninth century, was quite popular and was translated two or even three times; while the *Palaia Historica* (Popov 1881; Skowronek 2016) has an extant Greek prototype, the *Palaia Interpretata* (Pankratov 2002) does not (Reinhart 2007; Adler 2015).

The Slavs' perception of historiography was sharply circumscribed: their attention was concentrated exclusively on world chronicles (general survey: Weingart 1922–1923). Such a selective approach is understandable: history was perceived as the unfolding of the divine plan for humankind, reminiscent of the "historical" books of the Old Testament. Therefore, Josephus's *Jewish War* was translated as a continuation of the Bible (Pichkhadze 2004). Ioannes Malalas (Istrin 1994) and Georgios the Monk, as well as his c*ontinuator* (Istrin 1920–1930), were highly popular, and in many cases Slavonic readings help reconstruct the original text; less known, at this early period, was the chronicle attributed to patriarch Nikephoros (Piotrovskaya 1998). The abridged text of Georgios Synkellos was also translated, but poorly known (Brazhnikova 2000; on Theophanes the Confessor, see Totomanova 2015). The famous chronicle by Julius Africanus, whose original is lost, survived, in its biblical part, only in Slavonic translation (Totomanova 2008, 2011). Finally, to some extent, also the *Alexander Romance*, translated from its early Byzantine β-redaction, was reconceptualized as part of sacral history and was especially popular (Istrin 1893)—so much so that a relief of Alexander flying with a chariot drawn by griffins is carved on the wall of Saint Demetrios Cathedral in Vladimir (Northern Rus'), while the name "Macedonian" is scratched as a graffito under a picture of a horseman in the Volotovo church in Novgorod.

Other sporadic examples of translation belong to a variety of genres. Advisory literature is represented by Agapetos's *Ekthesis of Admonitory Chapters*, which was probably perceived not as a mirror of princes but rather as a "collection of moralistic gnomes" (Thomson 1999: V,351, n. 381), later to serve as the basis for the whole of Muscovite

political philosophy (Ševčenko 1954). The only textbook of rhetoric/grammar is an abridged version of Georgios Choiroboskos's *On Tropes* (Velkovska 1986). The rich Byzantine epistolographic tradition is represented in Slavonic by several accidental specimens, such as Gregory the Theologian's letter to Philagrios (Gritsevskaya 2004), the letter of the Three Patriarchs to the emperor Theophilos (Afinogenov 2014), a letter by Michael Glykas (unpublished; discovered by the authors of this chapter), or the fictitious rhetorical *Epistola XXV Sosipatri Axiocho* (Bulanin 1991: 365–369)—preserved most probably not as a conscious choice, but due to its proximity to some other, more popular text within a source collection.

As may be obvious from the preceding discussion, the choice of works which were translated was shaped by the milieu in which the majority of translations was carried out, namely the monastery (Thomson 1999: I 117–118), at least in the earlier period. This does not mean that Slavic translators worked only in the precincts of monasteries. The royal court milieu of the First Bulgarian Tsardom, which imitated the Byzantine Empire in many ways, could also nourish some interest toward Byzantine literature; yet, the Preslav school organized by Tsar Symeon, who was himself brought up in Constantinople, did not produce many translations of secular texts—perhaps because the Bulgarian cultural elite was bilingual and could read such literature in Greek (Miltenova and Stammler 2012; Yovcheva and Taseva 2012).

In Rus,' translation work began much later than in Bulgaria and produced incomparably less. At the beginning, these activities were not conducted as systematically as in Preslav. The first texts were clustered with no regard for boundaries of genres set by the Greeks. Thus, judging by the peculiarities of translation techniques, one and the same group worked on such dissimilar texts as Josephus's *Jewish War* and the so-called *Melissa*, while another translated such disparate works as the *Life* of Saint Andrew the Fool and the *Alexander Romance* (Pichkhadze 2011a: 81–82).

Later, on the threshold of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, translation activities among the Rus' acquired a more planned character, as translators deliberately sought out exegetical works not yet translated in Bulgaria. In this corpus, we find both old and new Byzantine writings: for instance, a *Catena in Canticum Canticorum* with texts by Philo of Karpasia, Gregory of Nyssa, and Hippolytus of Rome (translated in fact from a lost Byzantine original: Alexeev 2002) or a *Catena in Psalmos* with texts by Theodoretos of Kyrros, Hesychios of Jerusalem, and Pseudo-Hechychios (Pogorelov 1910; Verschinin 2018), along with the *Commentaries on the Gospels* by Theophylaktos Hephaistos, archbishop of Ochrid (Pichkhadze 2011b), Niketas of Herakleia's commentaries on the sixteen liturgical orations of Gregory of Nazianzos (Alexeev 1999: 128), and religious polemics (Reinhart 2015). We may also note that entire segments of translated literature may have disappeared due to the Mongol invasions during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries—thus, an inscription from Saint Sophia of Novgorod, dating to the thirteenth century, is a line from the translation of some unidentified Byzantine poem of repentance (Rozhdestvenskaya 1988).

Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries

During the first period, surveyed earlier, the translator's work remained usually anonymous. We know the names of only few Slavic translators; a group of Methodios's disciples like Constantine of Preslav during the First Bulgarian Tsardom and, later, Protopresbyter Gregory, John the Exarch, and John the Elder; and in Rus': Theodosios the Greek and Clement Smoliatich. Yet, when we turn to the later period, we encounter more names; in Serbia: Saint Sabas, Isaiah of Serres, the patriarch Nikodim, Anthony Bagaš, Laurence, Gregory the Monk, Gabriel, Jacob Dobropisac (i.e. "Good Writer"), Constantine Kostenečki; in the Second Bulgarian Tsardom: John of Athos, Joseph the Elder, Zakchaios the Philosopher, Dionysios Divnyi, the patriarch Euthymios, Demetrios Zograf, James and Benedict (on South-Slavic translators, cf. Podskalsky 2000: 144–152); among the Rus': the Metropolitan Cyprian (a Bulgarian), Pachomios Logofet (a Serb), and Theodore of the Simonov monastery.

Mount Athos was probably the main center of translation activity in this period, while another major center was the Bulgarian capital Tarnovo in the second half of the fourteenth century, with its circle of literati centered around patriarch Euthymios. The Tarnovo school of translation opted for word-for-word rendition, to the extent that many such translations are unintelligible. During this period, "classical" early Byzantine works were still being translated: John Chrysostom's *Homilies* on *Genesis* (CPG 4409); Theodoretos's commentary on the *Song of Songs* (CPG 6203; Dimitrova 2012); the full versions of Severianos's six *Homilies on the Creation of the World* (CPG 4194; Sels and Van Pee 2019), Gregory of Nyssa's *De hominis opificio* (Sels 2009), the *Areopagitic Corpus* (Goltz et al. 2010–2013), and Ioannes Damaskenos's *Dialectics* (CPG 8041; Weiher 1969). Also, many texts were translated several times: the *Hexaemeron* by Georgios Pisides (Radošević 1979), Maximos the Confessor's *Chapters on Love*, sermons by Abbas Dorotheos and by Theodore Stoudites, a *Catena on Job* (Thomson 2016), etc. Next to these, some middle Byzantine texts were also translated, such as the *Sermon on the Presentation of the Virgin* (BHG 1107) by Theophylaktos of Ochrid (Khristova-Shomova 2019: 104–125), the *Panoplia* by Euthymios Zygabenos (Ivanova 1987), or the *Dioptra* by Philippos Monotropos (Prokhorov, Miklas, and Bildiug 2008)—which enjoyed huge popularity and is preserved in 180 Slavic copies.

Nevertheless, the later period of Slavic translation activity is significantly different from the earlier periods, since in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the Slavs became deeply involved in the religious and cultural life of the Byzantine world (Turilov 2011). Therefore, many Greek authors were brought to the Slavic reader without delay: e.g., Nikolaos/Nektarios of Otranto (Lomize and Turilov 1996), Matthaios Blastares (Novaković 1907; Alexandrov 2012), Ioannes Kantakouzenos (Prokhorov 1987), Gregorios Palamas (Prokhorov 2009: 54–119; Scarpa 2012), Neilos Kabasilas, Gregorios Sinaites (Podskalsky 2000: 210–211; indeed, many of his writings survive only in Slavic

translations: Tachiaos 1983), David Dishypatos (Prokhorov 2009: 15–53), Philotheos Kokkinos (Prokhorov 2009: 120–186), Michael Balsamon, the patriarch Kallistos I (Podskalsky 2000: 197), Ioannes Bryennios, Markos of Ephesos, and others (Thomson 1999: I 118). Polemical literature, for instance, was translated in scores—against Muslims, Jews, heretics, and, predominantly, "Latins" (e.g., Popov 1875: 251–286; Kakridis 2004; Kakridis and Taseva 2014; Prokhorov 1972, 2008).

At this time, also numerous *homiliaries* were brought to the Slavs, and this meant the translation of some barely known writers, such as Antipatros of Bostra (CPG 6680–6681), Titos of Bostra (CPG 3580), Aetios, presbyter of Constantinople (BHG 861p; CPG 7908—cf. 9080 and 9086), Gregory, presbyter of Caesarea (BHG 1431; Antonopoulou 2011: 24), Gregory Patriarch of Antioch (BHG 1936; CPG 7384), Theognios of Jerusalem (CPG 7378), etc., as well as some works by Manuel Holobolos and Julian of Tavia unknown in Greek; indeed, some such Byzantine authors are known only thanks to Slavic translations of their works: Euthymios the Humble; Arsenios, hegoumenos and presbyter; and Peter, presbyter of Antioch (Hannick 1981: 260–268 and 280–282; 2004). Some late hagiographical *Lives* were also translated; those of Romylus of Vidin by Gregorios Kalligraphos (*BHG* 2383–2384; the Slavonic version is fuller than the Greek one; cf. Podskalsky 2000: 305–306), Gregorios Sinaites (BHG 722; Delikari 2004) and Theodosios of Tarnovo by Kallistos I (which survives only in Slavonic; Podskalsky 2000: 299).

In the rare cases that a Greek poem would be translated, it was perceived as prose. Such was the treatment, for instance, of the verses by Christophoros Mytilenaios on the feast days of saints (Cresci and Skomorochova Venturini 1999–2002); the unpublished translation of an anonymous poetic *ekphrasis* of the Pantokrator monastery included in the twelfth-century *Mênaia* under August 4; metrical eulogies for transvestite saints from the *Prolog* (Petkov 2000); the interpretation of the *Song of Songs* in verse by Michael Psellos (Dimitrova 2005); the *Chronicle* of Manasses (Velinova 2013: 150–160); the *Spaneas* (Radovanovich 1979) or the *Dioptra* (cf. infra).

As the Second Bulgarian Tsardom and the Serbian Kingdom tried to emulate Byzantium politically, the local dynasties also patronized the translation of some "secular" literature, for example, the *Chronicles* of Symeon Logothetes (translated independently in Bulgaria and in Serbia; cf. Wahlgren 2005), Konstantinos Manasses (Dujchev et al. 1988; Velinova 2013), and Ioannes Zonaras (Jacobs 1970), the latter in three different versions (Tvorogov 2010). The *Physiologos* (Stoykova 2011), which was translated twice, first by the Bulgarians (or by the Rus') and then by the Serbs, enjoyed great popularity as simple Christian admonition. To the same genre, in the perception of the Slavs, belonged the *Exhortations to His Son Leo*, attributed to the emperor Basil I (Nikolov 2007).

Byzantine texts in the "entertaining" genres were also rendered in Slavic in the late period. For instance, the *Life of Aesop* (Syrku 1884: 90–98; cf. Toth 2005), the *Stephanites and Ichnelates* (Likhacheva and Lourie 1969), and a later version of the *Tale of the Construction of Saint Sophia* (Vilinskii 1900: 79–109). Here we may furthermore add such different works as the apocryphal *Tale of Ahiqar* (Kuzidova-Karadzhinova 2012b), *Barlaam and Ioasaph* once again, in a new, Serbian translation (Lebedeva 1985), and *The Story of Theophano* (Turdeanu 1976)—a folk version of the tragic coup d'état of 969, whose Greek

original has not survived. It is also interesting to note that the second, Serbian version of the *Alexander Romance*, contrary to the first one, was not perceived as a part of sacral history, but rather as entertainment (Ionova 2012). The same secular interest is signaled by the *Devgenievo Dejanie Deeds of the Brave Men of Old* (Bruni 2014; Romanchuk, Shelton, and Goldgof 2017), the prose version of *Digenes Akrites*, which has nothing to do with the church or moral admonition in general; it goes back to some a Greek original, which has, again, not survived, and its main hero not only confronts the Byzantine emperor but defeats him and becomes emperor himself (Kuzmina 1962: 154–156).[3]

Conclusion

Even if Byzantine literature translated into Slavic languages is insufficiently published, let alone studied,[4] some general remarks can be offered. The Slavic version of Byzantine literature does not constitute a diminished copy or rough "footprint" of the original. The clerics who brought Christianity to the Slavs did not, normally, promote the secular part of the Byzantine culture. Their inclinations inevitably influenced the selection of texts which were translated, and the Greek heritage was transmitted to the former Slavic pagans in a form devoid (with very few exceptions) of any traces of "Hellenism," i.e., of the Greek classics. Yet, even clerical literature turns out to be represented disproportionately: dogmatic, apologetic, and polemical works are underrepresented, and mysticism is lacking completely (Thomson 2006: 504), whereas *apocrypha* are overrepresented. The latter fact should be ascribed not so much to official indoctrination as to grassroots-level contacts. As for "secular" Byzantine literature, entire genres remained completely unnoticed by Slavic translators, primarily from the learned tradition: classicizing history, satire, romances, *strategika*, learned commentaries on ancient philosophy and literature, *lexika*, and, with very few exceptions, science, epistolography, court rhetoric, and secular poetry.

In Byzantium, the process of grafting "Hellenic" culture to Christianity took many centuries and resulted in a complicated, multilayered system which was difficult to grasp for the newly converted Slavs. The Byzantines could afford to juggle with mythological hints and metaphors and, in so doing, were not afraid of accusations of paganism; by contrast, for the Slavs, their own recent paganism could not become a matter of play. The

[3] We may add that, in this period, some works in the Byzantine tradition (and conception) of science were also translated: e.g., the meteorological treatise *On Thunder and Lightning* by Eustratios of Nicaea (Prokhorov 2003: 146), a compilation on various scientific problems, which includes excerpts from Symeon Seth, Psellos, and others (Giannelli 1963), cosmographic treatises (Radošević 1981: 178–180; cf. Caudano 2017), *iatrosophia* and medical treatises such as *Galen's [Commentary] on Hippocrates* (Mil'kov 1999: 454–460) and *Alexander's [Treatise on Embryology]* (Radošević 1993: 163–164), and the grammatical textbook "On the Eight Parts of Speech" falsely attributed to Ioannes Damaskenos (Weiher 1977), as well as books on divination (Ševčenko 1981: 338–341).

[4] Suffice it to state that, beyond works mentioned previously, the whole corpus of Methodios of Olympos, which survives only in a Slavic version, still remains in manuscript (Bracht 2017); many works by Gennadios I, unattested in Greek, also remain unpublished (Veder 2014), and so on and so forth.

very system of education in Byzantium remained secular for the most part, and the very identity of the *Rhomaioi* implied the existence of independent secular layers within their culture. Meanwhile, the Slavs perceived the written word with awe and solemnity. It is perhaps no accident that, for instance, the playful calendar poem attributed falsely to Nikolaos Kallikles (Mil'kov and Poljanskij 2008: 574–576; Bylinin 1988)—and ascribed in one Russian manuscript to "Ptochoprodromos" (!)[5]—was included in a Slavic astrological collection side by side with opulent divinations. The clericalization of secular genres permeated Slavonic literacy: thus, the legislation practiced in Old Rus' existed for a long time in an oral form, whereas the verbose Byzantine codes, dutifully translated, gathered dust as an unusable symbol of Orthodox piety (Zhivov 2002: 73–108). Similarly, interest in profane knowledge and taste for "*belles lettres*" developed only gradually among the Slavs toward the end of the Byzantine millennium, in Bulgaria and Serbia in the fourteenth century, and in Muscovy in the fifteenth, maintaining the defunct empire's shadowy existence in the seclusion of Russian monasteries (Romanchuk 2007).

Suggestions for Further Reading

There is no full survey of all Slavonic "literary" translations; the most comprehensive repertoires of extant translated texts are Thomson (1999) and (2018: 43–86). For a general overview, see Bulanin (1995); see also Dujčev (1968: 3–29) and (1971: 267–279), while a very useful introduction to writing and book culture of the Early Rus' is offered in Franklin (2002).

The role of what we might regard as a *Clavis patrum slavicorum* is to some extent played by Podskalsky (2000), with the addendum of Thomson (2006). Separate repertories for Old Bulgarian literature, where translations occupy a considerable part, are several; e.g.:

- the *Repertorium of Old Bulgarian Literature and Letters*, at: http://repertorium.obdurodon.org/

There also exists *A Lexikon of Literati and Literacy of the Old Rus'* (Likhachev 1987–2012), as well as a relevant section in *A History of Russian Literature*, available at: http://www.rusliterature.org/translated-literature-of-the-eleventh-to-early-thirteenth-centuries/#.VoPO2cB958c; and Sobolevskii (2019).

Slavonic *apocrypha* are gathered in Badalanova and Geller (2008), Orlov (2009), Kulik and Minov (2015), and at http://www.marquette.edu/maqom/pseudepigrapha.html and http://versiones-slavicae.com/db/default.asp. For translated hagiography, the fullest reference books are: Tvorogov (2008) for Old Rus' and Ivanova (2008) for Balkan

[5] Cf. its attribution to Theodoros Prodromos in one Greek manuscript (Romano 1980: 125).

manuscripts. See also the related online project in Atanassova-Pencheva (2012). Finally, translated Slavonic homiletics is gathered in Hannick (1981) and Čertorickaja (1994).

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CHAPTER 23

MODES OF MANUSCRIPT TRANSMISSION (NINTH–FIFTEENTH CENTURIES)

INMACULADA PÉREZ MARTÍN

Any attempt to survey the manuscript transmission of texts in Byzantium confirms our limited knowledge of the methods of dissemination of its enormous written legacy. My goal in the following pages has consequently been more modest: to present some patterns in the transmission of Byzantine texts, with the intention of being more original than exhaustive. To do so, I shall take as a starting point the findings of works dealing with the transmission of specific Byzantine texts, mostly subsequent to Hans Georg Beck's "Überlieferungsgeschichte der byzantinischen Literatur" (1961), which remains the only comprehensive survey on the subject, albeit inevitably partial. Beck presented his work in four major parts—historiography, classicizing texts, vernacular tradition, and patristic literature—with a chronological internal organization. He dealt briefly with the novel and excluded hagiography. Since then, several studies on textual transmission have appeared (e.g., Gastgeber 2003; Signes Codoñer and Pérez Martín 2014), and many more editions of texts that include the study of their manuscript witnesses (what in textual criticism is called *recensio*, cf. Macé, "Textual Criticism," Chapter 24 in this volume). However, neither are the studies comprehensive, nor are all *recensiones* equally rigorous: for instance, information on codices may be poorly checked; a selection may be made of the most accessible or oldest witnesses as the basis of an edition without addressing a total *stemma* of the transmission; and frequently no attention is paid to the context of the copies or to their readers.

The close study of the history of texts, however, brings at least two major benefits to our study of Byzantine literary culture. First, it facilitates the *constitutio textus*, that is, the decisions modern editors must make when establishing the text they will print. The editor can benefit by a better understanding of the cultural context and history of each witness of a text. This is crucial in the cases where witnesses are dated close to the time of the production of a work, and where careful analysis of variants and other para-texts can

illuminate not only the history of the text itself, but also its actual composition (see the case of Photios's *Bibliothêkê*: Ronconi 2014).

Second, beyond being an instrument of ecdotics, the study of transmission offers a likely window into the values and goals of those who purchased, owned, read, and wrote books. It can illuminate the multiple functions of books in Byzantium: as training tools in order to start a career; works of reference with which to underpin professional practice; sources of entertainment; means of meeting spiritual and aesthetic needs (cf. Rapp 1996; Cunningham 2011); or simply ways of displaying one's cultural and social capital (Ševčenko 1998; Cavallo 2006). To understand manuscripts from this perspective is a difficult task. However, when the contents of a work are known in depth and the textual witnesses are carefully studied, the conclusions can be enlightening (Michael Psellos: Papaioannou 2019: xxxiii–clxvi with Papaioannou 2021a: 282–302; poetry from the eleventh century: Bernard 2014).

In what follows, several modes of textual transmission will be explored, with a focus on the middle and late Byzantine period. With few exceptions, the complicated transmission of early Byzantine texts will not be treated here. In their case, the distance that separates the earliest manuscript witnesses (dated usually after the ninth century) from the original time of writing introduces a host of problems for the historian of textual transmission, which, though certainly worthy of investigation, prevent any examination of the kind I hope to offer here. This will look closely at the dialogue between the original and the copy and even between the author and the reader of a book.

Some Unyielding Textual Transmissions

"Living Texts"

Traditional textual criticism was born to provide critical editions that accurately reflect an ancient text (be it the New Testament, Virgil, or Euripides). Yet it is not the appropriate instrument to deal with what have been termed "living texts," that is, texts whose transmissions are relatively open (cf. Macé, "Textual Criticism," Chapter 24 in this volume). Chronicles are a good example of this (Roueché 1988: 124, 127–129). For instance, the *Short Chronicle* attributed to Patriarch Nikephoros (for its attribution to Georgios Synkellos, Signes Codoñer 2021) offers basic adaptable historical material, arranged into lists of kings, emperors, judges, and patriarchs. The manuscripts normally present different anonymous versions of these lists that are easily upgradable to include supplementary information and corrections or additions by later readers/copyists (Mango 1990: 2–4).

Many hagiographical texts follow the same model of "living texts." Usually more than one version of the *Life* of a saint was produced and preserved within or outside liturgical collections. In the preliminary study to his edition of the *Life of Symeon the Fool* (BHG 1677), Leenart Rydén (1963) made a commendable effort to organize the

transmission of the work not only by location of manuscript production (southern Italy, Constantinople), but also by taking into consideration the contents and function of the manuscripts (metaphrastic or pre-metaphrastic *Menologia*, *Homiliaria*, or non-menological collections). This enabled him to locate one of the two recensions of the work in southern Italy before the eleventh century. Similarly, in her edition of the *Life of Stephanos the Younger* (BHG 1666), Marie-France Auzépy identified nineteen pre-metaphrastic manuscripts and placed their transmission into context within and outside menological collections. Once again, the circulation of the text in Southern Italy became apparent, as well as its transmission in monastic settings (Auzépy 1997: 54).

Collections

The ductility of works composed of small parts (such as *Gnômologia*, collections of *Apophthegmata*, *Questions and Answers*, letters, epigrams) has a tendency to entangle their transmission to the point of making their comprehensive study almost impossible. The basic reason is that these texts were highly susceptible to the choices of scribes and/or readers who were free to remove, add, or change the order of some of its parts, a difficulty that editors have attempted to resolve in different ways, with varying results. Here are some examples.

Leendert Westerink (1948) was able to establish the existence of four distinct versions of Psellos's so-called *De omnifaria doctrina*, a very accessible and successful doxographic collection of philosophical and theological material with 150 manuscript witnesses, copied from Trebizond and Palestine to southern Italy. Two of the versions were determined to be "original" (I and II) and were attributed to the author; the other two (III and IV) simply offered later rearrangements. Starting from any of the four versions, copyists felt free to transcribe only part of the chapters or change their order. For the purposes of his edition, Westerink chose (perhaps understandably) to ignore the most incomplete witnesses, to collate only those codices with the two "original" versions, and to present the chapters in the order of one of the complete versions (III), although he did not accept its variants in the text. The result was an intelligent lacework that nevertheless somewhat obscures the reality of the text in its circulation (Pérez Martín 2020).

The modern edition of the *Questions and Answers* of Anastasios Sinaites (Richard and Munitiz 2006) contains the text of 103 questions (the organization of material in hundreds is a feature of the genre) put to Anastasios by parishioners belonging to various groups in Alexandria. The answers constitute an instruction manual for "rank-and-file" Christians on mundane and everyday issues such as material wealth and sex life. A hundred manuscripts contain six collections, only partly overlapping. None of them can be traced back to the author himself. The process of the adulteration of the original collection (the oldest and most complete witness is Moscow, GIM, Sinod. gr. 265, ninth century) had begun in Constantinople in the mid-ninth century, when twenty-three of the *Quaestiones* were reworked, eliminating Anastasios's personal comments and adding an apparatus of sources for support. The subsequent history of the text was marked by its enlargement

with new exegetical materials and the addition of pseudo-Anastasian *quaestiones*. Twenty-one manuscripts contain what is described as a florilegium, known as *Soterios*, which circulated widely and was translated into Slavic (Sieswerda 2001; De Groote 2015).

If the problems of transmission of small compositions are complex, those of even smaller units, such as sentences and maxims (Richard 1962), may resist any sort of *recensio*. The most significant example of transmission that resists analysis is the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, collections of sayings attributed to the desert fathers, which in Byzantium were called *Paterika* or *Gerontika*. These works were not only obligatory reading in monasteries, but each monastic institution had its own *Paterikon*, the best known being that of Mar Saba (Dahlman 2012). The first scholar to approach the *apophthegmata* made no attempt to decipher the history of the text, but simply presented "the general economy of the collections" (Guy 1984: 8). However, the establishment of the relations between different collections of *apophthegmata* could reveal a network of affiliations between monastic communities, such as those which the foundation documents of Byzantine monasteries have already brought to light (Thomas and Constantinides Hero 2000).

Popular Texts

If manuscripts preserve disparate versions of a work of great popularity, one single edited text can hardly be faithful to all these versions. Robert Volk's edition of Euthymios the Iberian's *Barlaam and Ioasaph* (Volk 2006–2009) includes an impressive study of its transmission: a total of 221 witnesses and five different redactions of the text (BHG 224 and 224a; CPG 8120). The editor decided to offer the text of one version, which turned out to not be the oldest, but probably the one closest to "the last wishes of the author" (Volk 2016: 416). Represented by manuscripts that belong to what was termed "Familie a" and produced at the monastery of Iveron on Mount Athos by the year 1021, this redaction is actually a revised version of the text offered by "Familie c," the one attested in the largest number of manuscripts. This means that scholars studying the *Barlaam and Ioasaph* will have to use the *apparatus criticus* to recreate the version of the text they wish to analyze (Grossmann 2009, 2012; also Volk 2016, with a revised view on the matter).[1]

The Availability of Texts

Given that chance was largely responsible for the disappearance of Byzantine manuscripts (the other culprit being willful destruction), it is preferable not to overstress

[1] For the text, see further Chapter 8, "Translations I: From Other Languages into Greek," Messis and Papaioannou, "Section III. Arabic," in this volume.

the importance of accidental survival, but to proceed on the assumption that, generally speaking, the surviving witnesses represent in due proportion the real, and partly lost, transmission of what was written in Byzantium. If some Byzantine texts have been lost, it is because they were transmitted in a few copies; if others have survived in tens or (rarely) hundreds of manuscripts, it is because they were copied many more times.

To these simple maxims it is necessary to add two important nuances. The first is that the great conflicts that Orthodoxy suffered (the most important in this period were Iconoclasm, the competition with the church of Rome, and Palamism) often entailed the destruction of "unorthodox" texts, as well as the creation of a doctrinal canon that was completed in the fourteenth century with the triumph of Hesychasm (Cunningham 2011: 85; Rigo 2012: 172 n. 3). The second nuance is that the quality of the writing material and the frequency of use determined the conservation of a book. Just as our paperback books stand up poorly to the test of time, codices of poor-quality paper or those written in corrosive ink suffered far more over time, and their number must have been even greater in the past. This is particularly important in the transmission of texts during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, when there seems to be no direct correspondence between the rich literary culture of the period and the contemporary books that have survived, in what was certainly a moment of intense reading and copying (cf. Figure 3.2 in Chapter 3). We shall return to this argument later. Moreover, heavily used books, such as those employed in individual prayer or the liturgy, suffered steady deterioration and required replacement. The situation is explained, for instance, by the colophon of Paris, BNF, gr. 1598, dating to 1071/1072, an important witness of the *Apophthegmata Patrum*; its scribe tells us that the abbot of Mar Saba requested the replacement of the monastery's *Paterikon*, "which had aged greatly" (Lake and Lake 1934–1945, vol. 5: 177; Guy 1984: 8).

Thus the transmission of the text was subject to the laws of the material makeup of the book, which reminds us that both its production and its adequate preservation required economic resources. The text of which a copy was produced must have been protected by its owners, sometimes for centuries, in order to find readers and to be available for copying. Availability is a useful concept for understanding the machinery of transmission, and it partly explains why some textual traditions are scant and others abundant, depending on whether the private owner or institutional library agreed to allow their valuable codices to be copied. For example, the treatise on liturgical symbols by Maximos the Confessor, the *Mystagogia*, survives in forty manuscripts (Boudignon 2011). The transmission of the work provides us with one example of a multiplied copy of a single codex. This is a manuscript from the second half of the twelfth century (Vatican, BAV, Vat. gr. 508), of which three surviving copies were made in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Their style of writing ("baroque epsilon-nu") is somewhat peculiar and makes it impossible to pinpoint their provenance, but the *ex libris* of f. 7v in the Vatican manuscript indicates that it belonged to the monastery of Galesion, near Ephesos, at least in the thirteenth century, and it may have been in that location that the manuscript was made available for making copies; for how long, we do not know (Kotzabassi 2004: 137–141).

The proximity to political power during the period of the Empire of Nicaea and the interest of emperors in promoting education in Anatolian cities made the region of

Ephesos an attractive place for students like Gregorios Kyprios, at least while Nikephoros Blemmydes (c. 1197–1269) was living in Ephesus. The copies of his multifarious written legacy have been little studied, but some manuscripts containing his works, such as the Oxford, Bodleian, Barocci 131, and Vatican, BAV, Vat. gr. 732 were approximately contemporary with Blemmydes, while his most widely circulating works—destined for the teaching of philosophy—were precisely those which the emperor John Vatatzes encouraged him to write (on the pursuit of learning in Nicaea: Angelov 2019: 70–87). On the other hand, the monastery of Sosandra (Kotzabassi 2004: 105–110), founded by Vatatzes and possessing a certain degree of splendor on account of its function as a family mausoleum (Angelov 2019: 180), held secular books that in Magnesia would have had few readers and would not have been easily reproduced in new copies. It is therefore clear that ownership of a book was not necessarily linked to the appreciation of the texts that it contained. Rather, it was the mere possession of material property which, when given to a monastic foundation or a church, could obtain spiritual salvation for the donor. This is partly why Greek book dealers from the fifteenth century onward, working for Western humanists or royal courts, found in Patmos, Mount Athos, and other religious centers, manuscripts that could hardly have been of any interest to the monastic communities.

A book might well have been jealously guarded because of its material value or tucked away in a corner because nobody with access to it recognized its value. In the *Typikon* of the monastery of the Kosmosoteira in Pherres (around 1152) the *sebastokrator* Isaak Komnenos reveals the fear that his written legacy might fall into obscurity: "I bequeathed another book in addition to these, one that I composed with great effort. It [contains] heroic, iambic and political verse, as well as various letters and *ekphraseis*. I do not want this [book] to lie in an obscure place, but to be displayed often" (Thomas and Constantinides Hero 2000: 844). The chronicle of Sphrantzes lay forgotten in Corfu until the end of the sixteenth century when Manuel Glynzounios (1540–1596; RGK I 248, II 341, III 409) discovered and copied it. From that moment, and after the arrival of the only copy to Italy, the survival of the work was assured, thanks to Glynzounios and Giovanni Sanctamaura, who circulated it in order to promote a crusade among Western powers against the Turks (Maisano 1990: 53*–54*, 71*–75*). An example of a codex which, though hidden away, did find readers is Florence, BML, Plut. 69.5, a tenth-century manuscript with the *Ecclesiastical History* of Sokrates. It was kept, probably from the twelfth century onward, in a monastic institution on the Bosphoros dedicated to the Archangel Michael (Sosthenion or Anaplous: Failler 2009: 167–168). The monastery's proximity to Constantinople and the fact that it hosted figures such as Ioannes Bekkos and Gregorios Palamas explain why this codex was the origin of the subsequent manuscript tradition (Hansen 1995: ix–xi): it was a book strategically placed to benefit men of the Church (Pérez Martín forthcoming).

The best example of an isolated library which may have kept some of its written treasures away from potential readers is the monastery of Saint John the Theologian on Patmos (Astruc 1981; Waring 2002; Papaioannou 2015), where some manuscripts apparently unconnected to monastic life, such as the famous Oxford, Bodleian Library,

E. D. Clarke 39 of Plato, were inventoried. Probably also surprising was the accumulation of books in the monasteries of Mount Athos; some such codices indeed slipped away in a continuous trickle to distant libraries, such as Escorial T.III.14 of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, which had earlier, in the fourteenth century, been given to the Great Lavra. Continual imperial patronage (Lamberz 2008) and, in the later period, the stream of dissident ecclesiastical figures from Constantinople or Thessalonike (Meyendorff 1988) explain the accumulation of books of all kinds on Mount Athos. The profile of another library far from the capital, that of the Lavra of Mar Saba in Palestine, is very different: the monastery was the prestigious depository of a monastic tradition. The list of eminent writers who lived within the walls of Saint Sabas suggests an open and participative community playing an active role in the transmission of liturgical, monastic, and theological works.

On the other hand, the owner of a codex could no doubt exercise great influence on the transmission of the texts in his possession, whose value he would announce to the circles in which he moved. The numerous *ex libris* from the Palaiologan or Renaissance period stating that the book is the property of its owner and his friends (καὶ τῶν φίλων, καὶ τῶνδε . . .) reflect a sentiment that was widespread in these communities. Indeed, they confirm that in Byzantium, as now, sharing a book was a feature of friendship; and a friend might be expected to lend his books or to allow a copy of them to be made. The correspondence of Byzantine intellectuals reflects the material network of transmission between individuals (the willingness to lend a book, the normal problems in getting it back, the eventful use of suitable copying materials, or the difficulty of finding a good scribe) and the social use of the text. The book was brandished by its owner like a flag with which he identified himself *inter pares* (for instance, the Plato that Konstantinos Akropolites claims to have been reading in his study when an earthquake struck; Constantinides 1982: 141, 163–164) or as a mystery to which he alone could provide access (the texts of Apollonios and Serenos that Metochites was the only one to study; Bydén 2003: 228). Manuscripts were often defined by belonging to an individual who claimed to have discovered them, thoroughly studied them, or corrected the text, often using other copies (Selden 2010).

In the same way that the owner/reader improved his copy by correcting it with other available manuscripts (Demetrios Kydones, *Letter* 333.42–49), he could also enrich it by including pieces taken from other witnesses in the cases of a miscellany of short texts (Crisci and Pecere 2004; Ronconi 2007). Such codices were the favored vehicles of transmission for Byzantine oratory, poetry, or epistolography, for it is these small literary gems that a reader could easily collect and mix. In a standard medium-sized codex (220–250 mm x 150–180 mm, oriental or Italian paper folded in-quarto) and a maximum number of folios to allow for the comfortable handling of the volume (250–350 folios), there was space for a considerable number of speeches, poems, and letters, to which pieces could continually be added either in blank spaces or on new folios or quires. Copies of ancient and Byzantine poetry, notably Venice, BN, Marc. gr. Z. 524, are good case studies for those kinds of miscellany (cf. Spingou 2012).

When this amassing of short texts became an obsession, the reader-scribe ultimately created rich collections which were as personal as they were unique. Such collections are now possibly the best-known manuscripts among scholars of Byzantine literature, because the work put into them by their copyists and owners (and also by their circles of friends and colleagues) turned these books into real treasures. When the owner was also the scribe, then the codex could contain the reading notes of a scholar (e.g., Heidelberg, UB, Palat. gr. 129 of Nikephoros Gregoras [d. 1358/1361]; RGK II 416 and III 491; PLP 4443) or an archive or repository of texts copied during the course of a lifetime (Paris, BNF, gr. 1630 of Chariton, monk of the Hodegon monastery, first half of the fourteenth century; RGK I 378 and II 522; Pérez Martín 2011). At other times, the presence of several copyists collaborating on the codex, and the way in which the transcription or the organization of prior copies is arranged, may suggest that the preparation of a rich and original collection was the combined will of a group united by their literary interests or their working environment (Bianconi 2004). Oxford, Bodleian, Barocci 131, Venice, BN, Marc. gr. 524, and Vatican, BAV, Vat. gr. 1390 are excellent examples of the mixture of ancient and Byzantine, rhetorical, fictional, or educational texts which is a common feature of all of these manuscripts (Pérez Martín 2013).

Far less common was the attempt by an owner to complete his collection of the works of just one Byzantine author, as is the case with Michael Psellos's late twelfth-century Paris, BNF, gr. 1182, a good example of the paper codices of the Komnenian period which no doubt disappeared en masse (Gautier 1986; Papaioannou 2019: lxxvi–lxxxi suggests that Eustathios of Thessalonike may lie behind this collection). Indeed, the manuscript was probably saved thanks to the intervention of a scholar from the early Palaiologan period, who reorganized the volume, numbered the texts, filled in some gaps, and wrote in the heading: "this excellent book preserves almost all the writings of the wisest Psellos" (Pérez Martín 2014: 229). On the other hand, codicological analysis reveals that the scribe of the original volume did not limit himself to reproducing an identical codex of Psellos, but he included works by the author from different sources, partly deteriorated, which prevented him from completing the copying of some of them.

Preserved with the Classics

One of the reasons that we can read the immense corpus of Psellos (Moore 2005) lies in the central position occupied by this author in the learning and education of his time (Papaioannou 2021a). Psellos, one of the few figures who became models for later Byzantine scholars and writers, does not seem to have been concerned with the organization of his works nor the control of their distribution. We have no surviving autograph works of Psellos (who most probably dictated his writings anyway), but some were copied before or shortly after his death (Bianconi 2010; Papaioannou 2019: xxxv–lxx). For example, his didactic poems are among his most widely distributed works and, significantly, the oldest copies of the poem he devoted to the inscriptions of the

Psalms (Psellos, *Poem* 1) preceded the text it commented upon, undoubtedly the most honored position that the poem could occupy. One of the copies is even contemporary with Psellos himself, Oxford, Bodleian Library, E. D. Clarke 15, from 1077/1078 (Lauxtermann 2012; Bernard 2014: 68–69); and another is dated a little later in 1104/1105 (Harvard Psalter, Houghton Gr. 3; cf. Kavrus-Hoffmann 2011: 85–102; Parpulov 2014: 103–116; Lauxtermann 2014).

Generally speaking, the transmission of this poem was favored by its didactic nature or by the fact that it was not the only work about the Psalms composed by Psellos, but other factors *guaranteed* its survival. It is quite likely that the proximity of a ubiquitous text like the Psalter lent a certain sense of sanctity to the secondary text. We may mention another example where the proximity of two texts caused the survival of one of them: the *Life of Patriarch Ignatios* by Niketas David (BHG 817) was transmitted as part of an anti-Photian dossier including the *Acts* of the Eighth Council of Constantinople (869–870) (Smithies and Duffy 2013: xiii–xvii). And similar examples are attested for Byzantine texts that were inserted into the *corpora* of classical speeches and letters.

The rhetorical compositions of the *scholastikos* (teacher) Thomas *Magistros* (first half of the fourteenth century; PLP 16045) were included in copies that were contemporary with the author or made shortly after his death, such as a codex of Demosthenes and Aristides from the second quarter of the fourteenth century, Venice, BN, Marc. gr. 419, which preserved a μελέτη (declamation) composed by Thomas against Demosthenes on immunity (Gaul 2011: 415–429). A very careful and exhaustive manuscript containing Lucian's works (Vatican, BAV, Vat. gr. 87, from the middle of the fourteenth century) preserves the only witness of the anonymous *Timarion*. If we can now read this twelfth-century satire, it is because a systematic scholar (or passionate admirer) of the dialogues of Lucian in Palaiologan times either thought that it was by Lucian, or considered it worthy of accompanying the collection of Lucian's works (cf. Messis 2020). It was necessary to wait until the early fifteenth century to find another satirical dialogue in the Lucianic tradition, the *Mazaris' Journey to Hades*, which survives in three contemporary copies (Barry, Share, Smithies, and Westerink 1975).

Likewise, Nikephoros Gregoras composed a dialogue, the *Florentios*, which was more philosophical than satirical, but nonetheless defamatory; it has been transmitted together with other works of Gregoras (Vatican, BAV, Vat. gr. 1086, partly autographic), but also inside a copy of some dialogues by Plato (Vatican, BAV, Vat. gr. 228) that was organized and partly produced by Gregoras (Pérez Martín 1997).

These are not the only examples of a Byzantine literary work finding a comfortable place among the classical texts that its author favored. Gregorios (Georgios) Kyprios (c. 1241–1290; PLP 3971/3982/4590; RGK II 99), who was patriarch of Constantinople in 1283–1289, considered Aelius Aristides his most important literary model. The ancient rhetor's lengthy speeches constituted Gregorios's bedtime reading, and he even went so far as to adopt the hypochondriac behavior of Aristides. It can be no coincidence that Gregorios's rhetorical works and letters were copied not only in his *opera omnia* edition in Leiden gr. 49, but also in manuscripts of Aelius Aristides, as a complement and an update to the oratorical power of the rhetor from Smyrna. It is more than likely that

this method of transmission was suggested by the Byzantine writer himself: at least, the fusion of the two authors took place shortly after his death in Vatican, BAV, Vat. gr. 933 and Neap. II.E.20 (Pérez Martín 1996: 356).

The Author and the Disciple

In clear contrast to the preceding centuries in Byzantium, the Palaiologan period quite frequently provides autograph copies, that is, copies penned or corrected by the author. The fact that far fewer Palaiologan codices have been lost (in comparison to those prior to 1204) and that we have supplementary evidence on the transmission of texts enables us to evaluate more precisely the resources used by authors of this period so as to guarantee distribution of their work. Two examples may suffice. Rhetorical pieces such as the *Comparison of Old and New Rome* by Manuel Chrysoloras (1355–1415; PLP 31165) (autograph in Florence, BML, Plut. 6.20, ff. 1–19v) were adapted to the epistolary style and sent to privileged recipients (in this case, Manuel II) and students (Palla Strozzi, Guarino di Verona) who had the resources to circulate them and translate them into Latin (Rollo 1999). Ioannes Eugenikos (after 1394–after 1454; PLP 6189; RGK II 217 and III 270) sent an autograph copy of his *Lament on the Fall of Constantinople* (cf. Bravo García 1984) to his friend Antonio Malaspina (Vienna, ÖNB, Phil. gr. 183, ff. 259–265v, a single gathering), accompanied by a letter (f. 258) in which he appeals for solidarity in the face of the catastrophe of 1453 (Pérez Martín 2015). We have one more copy of the monody in a fifteenth-century manuscript, Paris, BNF, suppl. gr. 678 (*olim* Lavra Γ 59), and of the letter, both the copy received by its addressee and the copy which the writer kept for himself; the latter is preserved in Paris, BNF, gr. 2075, which is a miscellany copied by Ioannes Eugenikos—another example of a personal book of an author/scribe/reader (cf. Papaioannou 2021b).

Limited circulation was typical of some texts which were composed in the Palaiologan period and which we can only read today thanks to the author's wish to leave evidence of his production by means of a careful copy. Paris, BNF, gr. 1209 is the *codex unicus* of the letters and rhetorical works of Theodoros Hyrtakenos (PLP 29507), a modest teacher from Constantinople in the first half of the fourteenth century (Caballero Sánchez 2014; Karpozilos and Fatouros 2017). The codex, copied on parchment, simply made, and of medium size (200 x 145 mm), contains evidence that it was an autograph copy. If this is the case, then we are able to read the works of Hyrtakenos today only because their author took the trouble to organize and transcribe them onto a durable form. Judging by what has been preserved, nobody else bothered to do so.

The difference between the scant transmission of Hyrtakenos and that of his contemporary and acquaintance Nikephoros Choumnos (d. 1327; PLP 30961) lies not only in literary merit, but also in the much higher social group to which the latter belonged. We possess a considerable number of the works of Choumnos in copies that are contemporary with the author or dated slightly later: five witnesses of the letters (Riehle 2012),

to which we may add nine fourteenth-century copies of other works by Choumnos (Papatriantaphyllou-Theodoride 1984). Choumnos, who was in charge of the administration and finances of the state, took pride in entrusting the copying of his works to professional scribes and in fact made use of the services of different imperial and patriarchal notaries, who circulated his writings in high-quality copies.

Similar were the methods employed by Theodoros Metochites (1270–1332; PLP 17982) with regard to the preservation of his works, although some of these were of a length and a level of complexity that undoubtedly made their transmission difficult and rare. The copies closest to the author's time are of two types: a copy on paper by an anonymous scribe (Venice, BN, Marc. gr. 532, Vatican, BAV, Vat. gr. 182-181, among others) which temporarily acted as the main copy; and a later one on parchment, the work of the famous *notarios* Michael Klostomalles (PLP 11867): Vienna, ÖNB, phil. gr. 95, Paris, BNF, gr. 1776 and 2003. This second copy, with some corrections by Metochites, was no doubt intended to preserve the text and to be deposited in the Monastery of Chora in his own library. The monastery's library, under the custodianship of Nikephoros Gregoras, appears to have followed a policy of openness or availability, but its collection clearly suffered as a result of the long conflict between Gregoras and the Hesychasts (Estangüi Gómez 2013).

Some codices with the works of Metochites are authenticated by a monogram with his name and position as *megas logothetês* or by the title and author designated by Gregoras in the frontispiece. This makes them "official copies" whose material presentation and internal organization undoubtedly followed the will of the author. This situation is not exclusive to the Palaiologan period: there are also codices from earlier periods which clearly show the authors' involvement in the design of the collection of the works they contain. One of the most renowned examples is that of the metropolitan of Euchaita, Ioannes Mauropous; Vatican, BAV, Vat. gr. 676 is the "master copy" of his works. The manuscript shows a preliminary organization into three blocks (poems, letters, and speeches: Bianconi 2011), purposely selected, organized, and placed in meaningful contact with each other (Bernard 2014: 124 and 128). The book is a parchment volume of high quality and good size and was produced by a scribe with exquisite calligraphic writing; it begins with a poem by Mauropous that sets the author's seal on the collection (f. Iv) and ends with a verse eulogy of his secretary Isaias (ff. 318v–319r).

We do not know the degree of Isaias's involvement in the production of Vat. gr. 676. As for Metochites, his poem 4 tells us that he strongly urged Gregoras to take care of his books. There are many such examples of the participation of a disciple in the conservation of the works of their master, and they involve different operations of manipulation of the text, organization, authentication, conservation, and circulation. The work of circulating the grammatical legacy of Georgios Choiroboskos (mid-ninth century; PmbZ 2200) fell to his pupils (Ronconi 2012), but unquestionably the most numerous examples come from monastic environments that nurtured such relationships and responsibilities.

For instance, we have detailed information on Niketas Stethatos's intervention in the transmission of Symeon the New Theologian, thanks to the *Life* of Symeon

that Niketas wrote. Niketas presents himself as Symeon's spiritual successor, and explains how the master sent him the compositions and how he guarded and copied them (*Life of Symeon the New Theologian* 132; BHG 1692). Indeed, the editors of the work of Symeon have found evidence in the manuscript transmission of traces of Niketas's editorial endeavors. Paris, BNF, gr. 895 (eleventh century) may conserve the most demotic version of Symeon's *Katecheseis*, prepared by Niketas in about 1035, while the manuscript Theological school 45, from the Patriarchal Library in Istanbul (sixteenth century), preserves the author's original version (Krivochéine 1963: 169–172). As for Symeon's hymns, Niketas provided them with a prologue which seems to have served as a kind of protective shield to the text, as if Niketas were afraid of a mistaken judgment of Symeon's ideas that could lead to charges of heresy. The oldest manuscript, Vatican, BAV, Vat. gr. 504 (from 1105), contains just one hymn. Its version differs from that of the rest of the witnesses and it is possible that its altered metrics are connected with Niketas (Koder 1969–1973: 49; on the ms., Ronconi 2007: 219–238).

Although at different times, Symeon and Niketas were monks at Stoudios, a monastery that went through very different stages in the course of its long history, beginning in the fifth century (Delouis 2005). It was no doubt the leadership of Theodoros Stoudites (759–826; PmbZ 7574) that converted the community into a well-oiled machine for the production of books for internal and external use. This is clearly shown in the *Typikon* of the monastery—the most exhaustive such *Typikon* regarding the production and use of books in a monastic community (Thomas and Constantinides Hero 2000: 84–115)—as well as in manuscripts whose colophons show that they were copied there (Eleopoulos 1967). However, the surviving Stoudios manuscripts are relatively few compared to the importance usually given to the role of Stoudios in the history of Greek writing and in the defense against iconoclasm. Perhaps as a result of the precarious situation of the books produced in the ninth century or the vicissitudes of this monastic institution, there are only few copies of Theodoros's works to be found at Stoudios, although one might anticipate that Theodoros would have used his monk-scribes to preserve his legacy.

Among the most important works are his *Letters* and the *Katecheseis*. Still, the surviving Stoudite copy of the *Mikrai katecheseis* (Paris, BNF, suppl. gr. 1386) was commissioned by the abbot of Stoudios as late as 1075; perhaps another example of the replacement of a book worn out by use. The oldest and most complete witness of Theodoros's epistolary (Paris, BNF, Coislin 269) was probably copied at Stoudios. It does not appear to be contemporary with Theodoros, since one of its scribes, Athanasios (opinions differ on the other, Nikolaos; see Fonkič 2000: 176), copied a manuscript (now in Moscow) in 880. It is surprising that some of Theodoros's works achieved widespread circulation (his will appears in seventy manuscripts, Delouis 2008: 187, n. 54) while others (the *Megale Katechesis*) ran the risk of being lost (Leroy 1957: 74). Be that as it may, we still do not have an overall view of the textual transmission of the Stoudite legacy (on the wide circulation of Theodoros's works, especially the *Katecheseis* in southern Italy, see Lucà 2014: 136–144).

Manuscript Transmission in Context

We have already mentioned a significant feature that separates the Palaiologan period from its predecessors: the conservation of autograph texts which enable us to access an author's working methods, identifying his script in the books that he copied himself, in those he commissioned to others, and in those he possessed. The identification of the hands of these Palaiologan *pepaideumenoi* is relevant to the question with which we are dealing, since it allows us to confirm, albeit with caution, that when Byzantine authors copied the texts of other authors, these were rarely Byzantine. This evidence coincides with the fact that we rarely find among Byzantine writers themselves any mention of the work of the immediately preceding generations—historiography being an exception here. It also coincides with the scarcity of the transmission of certain texts, whose Byzantine copies can only be linked to the author's closest circle. For example, a substantial selection of the literary production of Theodoros II Laskaris survives only in Paris, BNF, suppl. gr. 472, which may have been produced in the emperor's own circle (Rashed 2000; Angelov 2019: 325); the next copy was made in 1486 by Michael Souliardos (RGK I 286, II 392, III 468), probably in Florence. Despite the fact that, as we have seen, rhetorical works can easily be combined into new miscellanies, it seems that those of the emperor went unnoticed by the numerous Byzantine readers of oratory. It was not until the sixteenth century that we see multiple copies of works that were still unpublished because nobody thought they were worth printing, even though book culture was by this time dominated by typography. This is the method of transmission of Sphrantzes, copied four times by Giovanni Sanctamaura (c. 1538–1614; RGK I 179, II 238, III 299; D'Agostino 2013), or of Laonikos Chalkokondyles, an entire manuscript family of whose work is formed by the copies made by Andronico Nuccio (RGK I 20, II 27, III 32) in the mid-sixteenth century in Venice (Wurm 1995: 227–229).

This precarious model of transmission is not exclusive to the Palaiologan period. Mauropous's corpus, mentioned earlier, was only reproduced in a very fragmentary form in Palaiologan copies: nobody ever seems to have considered a full transcription, or at least no such copy has survived. Psellos's *Chronographia* survives in only one copy from the twelfth century (Paris, BNF, gr. 1712) and in a fragment of a codex from the fourteenth century (Sinait. gr. 482: Aerts 1980). Be that as it may, it is the texts written in the last two centuries of Byzantium which allow us to evaluate their transmission by giving less regard on the potential destruction of witnesses, since the mass destruction of 1204 did not affect them, nor, in many cases, did the Ottoman conquest—many of the books that were preserved in Constantinople had already been moved to Italy before 1453. This does not mean that no books disappeared from the thirteenth century onward (in the El Escorial fire of 1671 the correspondence of Theodoros Metochites perished; the *codex unicus* of Nikephoros Bryennios's *Material for History* disappeared from the library of the Jesuits in Toulouse between 1661 and 1764), but broadly speaking, we are today able to continue reading much of what was being read in Constantinople at the end of the thirteenth century.

An explanation for the general absence of autographs prior to the Palaiologan period (it is to be noted that there are no Latin autographs from before the fourteenth century) may lie not only in the practice of dictating, but also in what is a fundamental difference in the production of books in the different periods of Byzantium: the materials used. An autograph text falls into the category of a draft, and drafts are done on cheap, low-quality, or recycled materials. It is the general availability from the end of the thirteenth century onward of good-quality paper of Italian origin that favored the conservation of autographs. Although the terminology of the sources makes it unclear as to when paper began to be used in Byzantium, we possess a decree of Constantine IX Monomachos dated to 1052 on paper, and the manuscript Iveron 258, with homilies by John Chrysostom, from 1042/1043—the oldest paper manuscript, Vatican, BAV, Vat. gr. 2200, brings us back to the eighth/ninth century, yet to the Greek book culture in Arab-ruled Syro-Palestine.[2] The evidence that texts were copied on paper at least from Psellos's time onward is complemented by the inventories of books, such as those in the monastery of Patmos, which distinguish manuscripts written on paper and on parchment, and which prove the use of either material in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

On the other hand, there is a clear contradiction between the poverty of the manuscript evidence and the literary richness of the middle Byzantine period. This contradiction can only be explained by the hypothesis of a massive destruction of manuscripts written on paper in that period. The first victim of this enormous gap is Komnenian literature, the best-known example of which are the novels of the twelfth century. Thanks to Psellos, we know that late antique novels were widely read in some circles in eleventh-century Constantinople, not only for their contents, but also because they provided attractive examples of rhetorical art (Cupane 2004: 413–414). However, few manuscripts from the eleventh and twelfth centuries contain them (Vatican, BAV, Vat. gr. 157, with Heliodoros, is one exception). Similarly, we have no contemporary manuscript of the four Komnenian novels. The most popular novel, Eumathios Makrembolites's *Hysmine and Hysminias* (forty-three manuscripts; Cataldi Palau 1980), has survived in eleven manuscripts that date to the Byzantine period; the oldest are two codices from the mid-thirteenth century. Niketas Eugeneianos's *Drosilla and Chariklês* survives in three copies from the Byzantine period, but the oldest (end of the thirteenth century) has a different version of the text (Jeffreys 2012: 344) and was produced in southern Italy (Venice, BN, Marc. gr. 412). The three Byzantine manuscripts of Theodoros Prodromos's *Rhodanthê and Dosiklês* have not been well researched, but are apparently from the Palaiologan period (Jeffreys 2012: 10). So, too, are the two fragmentary witnesses of Konstantinos Manasses's *Aristandros and Kallithea* (Jeffreys 2012: 277), a poor tradition which contrasts with the success of his *Synopsis Chronikê* (fourteen manuscripts from the thirteenth century, twenty-five from the fourteenth, and twenty-seven from

[2] See also Sinai, ar. 116, a bilingual (Greek and Arabic) Gospel Lectionary, copied on Mt. Sinai in 995/996 (cf. Parpulov 2012: 314–315).

the fifteenth: Lampsidis 1996), which was transmitted in miscellanies or in small paper codices characteristic of books whose primary use was private reading for pleasure.

Intuitively, we may state that the use of parchment was more usual in wealthy monastic communities because the supply of skins was seasonal and stable, thus permitting a programmable production of parchment. The use of paper would have been more common in cities, where the concentration of capital and the presence of the administration guaranteed the production of paper and its frequent use. However, before stating this categorically, we must address the two major pitfalls into which manuscript catalogers and philologists since Monfaucon have fallen: that of considering all manuscripts on paper to be Palaiologan, and, inversely, that of dating to the eleventh century manuscripts in mimetic writing which were actually copied in the first Palaiologan century. But perhaps we can give some further evidence for this hypothesis. If we accept that ascetic literature was copied and read particularly in monasteries and that in monasteries the material was primarily parchment, this may explain why the transmission of hagiography and ascetic material did not suffer the same destruction as much Komnenian literature. Here is a table with the distribution by century of the number of manuscripts conserving Athanasios's *Life of St. Anthony the Great* (BHG 140; cf. Figure 20.3 in Chapter 20 of this volume), Theodoretos of Kyrros's *Philotheos Historia* (Canivet and Leroy-Molinghen 1977), and Palladios's *Lausiac History* (according to *Pinakes*):

	9th c.	10th c.	11th c.	12th c.	13th c.	14th c.	15th c.
Athanasios	1	6	31	19	6	19	17
Theodoretos	1	5	3	6	5	4	6
Palladios		11	10	7	11	22	11

Though imprecise dating should be taken into consideration, this table does help us see that the literature read in monasteries was able to resist the disruption of the Latin conquest, in the more generalized, consistent, and widespread use of parchment in Byzantine territory. We may say the same of the most widely read chronicle of the ninth century, that of Georgios the Monk, which from the time of its earliest copy, Paris, BNF, Coislin 310 (tenth century), was consistently attested. By contrast, secular literature, both ancient and Byzantine, follows a common pattern of transmission: the evidence usually jumps from codices dating to the first Macedonian period to those of the Palaiologan (with the exception of books used in the teaching of language). For example, the epistolaries of the tenth century were transmitted in a homogeneous corpus preserved in manuscripts of the eleventh and thirteenth centuries (Papaioannou 2012; cf. Figure 3.2 in Chapter 3 of this volume). The *Hippiatrika*, a compilation from Late Antiquity, updated in the tenth century, of very diverse texts whose common thread is horses, is preserved in twenty-five copies of five main recensions, of which the oldest are those of the tenth century (2) and the thirteenth (1): there are no copies from the eleventh and twelfth centuries (McCabe 2007). The sermons of Leo VI have been

transmitted as a group defined by their author in codices of the tenth century and from southern Italy of the thirteenth, while they are found in isolated fashion in eight miscellanies from the eleventh century, three from the twelfth, and fourteen from the fourteenth (Antonopoulou 2008: cxlix).

Ecclesiastical historiography, a genre that interested theologians institutionally linked to the Church, shares this feature of transmission. The following table is telling:

	9th c.	10th c.	11th c.	12th c.	13th c.	14th c.	15th c.
Eusebios	1	5	1	1	3	5	1
Sokrates		1			1	2	1
Sozomenos						3	2
Theodoretos	1	2	3	4	4		2
Evagrios		1			3	2	1

With the exception of two authors often transmitted jointly and held in high esteem, Theodoretos and Eusebios (Cassin 2012), the gap from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries is obvious.

Center and Periphery

One of the features that best defines periodization in the transmission of Byzantine literature is the dialectic between center and periphery. Constantinople was the last surviving megalopolis in the old Eastern Roman Empire, and its concentration of imperial and patriarchal power profoundly marked Byzantine culture. After a date that we may tentatively place in the tenth century, the aesthetic influence and ideological control of the capital standardized the production in the provinces, making it difficult to differentiate among them—only the southern Italian production, with its rich and long-lasting idiosyncrasies, escapes this constraint (Cavallo, De Gregorio, and Maniaci 1991). It is reasonable to suppose that the imperial and ecclesiastical administration in provincial cities, whose civil servants were trained in Constantinople and commuted from one city to another, was able to reproduce on a greater or smaller scale the machinery that existed in the Polis. In the Komnenian period, however, textual witnesses begin to become more fragmented, while in the Palaiologan period some areas, such as Cyprus, Trebizond, and Epirus, escaped the control of the capital and their books show local features; on the contrary, in this very period, it is impossible to distinguish in formal terms codices copied in Mystras or Thessalonike from those produced in Constantinople, since their elites were the same.

The literature and books produced away from the linguistic and aesthetic constraints of the capital offer some revealing examples that show how Constantinople expelled to its outer limits the transmission of those works which did not conform to the models

that it imposed. Moscow, GIM, Sinod. gr. 298 (Vlad. 436) is the only copy of the *Stratêgikon* of Kekaumenos, and combines it with other texts secondary to the canon of Constantinople: Symeon Seth's *Stephanites and Ichnelates*, and the *Syntipas* (Stefec 2014). The copy of the *Stratêgikon* bears no apparent relationship to the composition of the original text, since it is at least two centuries later (second half of the thirteenth century) and was produced in Trebizond and later kept in the monastery of Iveron. It is probably no coincidence that the *Stratêgikon* was copied in neither Constantinople nor Thessalonike, but rather in the easternmost territory controlled by a Greek-speaking monarch: its language did not reach the standards of the *koiné*, and its contents did not suit the rhetorical models inherited from antiquity, even though its purpose was not that different from that of some treatises of Xenophon.[3]

The centripetal nature of Byzantine culture usually prevents us from differentiating copies produced in different various areas of the empire, and deprives us of the basic criterion for deciding the provenance of Byzantine books. However, we can speculate about the fact that some texts were transmitted exclusively in court circles, and it is as if Constantinople were unable to convince its territories of their interest. This is certainly the case with historiography (Papaioannou 2014). The histories of *Theophanes Continuatus*, Genesios, Michael Psellos, and Nikephoros Bryennios survive in single copies, generally dated close to the time of composition of the work—a generation or two were enough for the loss of such works. The transmission of *Theophanes Continuatus* and Genesios in particular is as poor as that of the works of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos himself, surviving in contemporary examples of a similar manufacture (Németh 2018). Historians of later periods have met a similar fate: Ephrem, Theodoros Skoutariotes, and Michael Kritoboulos each survive in a single copy. The precariousness is greater still if we think that some codices (e.g., Paris, BNF, gr. 1712, end of the 12th century; Reinsch 2014: xix–xxiii) are the only witnesses of more than one historian.

Compared to this scarcity, some twelfth-century chronicles or histories struck a chord with Palaiologan readers, and their circulation was wider. Up to and including the fourteenth century, we find seven manuscripts of Ioannes Skylitzes, fifteen of Niketas Choniates, and thirty of Ioannes Zonaras, although some do not contain the full text. Most copied were Georgios Synkellos, Georgios the Monk and Pseudo-Symeon Logothetes (in their many variations and combinations), Georgios Kedrenos, Konstantinos Manasses, and Michael Glykas. It is interesting to note that the transmission of ninth-century chronicles (but not that of Georgios the Monk) dwindled after the eleventh century; only one manuscript, apparently from the twelfth century, conserves Synkellos and Theophanes (Vatican, BAV, Vat. gr. 154; the Paris, BNF, Coislin 133 is from the eleventh century). What is more relevant still is that neither work has any Palaiologan copies, although Synkellos was copied in southern Italy (Paris, BNF,

[3] For this ms., see further Chapter 8, "Translations I: From Other Languages into Greek," Messis and Papaioannou, "Section III. Arabic," in this volume.

gr. 1764, eleventh century), as were the *Short Chronicle* of Patriarch Nikephoros in Neap. II.C.4, Georgios the Monk in Escorial Φ.I.1, Pseudo-Symeon in Grottaferrata B.α.XVII and Messina gr. 85, while Skylitzes was magnificently copied and (at least in part) illustrated in Sicily (Madrid, BN, Vitr. 26-2).

On the other hand, the transmission of vernacular literature appears to have been generated in the interstices of a power that was about to disappear or had already disappeared in the circumstances of Western dominance in Greek-speaking areas. Its production undoubtedly suffered from the tyranny of a city-society that imposed the canons of Atticist correctness on literary composition to the point that no truly "Byzantine" manuscripts of literature in the vernacular have been preserved (Beck 1961: 470–493; Agapitos and Smith 1992: 20). In the case of *Digenes Akrites* (Jeffreys 1998: xviii–xxx), we have six manuscripts with three versions of differing linguistic level and length. Although fixing their date and provenance is a sensitive issue, it is very probable that they were as eccentric as their transmission: the version offered by the Grottaferrata manuscript (Z.α.XLIV) was copied in Otranto in the late thirteenth century (Jacob 2000; Arnesano 2005), while that of Escorial Ψ.IV.22 was made in the late fifteenth century in an unidentified location, although in the mid-sixteenth century it too was in southern Italy.

We are a long way from being able to contextualize the copying of manuscripts that conserve vernacular literature, but it is hard to believe that there were copyists specializing in such texts, or that the scribe would have been directly responsible for the single version of a work that is normally transmitted in each copy (*Achilleid*: Smith 1986; *Libistros and Rhodamne:* Agapitos 1992), as suggested by Jeffreys (1998: xxiii), for whom the transmission of these texts was in the hands of non-professional scribes, who felt less respect for works in vernacular Greek than those written in cultured language (an argument against this interpretation in Agapitos and Smith 1992: 52–53). In my opinion, it would be preferable to think that it was readers interested in these texts who copied them, and not necessarily without respect. But above all, we must bear in mind that changes such as deletion, rearranging, and rewriting were not done on the spur of the moment, but on a preliminary copy that would then be transcribed anew.

Suggestions for Further Reading

The best overview of the manuscript transmission of Byzantine texts is offered in Beck (1961), while the volume in which Beck's article appeared covers the transmission of Greek literature in general (Hunger et al. 1961). Byzantine students should look at the transmission of classical and Latin texts so as to follow from the very beginning the right direction (Irigoin 2003). For Byzantine hagiographical and homiletic literature, the volumes of Ehrhard (1937, 1938, 1939, and 1952 with reference to *c.* 3500 manuscripts) remain monumental as well as fundamental—Perria (1979) facilitates their use.

Several recent databases and electronic resources assist greatly the study of textual transmission in Byzantium, and have more or less replaced many earlier printed catalogues (such as Sinkewicz 1990 and 1992 and Sinkewicz and Hayes 1989), though they should, of course, be used with caution as they remain works in progress:

- The Trismegistos project (http://www.trismegistos.org/index.html) and the related LDAB (= Leuven Database of Ancient Books: http://www.trismegistos.org/ldab/) for tracing the manuscript transmission in ancient and early Byzantine manuscripts; see also the related collection of links at http://dvctvs.upf.edu/links/;
- and the *Diktyon* project (http://www.diktyon.org/) along with the *Pinakes* (http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/) for texts transmitted in Byzantine and post-Byzantine books.

Pinakes also includes an up-to-date list of digitized collections and library catalogues (http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/liens.html); the following resource, prepared at Princeton University by David Jenkins, is also most useful in this respect: http://library.princeton.edu/byzantine/manuscript-title-list.

See further Papaioannou, *Βιβλία καὶ λόγοι* (https://byzbooks.wordpress.com).

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CHAPTER 24

TEXTUAL CRITICISM

CAROLINE MACÉ

All Byzantine texts came to existence before the age of the printing press (the work of Aldus Manutius [1449–1515] is emblematic for the printing of Greek literature, both classical and Christian; Feld 1978). They were transmitted through several generations of handwritten copies. In some exceptional cases the first copy was by the hand of the author (autograph), but most commonly it was by the hand of contemporary or, usually, later copyists. Even in the case of an autograph (cf. Maltese 1995), the process of writing by hand almost inevitably produces mistakes, so that it is no exaggeration to say that we do not possess any faultless original versions of a Byzantine text. Therefore, before they can be used by modern readers, all Byzantine texts need to be edited, and these editions must be based on a history of the textual tradition. This is the task of textual criticism.

The term "textual criticism" used in this chapter covers only partially what in the past was termed "philology" (Duval 2007). In the narrowest sense, textual criticism aims at establishing the most authentic text of a given work through the critical examination of the documents transmitting this work. It employs historical, text-genetic, linguistic, codicological, stylistic, and other relevant criteria. This multifaceted methodology applied by textual criticism makes it by nature an interdisciplinary discipline.

Whereas as a scholarly activity textual criticism has existed at least since Late Antiquity (Reynolds and Wilson 1991; Pfeiffer 1968 and 1976), its methodology as a modern discipline was established in the nineteenth century and traditionally is associated with the name of the German philologist Karl Lachmann (1793–1851) (regarding the genesis of this method: Timpanaro 1963; Reeve 1998; Trovato 2017). In a nutshell, the methodology is based on the observation that whenever a text is copied errors occur; unless these errors were corrected or emendated, they were transmitted in subsequent copies. It is therefore possible to draw a genealogy (a "stemma") of the copies of a given text based on a genealogy of their textual errors or innovations (the method is also called "common errors method"), as well as on the material history of the manuscripts in which the text has been transmitted (Irigoin 1981). This history of the transmission of the text is the basis of the critical edition. The criticisms that have been raised against

this method have led to its refinement, but it has not been replaced and remains valid (Trovato 2017).

This chapter will not provide an overview of the technical aspects of textual criticism and text editing, as good manuals exist for that purpose (see, e.g., Bernabé and Hernández Muñoz 2010; Macé and Roelli 2015; Roelli 2020). Instead, it intends to clarify the importance of textual criticism in Byzantine literary studies and to reassess its future role. Since textual criticism (and especially one of its most important outcomes, the critical edition) is primarily a practical discipline, one that is learned by the task of editing rather than by reading about it (West 1973: 5), many of the best textual critics and editors have steered clear from theoretical approaches. It is necessary, however, for a scholarly discipline to reflect from time to time upon itself. The few preliminary thoughts offered here do not by any means exhaust the topic and all require fuller treatment. Moreover, in keeping with the scope of this *Handbook*, this chapter will focus on literary texts transmitted by manuscripts, and will only allude to documentary editing (of historical documents) and to related disciplines such as papyrology and epigraphy.

Textual criticism is an important discipline in the humanities (Duval 2007; Greetham 2013). The textual critic is a necessary mediator, who aims at reducing the distance between the texts from the past and their modern readers. This distance exists at several levels (linguistic, cultural, historical, etc.) and is amplified by the fact that there is a time-gap not only between the authors who created the texts and their modern readers, but also between the authors and the "textual agents" (that is, copyists, previous editors, etc.) who transmitted the texts through the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. The linguistic distance between Byzantine manuscripts and modern readers is perhaps the most obvious aspect of the problem, as classical, literary Greek (and its medieval variants: Wahlgren 2010) and medieval forms of Greek are no longer in usage and were known with various degrees of familiarity by "textual agents" in the Middle Ages. To date, no complete description of Byzantine Greek exists (Hinterberger, "Language," Chapter 2 in this volume; see now Holton et al. 2019), which makes the task of the editor more difficult when it comes to deciding to which historical layer a linguistic form belongs, or whether such a form is an innovation or a deviation from a more or less loose norm. Through the mediation of textual criticism, texts are made accessible through a lens: they are mounted on a microscope slide, that is, the critical edition. While this "lens" enhances our vision of the text, it also introduces biases. An edition is therefore never a faithful reproduction of an original document, nor indeed could or should it be.

Since editions are mediations between texts preserved in medieval manuscripts and modern readers, editors have to take into account not only the specificities of the text they are working with, and of the manuscripts that have transmitted it, but also of the expectations of their intended readership. To some extent, the edition is shaped by those expectations, and the series in which an edition is published partly determines its readership. Readers/users of Byzantine texts today are usually historians interested in collecting information that might be contained in literary sources, theologians,

philosophers, linguists interested in past linguistic forms, literary critics, etc. No edition will ever be able to satisfy the expectations of all the different types of readers.

Because its results are never perfect or unquestionable, the methodology of textual criticism inherited from the nineteenth century has been often criticized, especially by medievalists. The first and still influential opponent of the method was the French medievalist Joseph Bédier (1864–1938) (the bibliography on this topic is plethoric; see Trovato 2017: 77–104). Since 1990 a postmodern trend in medieval philology, known as "new philology," has attempted to offer itself as an alternative to "Lachmannian" textual criticism (Yager 2010 for a neutral presentation of "new philology"; Gleßgen and Lebsanft 1997, Trovato 2017 for reactions against it—recently some scholars in Byzantine studies have been tempted by some aspects of "new philology": Wahlgren 2012). "New philology" discards any attempt at reconstructing an "original" text, and claims that a text cannot be disembodied from its material manifestation (Driscoll 2010). Traditionally there was a distinction between documentary editing (papyri, epigraphy, charters, and other historical documents) and editions of "literary" texts. The strong connection between form and content in documentary editing had called for special treatment of documents. These are generally unique and normally reproduced along with a transcription (or different types of transcriptions and editions). The particular methodology applied to these types of texts and the resulting editions were often called "diplomatic." The opportunity to publish high-resolution images online offered by digital means, linked with sophisticated transcriptions in an adequate markup language, have made these types of editions much easier to produce and more easily accessible. They have not, however, revolutionized their methodology (*pace* Pierazzo 2014). The same methodology has proven to be efficient and suitable for other types of texts, such as palimpsests[1] preserving otherwise forgotten texts or languages. These are not "documentary" per se, but are unique by the vagaries of their transmission (Gippert 2015a).

"New philology" claims that this approach can and should be extended to any type of text and textual tradition. However, it is not difficult to see that though attractive for its apparent simplicity, this approach would be totally unsuitable for most types of texts since they are preserved in multiple copies, sometimes removed from the moment of composition of the original text by several centuries. Thus the apparent immediacy between text and reader created by the "new philology" approach is a fallacy that denies the fact that in any ancient or medieval text there are several layers of time that should not be merged into one (Robinson 2013). Textual criticism, combining the "common errors method" and the material history of textual transmission (Irigoin 1981), remains the only serious tool we have for understanding the complex and multilayered history of texts.

[1] The largest Byzantine collection of these is now available online through the *Sinai Palimspsest Project*: http://sinaipalimpsests.org.

Tasks for Editors

In his "Tasks for Editors," Wilson (2011) pointed out several fields in which the discipline has advanced: progresses in Greek paleography has allowed for better reading and better dating of manuscripts; new imaging techniques make texts that were difficult to read more legible (Gippert 2014); methods of classification of manuscripts can potentially be improved by being complemented with computerized statistical approaches (Andrews 2015); new texts can still be discovered, for instance in recently uncovered holdings, in understudied libraries, or in palimpsests. In many respects, the tasks of the editor have been made easier in recent years due to significant improvements in computer technology (Gippert 2015b). Paradoxically, however, this has not led to the emergence of new and large editorial projects. On the contrary, concerning the lack of new editions of John Chrysostom's works (edited by Henry Savile at the beginning of the seventeenth century), Bady pointed out that "the social-economic conditions of research, the state of the art, the number of documents virtually exploitable, the growing complexity of methods and problems, the modern scholarly requirements in general, make highly improbable the existence of a new Savile in the twenty-first century" (Bady 2010: 151, my translation). The tasks of the editor remain daunting even though they are often greatly helped by the computer. In what follows, these different tasks are listed (see further Macé 2015: 321–363) only to mention recent improvements made in the field of Byzantine studies concerning each of them.

Heuristics of Texts and Manuscripts

As West put it (1973: 61), the first question is always whether an edition is "really necessary." When no previous edition exists, the answer to that question is obviously positive. But even in that case, it is important to make sure that no other editorial project has been started on the same text. This is difficult to know, as such projects can take several years and are not necessarily well advertised. This is why the endeavor of Alessandra Bucossi to produce and maintain a "list of Greek editions and translations in progress" for the *Ars edendi* project, now transferred to the site of *Association Internationale des Études Byzantines* (AIEB: https://aiebnet.gr/list-of-editions-and-translations/), is so valuable.

A problem inherent to medieval literature is the identification of a text by author and title. Many medieval texts are not associated with an author's name or are associated with several authors. Not all texts bear a title, or the same work can have different titles (the very concept of "author" in the Middle Ages may be seen as problematic: Schnell 1998; Papaioannou, "Authors," Chapter 20 in this volume). For patristic and early Byzantine Christian literature, the *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* (https://www.corpuschristianorum.

org/cpg) is a precious resource, and this will also be true of the forthcoming *Lexikon byzantinischer Autoren*, edited by Michael Grünbart and Alexander Riehle.

Once the text has been properly identified, one must attempt to find all manuscripts that contain it. The quality and reliability of catalogs of Greek manuscripts greatly vary from case to case (Binggeli 2015). The *Répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues de manuscrits grecs*, first published by Marcel Richard (1948, second edition in 1958), was then taken over by Jean-Marie Olivier (Olivier 1995; supplement: 2018). The database *Pinakes: Textes et manuscripts grecs* (http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/), produced and maintained by the *Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes (IRHT)—Section grecque* (Paris), is an endeavor of exceptional importance. It aims at becoming a complete online repertory of all ancient Greek and Byzantine texts preserved in manuscript form. The database is constantly being updated by members of the "Section grecque," who are systematically incorporating information on Greek manuscripts taken from catalogs, editions, journals, etc. Even now, *Pinakes* is a very important research tool (if used with caution) and will become indispensable when the titanic task of updating is completed.

Another important advancement in the field is the relatively recent appearance of digitized manuscripts that are made freely available online, either by the libraries in which they are housed or by other institutions (for instance, the project *e-Codices* directed by Christoph Flüeler in Fribourg, Switzerland). Compared with microfilms, color digital images with the possibility of zoom that produces an enlarged image are of course much better, at least if they are of adequate quality, both in scholarly and technical terms (see, e.g., http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/about/imaging, and Mayer, Moukarzel and Balicka-Witakowska 2015). Not every library, however, can afford the costs of high-quality imaging of its manuscripts. In addition, it is sometimes difficult to know which reproductions are available where, as there is no complete checklist (see the links to "Catalogues électroniques, manuscrits numérisés, et derniers catalogues publiés" on the *Pinakes* website). What is more, not all Greek manuscripts have been digitized, and acquiring digital images or microfilms can be very expensive. Microfilms, as deficient as they may be (old microfilms can be difficult to read, margins have sometimes not been photographed, microfilm-readers are expensive devices and difficult to replace nowadays, etc.), sometimes remain the only way to access the text of a manuscript. Collections of microfilms are not always easy to find, however, and few libraries publish the contents of their holdings of microfilms: see the Medium Database of the *IRHT* (http://medium.irht.cnrs.fr/) or the Microfilms Database of Dumbarton Oaks (https://www.doaks.org/resources/mmdb), for example.

Next to the manuscripts, which are the direct witnesses of the text to be edited, one should also pay attention to the indirect tradition, as this is sometimes very important for the history of the text and even for the *constitutio textus* (establishing the edited text). The indirect tradition includes but is not limited to medieval translations (into Latin, Syriac, Arabic, Old Slavonic, etc.), commentaries, scholia, and quotations by later authors, and the reworking of the text by the author himself.

Collation

The second task of the editor consists of comparing the text offered by all witnesses. Despite the existence of computer-assisted collation software (Andrews 2015: 365), the collation of manuscripts remains a largely manual and very time-consuming task (Macé 2015: 331–336). It is a crucial first step that demands solid paleographical skills, attention, and concentration. Though time consuming, it is not rewarding in terms of academic recognition. Nevertheless, one learns a lot in the process. Depending on the length of the text and on the nature of the textual tradition, the editor may choose to collate the complete texts (this is in any case recommended for the most important witnesses) or samples from them. In case of a sample collation, one should keep in mind that the text is not necessarily homogeneous in all its witnesses. It is therefore important to take samples from different portions of the text (beginning, middle, and end) and to avoid places where witnesses have lacunae. In the collation process, as many elements as possible should be noted as they appear in the manuscripts, even though they will not necessarily be used for the classification or the *constitutio textus*: for example, abbreviations, material anomalies (holes, discharge of ink, etc.), use of symbols, marginal notes, and of course all orthographic features and punctuation. The collation must be as accurate as possible, as it will form the basis for all subsequent work. In the case of manual collations, the text of the witnesses is compared with a reference text, which is usually chosen for its legibility and completeness. A previous edition is often used for that purpose because it may have the advantage of showing a canonical division and system of reference (paragraphs, etc.) and of being available digitally. If one opts for transcriptions and semi-automated collations, then the choice of the first transcription is equally important, as it will generally be used as a template for the following ones.

Classification

The collation will be the basis for the classification of witnesses. The main principle behind this classification (as formalized by Maas 1957) is that when two manuscripts have an error (or an innovation) in common against the rest of the tradition, they must be genealogically related with the condition that the mistake is "significant" (i.e., that it cannot have occurred independently) and that it was impossible (or at least difficult) to have been corrected. Despite all criticisms raised against this method of classification, its principles remain unquestionable even though in practice it is not so easy to apply it.

The concept of "significant error," which forms the basis of this method, is theoretically clear, but in practice not so evident. An analogy with evolutionary biology (with which the method of Lachmann historically shares many features: Reeve 1998; Macé and Baret 2006) may help us to understand it better. Wings and feathers are a "derived"

state that characterizes birds as a species, whereas not having wings is an "original" (or ancestral) state that other species share but which does not tell us anything about their relationship with each other. In textual criticism, one should use the term "secondary (or derived) reading," instead of "error," because the "copying error" (without necessarily implying grammatical or lexical incorrectness) is only one of the causes that can create changes in a tradition. Corrections, scribal conjectures, interpolations, and the like are innovations or secondary readings, but they are not "errors." A secondary reading, once introduced in the tradition and unless corrected, will be copied and transmitted through its descents. If several witnesses share such a secondary reading, that means that they all ultimately depend upon a common ancestor where this secondary reading was first introduced.

Before going a bit more into details about the practical implementation of this logical reasoning, the importance of this classification must be stressed once again. In order to understand the history of the transmission of a text and to be able to edit it in its most authentic state, grouping manuscripts on the basis of their similarities and resemblances is not sufficient because it does not allow us to go further than a mere impressionistic and vague categorization of the witnesses and thus cannot lead to any scholarly hypothesis about their history. Selecting the oldest witness as the basis for the edition is not a solution either, as the oldest preserved manuscript of a tradition does not necessarily contain the "best" text (e.g., Macé 2015: 425 regarding Paris, BNF, gr. 510 of Gregory the Theologian).

Methods of classifying witnesses, especially when the manuscript tradition is large, have been refined since Maas 1957, and to some extant computerized (Andrews and Macé 2013). The question of the evaluation of the variants is crucial (Love 1984). As only significant errors can be used to classify texts, it is necessary to determine the most likely direction of the variation, i.e., from a variant-source (primary reading) to a variant-target (secondary reading). For that purpose, the editor must use everything she or he knows about the language of the text, the language of the period in which it was written, and the language of the region where it was written. This applies also to the language of the copies. The editor must also have the clearest possible understanding of the causes of variations. This type of research about the variants is known as "critique verbale" in French and was developed specifically for Latin texts (Havet 1911), and also for the New Testament (Amphoux 2014).

After a thorough examination of the variants, it may be possible to classify the manuscripts into families and to produce a stemma. It may also be concluded that a stemma is impossible to be constructed for several reasons: the state of the documentation is too fragmentary (the "extinction rate" of medieval manuscripts is indeed high; Trovato 2017: 104–108), or the transmission of the text is too complicated (contaminations, free adaptations of the text, etc.). In the end, the editor will decide what kind of edition is most suitable for the text in accordance to the conclusions that have been drawn from the classification process: this could be a reconstructive edition, a best-manuscript edition, etc.

Edition

If the contents of the text may generally be reflected with sufficient fairness by the edition, the form of the original text will in most cases remain out of reach. Even if a greater awareness of the importance of the formal aspects of the edition process exists today (Giannouli 2014), in practice there is no ideal solution or general agreement regarding, for instance, problems of orthography and punctuation (Reinsch 2008, 2011, 2012; for another opinion, Bydén 2012; also Papaioannou 2019: clvi–clix), or other types of text-segmentation such as cola and paragraphing (cf., e.g., Crisp 2005 on editions of the Greek Bible).

As stated earlier, no edition will ever satisfy all readers, and any edition is a "lens" through which an ancient or medieval text is seen by modern readers, but which introduces (arguably necessary) biases. Some scholars trust that "digital editions" will remedy most shortcomings of "traditional editions" (e.g., Riehle 2012 or Crostini 2014), but this might be an illusion, as the edition will remain the result of choices made on the part of the editor.

Publication

Edition series (for a list of major one, see the Appendix to this chapter) and their editorial boards are important in several respects. At the end of the process, they ensure the visibility and circulation of the published editions and vouch for their quality. At the beginning of the process, the editorial board often imposes rules and guidelines (Macé 2016). In a way, the collection is the interface between the editor and the intended audience of the edition. Whereas some series accept all kinds of texts, others specialize in specific genres or topics: history, hagiography, or philosophy. Editions of Byzantine texts also appear outside of those major series, and as stated earlier, keeping up-to-date listings of current editions of Byzantine texts remains a challenge.

Types of Textual Transmission and Modes of Critical Edition

As stated previously, the methodology and form of the edition will be decided by the nature of the text and the way it has been transmitted through time. Is it possible to match types of transmission of Byzantine texts with corresponding modes of critical edition? One may at least propose some categories and highlight some criteria.

The first distinction that is traditionally made is between a "closed" and an "open" manuscript tradition (West 1973: 14, following Pasquali 1952). This distinction means

that in the former case it is possible to define families of manuscripts and to draw a stemma ("closed recension"), while in the latter it is not ("open recension"). The distinction in itself does not reveal anything about the reasons why this is so, or about the nature of the texts or of their transmission.

Recently, further distinctions of forms in histories of transmission have been suggested (Bernabé and Hernández Muñoz 2010: 24–26, following van Groningen 1963): oral/written, long/short (meaning that the number of intermediaries may be more or less numerous), simple/multiple (depending on the number of recensions and of families of texts), separated/collective (one work was transmitted together with others by the same author or was isolated from its "natural" context and transmitted in "artificial" collections), direct/indirect, protected/unprotected (sometimes called "authoritative"/"unauthoritative").

Several further distinctions could be added and other ways of categorizing texts and traditions are possible (cf. Pérez Martín, "Modes of Textual Transmission," Chapter 23 in this volume). In the following, some of the criteria that may affect the way a Byzantine text is transmitted, and therefore the way that it is edited, are listed. These criteria partly reflect some of Bernabé and Hernández Muñoz's distinctions, though not elaborated here in the same measure.

Language

A text written in a medieval adaptation of "classical" Greek will not be transmitted in the same way as a text written in "vernacular" or "popular" medieval Geek. Accordingly, the rules to be followed by the editor in order to evaluate the variants and edit the text will also be different (Agapitos 2006; with Brambilla Ageno 1984; Eideneier, Moennig, and Toufexis 2001; Hinterberger 2006; Kaplanis 2012; Lendari 2007; Moennig 2004).

"Genre": Form, Subject

Although this methodological problem has, to my knowledge, not been fully treated as such, the form in which a text was written (e.g., verse or prose) has influenced its transmission since it has implications on the layout of the text, on the way copyists memorized the text while copying it, etc. Some texts also imply the existence of a "source-text." Such is the case of translations or anthologies, where the underlying source must be taken into account in their editions.

The contents of the text also influenced the way it was copied: highly specialized content may have been more easily misunderstood by copyists unfamiliar with it. Rare words without much context, for example, those transmitted by *lexica* (see Kambylis 1991), also attracted particular types of mistakes.

Number of Intermediaries and Time Gap

One must keep in mind that the number of witnesses that have survived today does not necessarily reflect the number of witnesses that existed in the past. The longer the time gap between the genesis of a text and its first historical attestation, the higher the number of intermediaries that may have been lost in between. Some texts, of course, were not copied often (mostly for ideological reasons, e.g., they were "heretical" or pagan texts) and many such texts did not survive at all. In this case, we may posit a very small number of intermediaries even though the time gap can be very long.

At one extreme of this spectrum (small number of intermediaries, minimal time gap) we may find autograph manuscripts (e.g., Cullhed 2012); at the other extreme there is the manuscript tradition of patristic texts (great number of intermediaries and a long time gap, generally of several centuries; see Macé 2015: 424–430). The number of preserved manuscripts is by no means a guarantee of the quality of the transmitted text. In addition, it poses problems that the edition of texts preserved only in a few, sometimes fragmentary, witnesses do not have.

Authority

Some texts have been preserved as they were, typically texts whose author was considered an "authority" and texts that were "canonized," whereas others called for adaptations and transformations (for example, technical texts, texts that were "used" rather than "read"). It is difficult, however, to tell a priori which types of texts were transmitted faithfully and which ones were adapted. One must keep in mind that the same text may have been copied for different usages, and that it may therefore have been transmitted differently—if we take the case of the sermons of the church fathers, for example, they may be transmitted in a liturgical context or in a scholarly context (even in the context of school teaching), or as examples to be used and adapted into other sermons, or in all of these contexts. On the other hand, authoritative texts, especially if they have been preserved in many copies, virtually invited corrections and contaminations, as readers wanted to be in possession of the "best" possible text. Authoritative texts that were especially well known were also subject to the influence of the living memory of the scribes.

In a time like ours, in which we are saturated with information and it seems more important to protect our right to be forgotten rather than to be remembered, it is amazing to look at the fragility of textual traditions from the past and at the way medieval texts survived or not. The task of making those witnesses to the past available for the future is difficult and sometimes daunting, yet it is a beautiful occupation. By reading manuscripts and trying to understand how they came to existence, one feels closer to those people who painstakingly preserved for us some voices of the past. Our response

to those efforts has to be respectful and critical at the same time. It is in that tension—between the respect due to manifestations of the past and the necessity of not taking them at face value—that textual criticism occurs.

Suggestions for Further Reading

The following manuals, though somewhat schematic and focused on classical texts, are still useful: Maas (1957), van Groningen (1963), West (1973), Reynolds and Wilson (1991). A new handbook of stemmatology, giving much space to the discussion of computerized methods appeared: Roelli (2020). A useful lexicon of terms related to stemmatology was published online: Macé and Roelli (2015). Bernabé and Hernández Muñoz (2010) is especially devoted to Greek texts; and Jeffreys (2008) to Byzantine textual criticism. In addition, a new handbook of textual criticism of Greek and Latin texts will soon be published (de Melo and Scullion forthcoming). For medieval texts in general (though usually without consideration of Byzantine literature), see, e.g., Bourgain and Vielliard (2002), Baker (2010). Useful case studies are found in Harlfinger (1980), Irmscher, Paschke, and Treu (1987), Irigoin (1997 and 2003), Lauxtermann (1999: 97–98; specifically on metrics), Gastgeber (2003), and Macé (2015). See also Irigoin and André (2002) for some attempts to systematize editorial practice.

Greetham (1995) and Duval (2006) offer useful overviews of different traditions of scholarship, and Stussi (2006) presents some historically important viewpoints on textual criticism. Finally, Pasquali (1952) remains a very important book, and Trovato (2017) is highly recommended for its clear and often provocative views.

Journals with contributions to the theory of textual criticism:

Ecdotica: Rivista di studi testuali (Carocci editore)
Editio: Internationales Jahrbuch für Editionswissenschaft (De Gruyter)
Revue d'Histoire des Textes (Brepols Publishers)
Textual Cultures: Texts, Context, Interpretation (Society for Textual Scholarship)
Variants (European Society for Textual Scholarship).

APPENDIX

The following are (in alphabetical order) some of the major edition series of Byzantine texts.

- *Bibliotheca Teubneriana*
  See Dümmer (1975) for a presentation of the Byzantine titles in this collection. Regarding the edition of Michael Psellos's works, see Schamp (1997), Duffy (2006), and Crostini (2014).
- *Βυζαντινή και νεοελληνική βιβλιοθήκη*

Published by the Μορφωτικό Ίδρυμα Εθνικής Τραπέζης (MIET) in Thessalonike and since 1974 in Athens. Note, not many volumes have been published in this collection.

- *Collection Byzantine (Association Guillaume Budé)*
  Only a handful of editions were published (with French translations) in this sub-series of the Collection des Universités de France (Les Belles Lettres, Paris), and nothing recently: Michael Psellos's *Chronographia* (1926–1928), Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos's *Liber de ceremoniis* (1935), Anna Komnene's *Alexiad* (1945–1967), Photios's *Bibliotheca* (1959–1978).
- *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca et Byzantina (CAGB)*
  This new series, under the auspices of the Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, is published by De Gruyter and follows the tradition of the *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* (CAG) (1882–1908). See http://cagb-db.bbaw.de.
- *Corpus Christianorum Series Graeca (CCSG)*
  About sixty volumes have been published since 1976 (if one excludes the volumes of the sub-series *Corpus Nazianzenum*). Many editions in this collection paid particular attention to the orthography and punctuation of the manuscripts (see Reinsch 2011: 175). On the main features of the collection, see Macé (2016). The editions are published without a translation, but a translation is sometimes provided in a parallel collection: "*Corpus Christianorum* in Translation." It is worth noting that medieval translations of Byzantine texts into Latin or Oriental languages, if important, are also sometimes edited: for example, the Latin translation by John Scot Eriugena of Maximos the Confessor's *Ambigua ad Iohannem* (CCSG 18), the Syriac translation of Peter of Callinicum's *Tractatus contra Damianum*, a text lost in Greek (CCSG 29, 32, 25, 54), or the Greek text and less incomplete Syriac translation of Titos of Bostra's *Contra Manichaeos* (CCSG 82). Works preserved only in fragmentary form, such as Eustathios of Antioch's *Opera omnia*, have also received special attention (CCSG 51).
- *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae (CFHB)*
  Dedicated to (primarily) historiographical texts with several sub-corpora: https://www.oeaw.ac.at/byzanz/sites/cfhb/corpus-fontium-historiae-byzantinae/. The *Supplementa Byzantina* include editions of Byzantine texts other than historiographical. Editorial guidelines are provided on the website of the CFHB.
  The ancestor of this series was the *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* (CSHB), Corpus Bonnense, where fifty volumes with Greek texts and Latin translations were published between 1828 and 1897. See Reinsch (2010).
- *Corpus Philosophorum Medii Aevi, Philosophi Byzantini*
  Initiated by the Academy of Athens and directed by L. Benakis, this series is now published by Ousia (Brussels) and Vrin (Paris). See Benakis (2002: 283–284).
- *Sources chrétiennes (SC)*
  Although primarily focused on Greek and Latin patristics, the collection does not have a clear chronological limit, and several later Byzantine authors have been edited with a French translation: for example, Symeon the New Theologian (SC 51bis, 96, 104, 113, 122, 129, 156, 174, 196), Nikephoros Blemmydes (SC 517, 558), and Nikolaos Kabasilas (SC 4bis, 355, 361), to name but a few. See http://www.sources-chretiennes.mom.fr/.
- *Subsidia hagiographica (SH)*
  Since the nineteenth century the "Société des Bollandistes" in Brussels (http://www.bollandistes.org) publishes the *Subsidia hagiographica*, one of the most important series for the editions of saints' *Lives*.

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POSTSCRIPT

CHAPTER 25

THOUGHTS ON THE RECENT PAST AND THE FUTURE OF BYZANTINE LITERARY STUDIES

MARGARET MULLETT

When we look around us now, at the quinquennial International Congress of Byzantine Studies, at short lists for chairs and lectureships in Byzantine Studies, and in volumes such as this one, we see a plethora of literary scholars with things to say that scholars in any literature would be interested to hear. It was, perhaps, not always so.

In 1981, in the introduction to my PhD dissertation, I tried to carve out a space for Byzantine literature in the academy and discovered that "Byzantine literature has never had a good press, least of all from its own students" (Mullett 1981: 1). I tried in vain to understand why professors paid to profess Byzantine literature should above all discourage anyone else from studying it. And when a succession of professors like Mavrogordato, Trypanis, and Mitsakis[1] at Oxford had stumbled toward an appreciation of at least some genres of Byzantine literature and something comes along like "Byzantine literature as a distorting mirror" (Mango 1975), the effect was all the more daunting. Not that the essential premise of that inaugural lecture was wrong or stupid; far from it. There is no doubt that we should look at Byzantine historians and study their groundedness in their period, or their development of the genre over time, and we should never dream of assuming a simplistic relationship between text and its context. We increasingly see that lecture as a milestone in the sophisticated study of Byzantine texts.[2] But it came also

[1] This period in Oxford Byzantine Studies has not yet attracted the attention it deserves, neither in Mullett (2007) nor in Cormack and Jeffreys (2000).

[2] Panagiotis Agapitos's offering for a meeting in honor of Roderich Reinsch traced in scintillating fiction the contribution of the reception of that lecture (by an audience containing a "Judy" and a "Maggie") to Andrew Lloyd Webber's decision to write *Evita* rather than *Theodora*: don't cry for me, Byzantium.

with a mockery of anyone liking the literature, or assuming that anyone might want to read it for its own sake, or feeling a frisson from reading hymnography or other religious texts. Gibbon, Jenkins, and Mango, in their different ways,[3] saw Byzantine literature as worthless. An Anglophone aberration?

I find that every ten years or so since then, I have written a position paper on the study of Byzantine literature: in 1990 it was concerned with the place of theory in the study of Byzantine literature (Mullett 1990); Byzantine art history had for some time based itself on literary theory (cf., e.g., Cormack 1985, 1989), but very few students of Byzantine literature had done the same. It was the third leaf of a triptych in *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* on theory (along with Haldon 1984–1985 and Cormack 1986) and it looked forward optimistically to a time when Byzantinists would use theory as students of any other literature would. It noted the move from "the literature we love to hate" through a phase of "the literature we love to love" to a more critical study of text from a literary and theoretical point of view. It singled out recent work on parody, narrative, and fictionality (by, e.g., Margaret Alexiou, Ruth Macrides, and Roderick Beaton) as forward-looking and anticipated future work in the editing and also theoretical readings of texts.

By 2000, some of this had already begun to happen, but much of my concern had come to focus on literary history, both the application of the theory of new historicism and the writing of new literary history (Mullett 2003). For example, in the distinguished ranks of the *Cambridge Histories* series, as they appear on library shelves, it was clear that there was no history devoted to Byzantine literature, the privileged texts of the Byzantine Empire (330–1453), nor did Byzantine literature figure large among those histories concerned with neighboring literatures. This is partly a phenomenon defined as "the absence of Byzantium" (Cameron 2008), partly a function of the way Byzantine literature in particular had been treated by its students, as distinct from history (well represented in the previously mentioned Cambridge series), for example. It was the arrival of theory and the downplaying of evaluation which could make a new literary history of Byzantine literature become possible, with Byzantine as one medieval literature among many (Mullett 1990). Yet it still dragged behind its classical, Western medieval and Islamic neighboring literatures, and even where interesting and important work was being done, few students of classical or Renaissance literature would think to refer to Byzantine exempla, but would always follow the links through medieval Latin and Western vernaculars (Jeffreys 2014).

What did exist was a series of *Handbücher* dating back to Karl Krumbacher (1891 and 1897; also 1905)—the founder of the oldest institute of Byzantine Studies in Munich and the oldest journal, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* (1892), devoted to the subject—as well as, later on, a masterly survey of the transmission history of hagiographical and homiletic

[3] Gibbon (1907: VI, 107–108): "Not a single composition of history, philosophy or literature has been saved from oblivion by the intrinsic beauties of style or sentiment, of original fancy, or even of successful imitation." Jenkins (1940: 57): "The Byzantine empire remains almost the unique example of a highly civilised state, lasting for more than a millennium, which produced hardly any educated writing which can be read with pleasure for its literary merit alone." Mango (1975: 4): "I do not wish to dispute this harsh verdict."

literature by Albert Ehrhardt (1937, 1938, 1939, 1952). Classicizing, theological, and "folk" literature were then segregated, organized, and thoroughly surveyed in a mid-twentieth-century revision of Krumbacher's work by Hans-Georg Beck (Munich) (1959; 1971 = 1988) and Herbert Hunger (Vienna) (1978 = 1991–1992–1994), which notably offer "more detail and less analysis" (Odorico 2009a: 64). In the 1980s, Alexander Kazhdan pointed out that these were handbooks, not histories, because they privileged genre over author (1984: 1–22), and proceeded to write his own history, which turned out to privilege author over audience, genre, or text (1999 and 2006, covering the period from c. 650 to c. 1000) (cf. Efthymiadis 2003 and Hörandner 2003). And I was not alone in feeling concern for literary history. Scholars working with literary texts and teaching survey classes to students felt the need for something more coherent than these brilliant but isolated studies, and worked on single-authored histories (most notably Rosenqvist 2003, 2007, 2008, covering the period from the sixth century to 1453).[4]

In 2000, a symposium in Cyprus highlighted the problem and brought together a bewildering array of different approaches to it (Odorico and Agapitos 2002). At that meeting, I surveyed progress since 1990: a discussion in *Symbolae Osloenses* on *Quellenforschung* and/or literary criticism had revealed much misunderstanding and disagreement, by no means all on the proposed subject (Ljubarskij et al. 1998). I saw highlights of the decade as Alan Cameron's *Greek Anthology* (1993) and Roderich Reinsch's and Athanasios Kambylis's new edition of Anna Komnene (2001), as well as further work in historiography like Cyril Mango's and Roger Scott's *Theophanes* (1997). Rhetoric and the interactive genres like epistolography were also advancing. Religious literature had come into its own, particularly with homilies, and the literary study of saints' *Lives* had gained from the re-evaluation of Peter Brown's holy man (1971/1982) and the linguistic turn. (We got used to many more turns over the next decades.) And in what used to be called *Volksliteratur*, the study of the novel and *Digenes Akrites* had advanced; there was by now very little support for the traditional tripartite division of Byzantine literature. I was puzzled that students took so much more easily to theory than their seniors.

I didn't then ask why things changed after the 1980s for the study of Byzantine literature, why there was a new interest in literature. With the benefits of hindsight, I now believe this has something to do with the linguistic turn and the commitment of social historians (rather than philologists) to really understand—rather than plunder—the texts they used. *Annales*-school concern for *mentalité*, as well as New Historicist literary tools, enabled trail-blazing in analysis (Macrides 1985 and Magdalino 1987 are

[4] Other, relatively extensive chronological treatments of Byzantine literary history appeared in Italian (Impellizzeri 1965 and 1975: fourth to ninth century), German (Hammerstaedt 1997 and Kambylis 1997: the entire Byzantine period, though tellingly divided into "Late Antiquity" [fourth to sixth century] and "Byzantium" [sixth century to 1453]). Further concise accounts were offered in the following: Browning and Jeffreys (1983); Hunger (1983); Ševčenko (1976 and 1985); Reinsch (1999). Finally, numerous are the related entries in Kazhdan et al. (1991), including a lemma on "literature" by Kazhdan himself.

landmarks; for other, later examples: Ivanov 2006 [originally 1994]; Messis 2006 and 2014a; Holmes 2010).

I looked forward to "more application of narrative theory, more study of storytelling, more consideration of the different modes of narrative in texts and images, more consideration of Bakhtin's concept of 'novelisation.'" I hoped for exploitation of autobiography, dream narratives, detection of erotic charge, cult-building, for the study of the self and identity. I saw network study as still the way to understand both the processes of literary production and the nature of literary society. But I also saw that authorship was a key desideratum, as well as literacy and performance. I saw an erosion between the sacred and the secular; Derek Krueger and his view of writing as an act of piety was an important advance (2004). I noted the way that electronic resources like the TLG (http://www.tlg.uci.edu/, under the direction of Maria Pantelia [UC Irvine]) had established themselves on our desks and in our hearts, signaled the advent of major collaborative projects and major research council funding for large literary projects, heralded the study of the sub-literary, compilatory literature, and the aesthetic of *sylloge* (building on Odorico 1990). I even allowed myself to predict, needled by a plea of Ševčenko at the Copenhagen congress for a new theory-free generation to succeed their elders (Mullett 2003: 47), the following:

> If I were to predict the future of Byzantine literature, I would suggest that we will see more texts, more translations, more commentaries, and more monographs on individual texts, authors, and periods. We shall continue to address issues of identity and autobiography, authority and authorship, at the processes and the milieus of literary society. We shall look at textual communities and at conventional borrowings between secular and religious literature. We shall consider the fictional status and performance context of every text. We shall use the theory we need and the technology we need, we shall collaborate between individuals, centers and disciplines, and we shall ensure the funding to do it. In the future (to answer Ševčenko) art historians will edit texts, literary scholars will investigate style and we will all stop talking about patronage and make sure that we get it. This way we will ensure the future of Byzantine literature.

It is interesting looking back[5] to see what did happen as the study of Byzantine literature (especially of the middle and late periods) developed in Europe, America, and Australia.

In the past twenty years or so, there were conferences (and then edited volumes) on mimesis (Rhoby and Schiffer 2010), *ekphrasis* (Vavrinek, Odorico, and Drbal 2011; Odorico and Messis 2012), patronage (Theis et al. 2014), authorship (Pizzone 2014), performance (Tsironis and Kampianaki forthcoming), dream narratives (Angelidi and Calofonos

[5] I did write another survey piece in 2010 (Mullett 2010), but it was concerned with the notion of literature and the sub-literary, and the conviction that there was no Byzantine drama, mapping modern concepts of literature onto those of Byzantium.

2014[6]), specific authors (e.g., Simpson and Efthymiadis 2009) and genres (e.g., Macrides 2010 on historiography), etc. A new philology developed alongside this new concern for literature, debating policies for editing Byzantine texts (cf., e.g., Giannouli and Schiffer 2011 and the *Ars edendi* project). This interplay between philology and hermeneutics vastly enriched the subject, not least through the *Hermeneia* series of conferences and further collected volumes from the same press (Odorico and Agapitos 2002 and 2004; Odorico, Hinterberger, and Agapitos 2006 and 2009; Hörandner and Grünbart 2003; Odorico 2009b and 2012; Efthymiadis, Messis, Odorico, and Polemis 2015).

The infrastructure is suddenly there. New professors in old positions meant that from 1989 in London, 1993 in Berlin, 1995 in Paris, and 1995 in Oxford, there were professors whose work was recognizable to students of other literatures as the same endeavor. New professors in new or changed positions, at Nicosia, Lille, Uppsala, Katowice, Ghent, Moscow, Edinburgh, Münster, as well as in the expected homes of Byzantine philology in Greek and Italian (as well as few American) universities, have come to lead the field. (There are simultaneous dangers, as established centers, e.g., in Germany, undergo a shortage of students, and a very few centers of growth, e.g., in Turkey, privilege material culture and economic history over literature.) Old centers of Byzantine Studies (e.g., that of Vienna) have taken on a new lease of life, and new research centers and research groups have taken Byzantium out beyond its traditional boundaries, to look at, for instance, post-classical narratology (at Uppsala-Paris: *Texte et récit à Byzance*), or other medieval literatures (at Odense-York, Ghent, and Uppsala-Odense-Athens).[7] New publication series[8] and journals (from *Medioevo Greco* to *Parekbolae* to *Estudios bizantinos* to *The Byzantine Review*, to name just a few examples), new resources in print (e.g., Grünbart 2001; Vassis 2005) and online (from the *Pinakes* [http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/] to the http://syri.ac/ database and the open-access *Lexikon zur Byzantinischen Gräzität* [http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/lbg]) have opened up the field, together with new translation series like the bilingual (Greek-English) Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library (*DOML*) and the Liverpool

[6] See also the Dumbarton Oaks dream clinic in November 2012, "The (mis)interpretation of Byzantine dream narratives" with its anthology at: http://www.doaks.org/research/byzantine/scholarly-activities/byzantine-studies-fall-workshop.

[7] For the Centre for European Literature (University of Southern Denmark–University of York), see http://cml.sdu.dk, along with their manifesto (Borsa, Høgel, Mortensen, and Tyler 2015). For the Ghent University project *Novel Saints*, see https://www.novelsaints.ugent.be. For Uppsala-Odense-Athens, see https://retracingconnections.org, on the project *Retracing Connections: Byzantine Storyworlds in Greek, Arabic, Georgian, and Old Slavonic (c. 950–c. 1100)*, directed by Ingela Nilsson, Christian Høgel, and Stratis Papaioannou. For other comparative work related to Byzantine literature, see, e.g., the *Apophthegmata* project "*Monastica* – a dynamic library and research tool" (https://edu.monastica.ht.lu.se) directed by Samuel Rubenson (Lund), or the ERC projects "Reassessing Ninth Century Philosophy. A Synchronic Approach to the Logical Tradition" (2015–2020) led by Christophe Erismann (Vienna), and "Classicising learning in medieval imperial systems: Cross-cultural approaches to Byzantine *paideia* and Tang/Song *xue*" (2017–2022), directed by Niels Gaul and Curie Virág (Edinburgh) (http://paixue.shca.ed.ac.uk).

[8] Such as *Edinburgh Byzantine Studies* which promises "theory-driven approaches to the empire commonly called Byzantium, often from a multi-disciplinary and/or cross-cultural vantage-point." To integrate the approaches of art history, archaeology, and textual study is the aim of the new Routledge series *Studies in Byzantine Cultural History* (editors: James Crow, Liz James, Margaret Mullett).

Translated Texts for Byzantinists—the former series often offers new editions of texts as well. Summer schools (at, e.g., Dumbarton Oaks, the Gennadeios Library [ASCSA], Dublin, Oxford, Thessalonike, Boğaziçi University, the Swedish Institute in Istanbul, etc.) ensure that new generations can come into the field and not be excluded from its riches. And the early years of their careers may now be spent working on collaborative projects, now frequently literary, a vital part of the infrastructure, especially in Europe.

There has been extraordinary progress since the millennium. There have been more texts, more translations, and more monographs on individual texts, authors, and periods. New critical editions, especially, have been appearing at a steady, remarkable pace—see, for instance, to look at just the last few years: Cuomo (2016): Ioannes Kananos; Gielen (2016): Nikephoros Blemmydes and Ioseph Rhakendytes on virtue; Lampadaridi (2016): Markos Diakonos's *Life of Porphyrios of Gaza* (BHG 1570); Tartaglia (2016): Georgios Kedrenos; Antonopoulou (2017): Merkourios *grammatikos* Bourbouhakis (2017): Eustathios of Thessalonike Fogielman 2017 and Géhin 2017: Evagrios of Pontos; Levrie 2017: Maximos the Confessor; Papaioannou (2017): Symeon Metaphrastes; Taxidis (2017): Maximos Planoudes's *Epigrams*; Fernández (2018): *Florilegium Coislinianum*; Rambault (2018–): John Chrysostom's *Panegyrics* on martyrs; Stallman-Pacitti (2018): *The Life of Saint Pankratios of Taormina* (BHG 1410); Loukaki (2019): Nikolaos Kataphloron *Book of the Hours*; Papaioannou (2019): Psellos's *Letters*[9]; Rioual (2019): Basileios the Lesser's *Commentary* on Gregory the Theologian's *Orations* 4 and 5, *Against Julian*; Polemis and Kaltsogianni (2019): Theodoros Metochites's *Orations*; Spira, Hörner, and Maraval (2019): Gregory of Nyssa, funeral orations; Dagron and Flusin 2020: *Book of Ceremonies*; Duffy (2020): Sophronios of Jerusalem; Binggeli and Efthymiadis in Binggeli, Efthymiadis, and Métivier 2020: Stephanos Diakonos's *Life of Bacchos the Younger* (BHG 209).[10]

There has also been progress in the study of the basic processes and textual fields (focusing here primarily on the middle and late Byzantine literary tradition): reading (e.g., Cavallo 2006; Shawcross and Toth 2018), commentary (e.g. Van den Berg, Manolova, and Marciniak forthcoming), and performance (e.g., Marciniak 2004; Öztürkmen and Birge Vitz 2014; Walker White 2015; Pomerantz and Birge Vitz 2017), poetry very much on the rise (e.g., Hörandner 2017; Lauxtermann 2003–2019; Bernard and Demoen 2012; Bernard 2014; Rhoby and Zagklas 2018; Hörandner, Rhoby, and Zagklas 2019[11]), rhetorical self-fashioning (e.g., Pizzone 2018; Papaioannou 2021), visual and verbal aesthetics (e.g., Barber 2002 and 2007; Mariev and Stock 2013; Cullhed 2016; Pizzone 2016; Pontani, Katsaros and Sarris 2017; Barber and Papaioannou 2017; Spingou 2021[12]), novelistic fiction in cross-cultural perspective (e.g., Agapitos and Mortensen 2013; Cupane and Krönung 2016; Goldwyn and Nilsson

[9] For summaries and discussion of Psellos' letters, see Jeffreys and Lauxtermann 2017. The text of the edition of the letters is complemented with the corrections presented in "Papaioannou, Psellus, Epistulae (2019): Errata, addenda et corrigenda," available at academia.edu.

[10] See also the related project on editing and translation works-in-progress that was begun by Alessandra Bucossi and is now maintained at the site of *Association Internationale des Études Byzantines* (AIEB: https://aiebnet.gr/list-of-editions-and-translations/).

[11] Cf. also the "Byzantine poetry in the 'long' twelfth century" project in Vienna (Andreas Rhoby and Nikos Zagklas).

[12] The latter publication is part of a Princeton project (Charles Barber and Foteini Spingou) aiming to publish a collection of translated sources for the study of Byzantine art and aesthetics.

2019), "subliterary" texts (such as *excerpts* and *gnomological* literature; see, e.g., Németh 2018 or the project *Sharing Ancient Wisdoms*, at http://www.ancientwisdoms.ac.uk/), narrative in art (e.g., Bjørnholt 2002; Tsamakda 2002; Boeck 2015; Soria 2018) and in narratological perspective (e.g., Nilsson 2014; Messis, Mullett, and Nilsson 2018), etc.

Progress can be seen also in the study of rhetorical methods: for example, *ekphrasis* (Webb 2009) and *metaphrasis* (e.g., Høgel 2002, Resh 2018, Constantinou and Høgel 2021, Alwis, Hinterberger, and Schiffer 2021). In general the study of rhetoric has developed extraordinarily. The days when identifying a topos allowed the reader to ignore what it said are long gone. Excited discoveries in Menandros or the *progymnasmata*, for instance, have now given way to the study of schedography, a subject dreaded and feared by generations of scholars, now within our grasp.[13] The study of manuscripts and book culture is seen in an integrated way with the study of literacy and of Byzantine education (e.g., Holmes and Waring 2002; Bianconi 2005). The concerns of the literati have been broadened to include occult sciences (e.g., Magdalino 2006; Magdalino and Mavroudi 2007) about which former generations kept an embarrassed silence.

Historiography, always an advanced, and favored, area in the field, made remarkable progress, as historiographical texts not only found new editions (e.g., Ševčenko 2011 and Featherstone and Signes-Codoñer 2015: *Theophanes Continuatus*; Reinsch 2014: Psellos's *Chronographia*) and been surveyed anew (e.g., Karpozilos 1997, 2002, 2009, and 2016; also Neville 2018), but also came to be seen increasingly as literature (e.g., Criscuolo and Maisano 2000; Burke et al. 2006; Odorico, Agapitos, and Hinterberger 2006; Nilsson and Scott 2007; Macrides 2010; Buckley 2014).[14] Hagiography gained major systematization (Efthymiadis 2011 and 2014), online resources,[15] and more texts (e.g., Berger 2006: Gregentios of Taphar; Alexakis and Wessel 2011: Leo of Catania; Sullivan, Talbot, and McGrath 2014: Basil the Younger; for other recent editions, see previous citations), as well as work on fictionality which makes comparison across the narrative genres more possible (e.g., Alwis 2012; Agapitos and Mortensen 2013; Messis 2014b). Dialogue and satire have been identified as a major gap in our knowledge from various points of view: religious polemic, philosophy, and literary (e.g., Cameron 2014 and 2016; Cameron and Gaul 2017; Marciniak and Nilsson 2020).

Homiletics, hymnography, epistolography, and epigram also made progress through editions (e.g., Kolovou 2001: Michael Choniates; Kolovou 2006: Eustathios of Thessalonike; Antonopoulou 2008: Leo VI; De Groote 2012: Christophoros Mitylenaios; and further titles cited earlier among new editions), and through larger projects. For epistolography, see, e.g., Høgel and Bartoli (2015), Riehle (2020), and also the British

[13] See, e.g., Vassis 1993–1994 and 2002; Polemis 1995, 1996, and 1997; Agapitos 2013, 2014, 2015a, 2015b, and 2015e; Nousia 2016; Marciniak 2017; Nilsson and Zagklas 2017.

[14] See further, e.g., the conference *Chronicles as literature at the crossroad of past and present*, organized by Sergei Mariev and Ingela Nilsson in 2016: http://www.byzantinistik.uni-muenchen.de/tagungen/archiv/chronicles/index.html.

[15] See e.g. the Dumbarton Oaks *Resources for Byzantine Hagiography*, at: https://www.doaks.org/research/byzantine/resources/hagiography; or the *Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity (CSLA)* database, at http://csla.history.ox.ac.uk.

Academy's medieval friendship network (2004–2009) (see http://www.univie.ac.at/amicitia/ with, e.g., Grünbart 2004, 2005, and 2007, Ysebaert 2010a and 2010b, and Papaioannou 2012). For the epigram, see the Ghent book epigram project (DBBE; *Database of Byzantine Book Epigrams*: http://www.dbbe.ugent.be) and the Vienna projects with epigrams on works of art (Rhoby 2009, 2010, 2014, 2015, and 2018a) and on seals (Wassiliou-Seibt 2011–2016), and also joint and individual studies (e.g., Hörandner and Rhoby 2008; Spingou 2012; Drpić 2016; Smith 2019). As for hymnography, Romanos has finally come into his own with monographs (Arentzen 2017; Eriksen 2013; Gador-Whyte 2017) and the work of the comparative hymnography group.

Progress has also been made toward a more refined periodization of the Byzantine literary tradition and a critique of some of the ideological premises that have accompanied earlier historiographical surveys (notably: Agapitos 2012, 2015c, 2015d, 2017, 2020, and 2021). Meanwhile, some new such brief surveys, by single authors (Flusin 2004 and 2006, and Mondrain 2011; Littlewood 2005; Reinsch 2010; Cupane 2016 = 2019; Rhoby 2018b) or in multi-authored works (Cavallo 2004; relevant chapters in Jeffreys, Haldon, and Cormack 2008; Stephenson 2009; and James 2010), usually premised on genres or focused on main writers, have also appeared in print.[16] Another age of handbooks and companions including the Brill's *Handbooks to the Byzantine World* (editor Wolfram Brandes: 7 vols published by 2020), but also others with Ashgate, Blackwell, Brepols, CUP, OUP, is upon us. Literary volumes, divided by genre, are coming out at speed, currently comprising hagiography, the novel and romance, poetry, epistolography and satire.

Byzantine literary studies (somewhat behind classics, medieval history, and even Byzantine art history) have, furthermore, come to see the potential of recent advances in the new disciplines of affective and cognitive neuroscience. Thus work on the senses, the emotions, and dreams now proceeds with an awareness of related work in philosophy, psychology, and anthropology far beyond the bounds of our subject (e.g., Alexiou and Cairns 2017; Harvey and Mullett 2017 and forthcoming; Constantinou and Meyer 2019; Cairns and Pizzone forthcoming). As well as Byzantine philosophy (e.g. Trizio 2007), there is a developing interest in the literary aspects of liturgy (e.g. Krueger 2014), a new concern for spatial aspects of texts (e.g. Veikou 2016) and a revived exploration of occasion and patronage (e.g. Nilsson 2021). And a truly comparative approach is now setting the pace,[17] just as recent improved understanding of the Byzantine cultural realm has forced an appreciation of the literary achievements of communities which worked in Syriac, Arabic, Georgian, Armenian, and Latin as well as Greek (Johnson 2015), not in a comparative sense, but as works of Byzantine literature tout court.[18] These developments seem to me to be the future of Byzantine literature.

[16] See also chapters related to early Byzantine literature in, e.g., Young, Ayres, and Louth (2004), Harvey and Hunter (2008), Rousseau (2009), Johnson (2012), Pouderon and Norelli (2016–2017), and McGill and Watts (2018).

[17] See n. 7.

[18] A related symposium held in 2016, *Worlds of Byzantium*, organized by Elizabeth S. Bolman, Scott F. Johnson, and Jack Tannous, is to be published by Cambridge University Press (cf. http://doaks.org/research/byzantine/scholarly-activities/worlds-of-byzantium). See also Chitwood and Pahlitzsch (2019).

So at the very moment when we are in a position to put together a history (or histories) of Byzantine literature, it also becomes necessary to explain what would be different from other aids to research (even this current volume), and also different from what it would have looked like if Byzantine literature had been treated on all fours with other medieval literatures. For one thing, it needs to be a history of Byzantine (and thus multilingual) rather than Greek literature; and, in advance of any consensus on periodization, it needs to allow a wide area of overlap between late classical and Byzantine at one end, and Byzantium and the literature of the *Tourkokratia* at the other. It also needs to follow the intertextuality of the products of authors, and to understand the technical processes that enabled diffusion and reception of their work, as well as the intellectual movements which required particular kinds of writing rather than others. And finally, it can be focused on manuscripts and texts as well as authors, genres, and milieus, on what makes texts work, on the preconceptions and expectations of readers and listeners, and on an inherited rhetoric that enabled the imaginative flights of authors over eleven hundred years. It can be truly literary, a history and not a rigid system or isolated pen-portraits, and it will involve a bigger and longer Byzantium.

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Glossary of Rhetorical Figures

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The following glossary presents a collection of commonly used tropes and figures of diction and thought, including some that are contained in the Hermogenic corpus. The reader is advised that definitions and categorizations of tropes and figures can differ from one handbook to the next. For the names of authors and references to editions and bibliography, see Valiavitcharska, "Rhetorical Figures," Chapter 12 in this volume.

ἀκμή (*akmê*) a sequence of two or three *pneumata* of varying kind. See *pneuma*.

ἀλληγορία (*allêgoria*) an expression referring to one thing, but having in mind another, as in Gen. 3:14, where God curses the snake "above all cattle." What is said is understood to refer to the devil by analogy (Choiroboskos in Spengel 3: 215–216).

ἀναδίπλωσις (*anadiplôsis*) (sometimes also called παλιλλογία [*palillogia*]) repetition of a word, as in "Κύριε, Κύριε, μὴ ἀποστῇς ἀπ' ἐμοῦ = Lord, Lord, do not depart from me" (Anon. in Spengel 3: 182).

ἀναίρεσις (*anairesis*) flat denial, as in "Οὐ λίθοις ἐτείχισα τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲ πλίνθοις ἐγώ, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐμὸν τειχισμόν, ἐὰν βούλῃ σκοπεῖν, εὑρήσεις ὅπλα καὶ πόλεις καὶ συμμάχους = I did not fortify the walls with stones or bricks; if you would wish to examine, you will find that my fortifications are weapons and outposts and allies" (Dem. 18.299, qtd. by Anon. in Spengel 3: 125).

ἀνταπόδοσις (*antapodosis*) typical example intended to offer a model by analogy, as in "μίμησαι τὸν μύρμηκα, ὦ ὀκνηρὲ νεανία = imitate the ant, O idle young man" (Anon. in Spengel 3: 212).

ἀντιμεταβολή (*antimetabolê*) lexical inversion, as in "δεῖ γὰρ τὰς Θήβας εἶναι Βοιωτίας, οὐ τὴν Βοιωτίαν Θηβῶν = Thebes must belong to Boeotia, not Boeotia to the Thebans" (Alexandros in Spengel 3: 37).

ἀντιστροφή (*antistrophê*) repetition of the same word(s) at the end(s) of successive clauses, as in "πλῆξον τὸν τύραννον, σφάξον τὸν τύραννον, καρατόμησον τὸν τύραννον = strike the tyrant, slay the tyrant, behead the tyrant" ("Zonaios" in Spengel 3: 166)

ἀντίθετον (*antitheton*) comparing a proposition with its hypothetical counterfact in order to affirm it, as in "ἐπειδὴ ἡμέρα ἐστί, δεῖ ποιῆσαι τόδε. εἰ μὴ ἦν ἡμέρα, ἀλλὰ νύξ, ἴσως ἐχρῆν μὴ ποιεῖν = since it is daytime, we must do this; if it were not day but night, we must likewise not do it" (Ps.-Hermogenes's *On Invention* 4.2) or "ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς ἐκρατήσατε ἂν εἰ μὴ κίνησις ἐγεγόνει, οὕτως ἐκεῖνος νενίκηκεν ὅτι γέγονεν = just as you would have won if no movement had occurred, so he has prevailed because it did" (Psellos, *Encomium for kyr Symeon Metaphrastes*, ed. E. A. Fisher, *Michael Psellus. Orationes hagiographicae*. Stuttgart and Leipzig 1994: 267–288, at 212).

ἀντονομασία (*antonomasia*) substitution of a patronym, personification, or epithet for a proper name, as in "Phoebus" for Apollo or "Ennosigaios" for Poseidon (Tryphon in Spengel 3: 204).

ἀπαρίθμησις (*aparithmêsis*) enumeration, as in "πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν ὧν ἀπήγγειλε, δεύτερον δὲ ὧν ἔπεισε, τρίτον δὲ ὧν προσετάξατ' αὐτῷ = [he is responsible then,] in the first place, for the reports he has made; secondly, for the advice he has offered; thirdly, for his observance of your instructions" (Dem. 19.4, qtd. by Ps.-Aristides 1.3.2.2, trans. Vince and Vince).

ἀπὸ ψιλοῦ τοῦ πράγματος ἀρχόμενον (*apo psilou tou pragmatos archomenon*) launching with the matter itself, as in "Οἱ δὲ θεοὶ πὰρ Ζηνὶ καθήμενοι ἠγορόωντο = now the gods were sitting in council with Zeus" (*Il.* 4.1, qtd. by Anon. in Spengel 3: 143).

ἀπὸ κοινοῦ (*apo koinou*) a partial omission of syntactical structure or, rather, a joining of two dissimilar structures by means of a single word, as in "ἀπελθὼν ἤτησα τοὺς ἄνδρας, μάλιστα δὲ τόνδε καὶ τόνδε = after I left, I asked the men, especially this and that one" (Phoibammon in Spengel 3: 46).

ἀποσιώπησις (*aposiôpêsis*) a sudden break in the speech apparently caused by overwhelming emotion (see, for example, Alexandros in Spengel 3: 22).

ἀπόστασις (*apostasis*) detached phrases, as in "αὕτη τῶν περὶ Θήβας ἐγένετο πραγμάτων ἀρχὴ καὶ κατάστασις πρώτη; τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα = such was the beginning and such was the first settlement with Thebes; the act was passed" (Dem. 18.188, qtd. by Anon. in Walz 3: 708).

ἀποστροφή (*apostrophê*) an abrupt change in the person addressed; turning away from all others to address someone in particular while also implying an accusation (cf. *Il.* 2.284, qtd. by Alexandros in Spengel 3: 23).

ἀσύνδετον (*asyndeton*) deliberate omission of conjunctions, as in "εὗρον αὐτὸν, ἐλάλησα, ἔπεισα = I found him—spoke—persuaded" (Phoibammon in Spengel 3: 46).

γνώμη (*gnômê*) maxim, for example, "εἷς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης = one omen is best—to fight for one's country" (*Il.* 12.243).

δεικτικόν (*deiktikon*) contradiction followed by demonstration, as in "οὐ λέγω, ἀλλ' ἔγωγε οἶμαί μοι προσήκειν ἀμφοτέροις ὑμῖν ἐπιδεῖξαι = I say no, but it is fitting, I think, that I reveal both" (Anon. in Walz 3: 708).

διαπόρησις (*diaporêsis*) expressed hesitation or difficulty deciding between two or more outcomes, as in "ἐπαινῶ καὶ τὴν στενὴν καὶ τεθλιμμένην ὁδόν, οὐκ οἶδα εἴτε εἰς βασιλείαν εἴτε εἰς Ἅιδου φέρουσαν, σοῦ δὲ ἕνεκεν εἰς βασιλείαν φερέτω = I approve also 'the narrow and difficult road'—except that I do not know if it leads to the kingdom or to Hades—but for your sake, let it lead to the kingdom" (Greg. Naz., *Ep.* 4.5).

διλήμματον (*dilêmmaton*) dilemmatic question aiming at one of only two answers, as in "πότερον παρῆς τούτοις γινομένοις καὶ συνευφραίνου ἢ οὐ παρῆς = were you present and did you share in the common joy or were you not?" (Ps.-Hermogenes's *On Invention* 4.6).

ἐλεγκτικόν (*elenktikon*) forceful, syllogistic refutation, as in "εἶτα Ὀλύνθιοι μὲν ἴσασι τὸ μέλλον προορᾷν· ὑμεῖς δὲ ὄντες Ἀθηναῖοι ταὐτὸ τοῦτο οὐχὶ φυλάξεσθε = if then the Olynthians know how to provide for the future, will you not, being Athenians?" (Dem. 23.109, qtd. by Anon. in Walz 3: 707).

ἔλλειψις (*elleipsis*) deliberate omission of a letter, as in λείβειν; εἴβειν (make a libation; let flow), δῶμα δῶ (house; housetop) (Tryphon in Spengel 3: 198); omission of a phrase which is implied, as in "αὐτὸς κύριος τοῦ πράγματος, αὐτὸς ὁ πείθων τοὺς ἄλλους, αὐτὸς ὁ κελεύων = he is the one in charge; he, the one who persuades the others; he, who gives orders" (what is omitted is ἐστί, Phoibammon in Spengel 3: 46).

ἐπανάληψις (*epanalêpsis*) straightforward repetition of a word or phrase, as in "ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἡμάρτετε, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι = but no, it is not, not possible that you erred, o men of Athens" (Dem. 18.208, qtd. by Alexandros in Spengel 3: 21).

ἐπαναφορά (*epanaphora*) the repetition of a word or phrase at the beginning of successive clauses, as in "Νιρεὺς αὖ Σύμηθεν ἄγεν . . . / Νιρεὺς Ἀγλαΐης υἱὸς = Nireus led [three ships] from Syme / Nireus, son of Aglaia" (*Il.* 2.671–672 qtd. by Alexandros in Spengel 3: 21).

ἐπάνοδος (*epanodos*) enumerative repetition, as in "τῷ δ' ἕτερον μὲν ἔδωκε πατήρ, ἕτερον δ' ἀνένευσε·/ νηῶν μέντοι ἀπώσασθαι, πόλεμόν τε μάχην τε/ δῶκε, σόον δ' ἀνένευσε μάχης ἐξαπονέεσθαι = a part the father [Zeus] granted him, and a part denied. That Patroclus should thrust back the war and battle from the ships he granted; but that he should return safe from out the battle he denied" (*Il.* 16.250–252 [trans. Murray] qtd. by Alexandros in Spengel 3: 31).

ἐπεμβολή (*epembolê*) insertion or parenthesis, as in "ἔστι τοίνυν οὗτος ὁ πρῶτος Ἀθηναίων αἰσθόμενος Φίλιππον, ὡς τότε δημηγορῶν ἔφη, ἐπιβουλεύοντα τοῖς Ἕλλησιν = this one [Aeschines], therefore, was first among Athenians, as he said at the time in the Assembly, to perceive that Philip was plotting against the Greeks" (Dem. 19.10, qtd. by Anon. in Spengel 3: 139).

ἐπιδιόρθωσις (*epidiorthôsis*) subsequent correction/adjustment of a possible misinterpretation, as in "σύ τε ὁ τῆς ἐμῆς φιλοσοφίας βασανιστὴς καὶ κριτής. Ἀλλ' -ὅπως μοι φιλοσόφως δέξῃ τὸν λόγον = but you, who are the examiner and judge of my philosophy—that you may receive my words philosophically!" (Greg. Naz. 9.4, qtd. by Anon. Chr. in Bady 2010: 270).

ἐπίκρισις (*epikrisis*) personal judgment expressed impersonally, as in "ἐνθάδ' οὐ παραστατεῖ, ὡς χρῆν, Ὀρέστης = here he is not—*as he should have been*—Orestes" (Aeschylus *Ag.* 879; cf. Ioannes Sikeliotes in Walz 6: 233).

ἐπιτροχασμός (*epitrochasmos*) a hurried enumeration of several points or actions, as in "ἀλλ' ἐφ' Ἑλλήσποντον οἴχεται, πρότερον ἦκεν ἐπ' Ἀμβρακίαν, Ἦλιν ἔχει τηλικαύτην πόλιν ἐν Πε λοποννήσῳ, Μεγάροις ἐπεβούλευσεν πρώην = but he is off to the Hellespont, not long after he got to Ambracia, then he captures Peloponnesian Elis, a city of equal size, and only yesterday he plotted against the Megarians (Dem. 9.27 qtd. by Phoibammon in Spengel 3: 22).

ἐρώτημα, ἐρώτησις (*erôtêma, erôtêsis*) a rhetorical question that presents one of several reasons as a matter of necessity, such as "ὅτι αἱρέσεώς μοι οὔσης, συγκινδυνεῦσαι αὐτῷ, ἢ πεῖσαι αὐτὸν μὴ ποιῆσαι τόδε, ἢ ἀναχωρῆσαι, μὴ πειθομένου αὐτοῦ συμβουλεύοντί μοι τί ἐχρῆν με ποιῆσαι = I had a choice: to suffer danger with him, to persuade him not to do this, or to leave. Since he was not persuaded, what was I to do?" (Phoibammon in Spengel 3: 53).

ἰσόκωλον (*isokôlon*) a phrase/sentence composed of two or more colons of identical syntax and approximately of the same syllable count, as in "χρὴ ξεῖνον παρεόντα φιλεῖν, ἐθέλοντα δὲ πέμπειν" (*Od.* 15.74, qtd. in Spengel 3: 155).

καθ' ὑπόθεσιν (*kath' hypothesin*) argument according to supposition, as in "εἰ μὲν τοίνυν πᾶσι ψηφιούμεθα ταῦτα, λήσομεν ὡς ἔοικε, μισθοφόρων ἔργον ἀνθρώπων ποιοῦντες τὴν ἑκάστου σωτηρίαν τούτων δορυφοροῦντες = but if we decree these things for all of them, we will not notice how we will make ourselves bodyguards for each one of them, like mercenaries (Dem. 23.123, qtd. by Anon. in Walz 3: 708).

καινοπρεπές (*kainoprepês*) novel or unusual expression, as in "Θετταλοὶ δὲ οὐδένα πώποτε ὄντινα οὔ = the Thessalians have never not [betrayed] a single [ally]" instead of "have always betrayed every ally" (Dem. 23.112, qtd. in Spengel 3: 138).

κακόζηλον (*kakozêlon*) ambitious but poor or inappropriate expression, including false pathos, as in "Alas, half of me is becoming a snake" (οἴμοι, δράκων μου γίνεται τὸ ἥμισυ, Eur. *Fr. 930* Nauck, qtd. in Ps.-Hermogenes's *On Invention* 4.12).

κατ' ἄρσιν καὶ θέσιν (*kat' arsin kai thesin*) denial of one thing, followed by affirmation of another, as in "οὐχ ὡς ἀποδωσομένου τὰ ὑμέτερα, ἀλλ' ὡς τῶν φυλαξάντων τοὺς

ἀλλοτρίους = not as one who would betray you, but as one of those who protect the others" (Dem. 19.12, qtd. by Anon. in Spengel 3: 129).

κατ᾽ ἄθροισιν (*kat᾽ athroisin*) enumerative definition, with the *definiendum* in the protasis and the *definiens* in the apodosis, as in "τρεῖς οἶδα τάξεις τῶν σωζομένων, δουλείαν, μισθαρνίαν, υἱότητα = I know three ways of salvation: slavery, servitude, and sonship" (Sikeliotes in Walz 6: 194).

κατ᾽ ὀρθότητα (*kat᾽ orthotêta*) straightforward narrative/opening according to chronological order, as in "Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος συνέγραψε τὸν πόλεμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ὡς ἐπολέμησαν ἑκάτεροι = Thucydides, an Athenian, wrote the history of the war between the Athenians and the Peloponnesians as they fought each other" (Thuc. 1.1, qtd. in Spengel 3: 120).

κατὰ προτίμησιν (*kata protimêsin*) enumeration in order of importance, as in "ἐγὼ δὲ ὑμῖν, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, βούλομαι πρῶτον μέν, περὶ ὧν Φίλιππος ἐπέσταλκε, περὶ τούτων διεξελθεῖν, ὕστερον δὲ περὶ ὧν οἱ πρέσβεις λέγουσι, καὶ ἡμεῖς λέξομεν = for my part, O Athenians, first I would like first to go through Philip's letter, then to say a few words about the speeches of his ambassadors" (Dem. 7.1, qtd. by Anon. in Spengel 3: 126).

κατάχρησις (*katachrêsis*) using the wrong word for lack of a better term, as in "γόνυ καλάμου = the joint of the reed" (Tryphon in Spengel 3: 192).

κλίμαξ, κλιμακωτόν (*klimax* or *klimakôton*) when each successive *komma* contains a new proposition that begins with the last word of the preceding *komma* and lengthens it, as in "καὶ οὐκ εἶπον μὲν ταῦτα, οὐκ ἔγραψα δέ· οὐδὲ ἔγραψα μέν, οὐκ ἐπρέσβευσα δέ· οὐκ ἐπρέσβευσα μέν, οὐκ ἔπεισα δὲ Θηβαίους = I did not speak without moving, nor move without serving as ambassador, nor serve without convincing the Thebans" (Dem. 18.179, trans. Vince and Vince, qtd. by Alexandros in Spengel 3: 31) (cf. also the relevant discussion in Papaioannou, "Theory of Literature," Chapter 4 in this volume).

κύκλος (*kyklos*) beginning and ending a poignant statement with the same word, as in "σοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἦν κλέπτης ὁ πατήρ, εἴπερ ἦν ὅμοιος σοί = you have a thief for a father, if he is like you" (Ps.-Hermogenes's *On Invention* 4.8).

μερισμός (*merismos*) division (into subheads), as in "τρία γὰρ τὰ μέγιστα ὀνείδη κτᾶται, φθονεροὺς ἀπίστους ἀχαρίστους εἶναι δοκεῖν = three most serious reproaches have been brought upon us, that we are envious, faithless, and ungracious" (Dem. 20.10, qtd. by Syrianos in H. Rabe [ed.], *Syriani in Hermogenem commentaria*, vol. 1. Leipzig 1892: 35).

μετάληψις (*metalêpsis*) replacement of a synonym with an homonym, as in "ἔνθεν δ᾽ αὖ νήσοισιν ἐπιπροέηκε θοῇσιν = from thence again he steered for the sharp isles" (*Od.* 15.299, trans. Murray, qtd. by Kokondrios in Walz 8: 793), where θοός could mean both "quick, nimble" and "sharp."

μεταφορά (*metaphora*) a word transferred from its chief signification to something else, as in "αἰχμὴ δὲ διέσσυτο μαιμώωσα = the spear rushed, eager for action" (*Il.* 5.661, qtd. by Tryphon in Spengel 3: 191), where a quality applicable to an animate being, μαιμώωσα, is given to an inanimate object.

μετωνυμία (*metonymia*) replacement of an homonym with a synonym, for example saying "wine" for "Dionysios" or "Dionysios" for "wine" (Anon. in Spengel 3: 209).

ὁμοιόπτωτον (*homoioptôton*) assimilating two different things under a single grammatical case, as "σοι" and "αὐτοῖς χοίροις, τοῖς σπουδασταῖς σου" in "οἰχήσῃ δὲ πρὸς χάος, οὐχ ἧττον ἢ οἱ πρὸ τοῦ σοι φυλέται, αὐτοῖς χοίροις, τοῖς σπουδασταῖς σου φημί, καταλλήλως ἀφανιζόμενος = you will depart to the nether darkness—you no less than those of your

clan, swine themselves, your supporters, I mean—perishing fittingly" (Arethas, *Scr. min.* 205.16–20).

ὁμοιοτέλευτον (*homoioteleuton*) identical grammatical endings, as in "τῶν ἀγγέλων πολυθρύλητον θαῦμα—τῶν δαιμόνων πολυθρήνητον τραῦμα" (*Akathistos* 3).

ὁρισμός (*horismos*) definition as a figure, as in "παραπέμπει γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἡ ἐλπίς, αὕτη δὲ ἀτυχούντων ἐστὶν ἐφόδιον = hope accompanies us, for she is the attendant of those in misfortune" (Ps.-Herodianos in Spengel 3: 98).

παραβολή (*parabolê*) parable, as in the Parable of the Prodigal Son (Anon. in Spengel 3: 212).

παραπλήρωμα (*paraplêrôma*) type of *pleonasmos* that uses "filler" words for the sake of rhythm, as in "Πάνδαρος, ᾧ καὶ τόξον Ἀπόλλων αὐτὸς ἔδωκε" (*Il.* 2.827, qtd. by Tryphon in Spengel 3: 198).

παρήχησις (*parêchêsis*) "the beauty of like-resounding words," or placing words of similar sound near each other, as in "πείθει τὸν Πειθίαν = he persuades the Pythian" or "εὐπείθει πεπίθοντο = they obeyed Eupeithes" (Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.41 and, *Od.* 24.465, qtd. in Ps.-Hermogenes's *On Invention* 4.7).

πάρισον (*parison*) two or more colons with the same number of syllables as well as similar rhythm and syntax, as in "τοῦ μὲν ἐπίπονον καὶ φιλοκίνδυνον βίον κατέστησε, τῆς δὲ περίβλεπτον καὶ περιμάχητον τὴν φύσιν ἐποίησεν = for [his son] he created a life of labor and peril, but for [his daughter] a nature admired and violently desired" (Isocr. 10.17, qtd. by Alexandros in Spengel 3: 40).

παρίσωσις (*parisôsis*) repetition of a word or syllable at the beginning of two successive words (Παυσανίου δὲ παυσαμένου) or at the end of words/phrases (ἀσπίδα θέσθω-πολέμοιο μεδέσθω or ταξιάρχους παρ' ὑμῶν-ἱππάρχους παρ' ὑμῶν) (Spengel 3: 131–132). Cf. *epanaphora, antistrophe.*

παρονομασία (*paronomasia*) word play, as in τῶν μὲν Πρόθοος θοὸς ἡγεμόνευε (*Il.* 2.758, qtd. by Ps.-Herodianos in Spengel 3: 95) or αἱ ἄμπελοί σου οὐ κλήματα φέρουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐγκλήματα (Alexandros in Spengel 3: 36).

περίοδος (*periodos*) not a single figure, but "many and various"; the "compelling convergence and closure" of an argument within a single sentence, expressed "in rhythmical language," and "brought out concisely" (Ps.-Hermogenes's *On Invention* 4.3). The subject of the argument can be put in the nominative, genitive, accusative, or dative case (for example, "ὁ γὰρ οἷς ἂν ἐγὼ ληφθείην ταῦτα πράττων καὶ κατασκευαζόμενος, οὗτος ἐμοὶ πολεμεῖ, κἂν μήπω βάλλῃ μηδὲ τοξεύῃ = for he who does these things against me, things for which I might be captured, makes war against me, even if he is neither throwing a spear or shooting an arrow," [Dem. 2.4], where the defendant is referred to in the nominative case); the sentence can be mono-, di-, tri-, or tetracolonic, as in "ὁ μὲν γὰρ Φίλιππος ὅσῳ πλείονα ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀξίαν πεποίηκε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, τοσούτῳ θαυμαστότερος παρὰ πᾶσι νομίζεται· ὑμεῖς δέ, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅσῳ χεῖρον ἢ προσῆκε κέχρησθε τοῖς πράγμασι, τοσούτῳ πλείονα = the more Philip has accomplished beyond his deserts, the more praiseworthy he has appeared to all; but you, O Athenians, the greater the disgrace you have incurred the more you have failed to avail yourselves of opportunities" (Dem. 2.3), which is a chiastic tetracolonic period.

πλαγιασμός (*plagiasmos*) extensive and consistent use of an oblique case such as genitive absolute (Anon. in Spengel 3: 127).

πλεονασμός (*pleonasmos*) an excessive number of words for the sake of emphasis, as in "ἀντίος ἐναντίος, ἔναντι κατέναντι = over against and opposite" (Choiroboskos in Spengel 3: 252).

πλοκή (*plokê*) word repetition in various places, as in "καλὸν δὲ τὸ ζῆν, ἄν τις ὡς δεῖ ζῆν μάθῃ = to live nobly, if one would learn how to live" (Alexandros in Spengel 3: 37).

πνεῦμα (*pneuma*) a figure of rapid enumeration, which is also a performative unit measured by the breath of the speaker, where the listed items carry a mostly negative connotation. Ps.-Hermogenes points to the following passage from Demosthenes as an example of *pneuma*: "ὅτε γὰρ περιῄων ὁ Φίλιππος Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ Τριβαλλοὺς, τινὰς δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατεστρέφετο, καὶ δυνάμεις πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ἐποιεῖτο ὑφ' ἑαυτόν· καί τινες τῶν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐξουσίᾳ βαδίζοντες, ἐκεῖσε διεφθείροντο, ὧν εἷς οὗτος ἦν. τότε δὴ πάντες, ἐφ' οἷς ταῦτα παρεσκευάζετο ἐκεῖνος, ἐπολεμοῦντο· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἠσθάνοντο, ἕτερος λόγος οὗτος, οὐ πρὸς ἐμέ = for when Philip was moving hither and thither, subduing Illyrians and Triballians and some Greeks as well, gradually getting control of large military resources, and when certain Greek citizens—like Aeschines here—were availing themselves of the liberty of the peace to visit Macedonia and take bribes, all these movements were really acts of war upon the states against which Philip was making his preparations. That they failed to see it is another story, and does not concern me" (Dem. 18.44, trans. Vince and Vince). Two or more *pneumata* of varying figures (i.e., declarative, interrogative, refutative, negative) comprise a climactic accumulation known as *akmê* (Ps.-Hermogenes's *On Invention* 4.4; Anon. commentary in Walz 7.2: 826–827).

πολύπτωτον (*polyptôton*) repetition of the same word in different grammatical cases, as in "οὗτοι γὰρ ἡγοῦνται, τούτοις πείθεσθε, ὑπὸ τούτων δέος ἐστὶ μὴ παρακρουσθῆτε = for they are your leaders, to them you owe allegiance, by them I fear you may be deceived" (Dem. 19.298, qtd. by Anon. in Walz 3: 711).

προδιόρθωσις (*prodiorthôsis*) anticipation and forestalling of a possible misunderstanding, as in "τολμᾷ τι νεανικὸν ὁ λόγος, Θεὸς θεοῖς ἑνούμενός τε καὶ γνωριζόμενος = to use a certain bold expression—God is united to and known to us as gods" (Greg. Naz. 38.319, qtd. by Anon. Chr. in Bady 2010: 268).

πρόληψις (*prolêpsis*) anticipation of objection or insertion of a reason to preempt objection, as in "ἑταῖρε πάντα ἔχεις, σῖτον, οἶνον, ἔλαιον. μὴ κλέψῃς, μὴ καταγνωσθῇς = friend, you have everything—wheat, wine, oil; do not steal, do not get indicted!" (Phoibammon in Spengel 3: 48).

προσωποποιία (*prosôpopoiia*) personification, as in "ὁ μὲν οὖν παρὼν καιρός, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, μονονουχὶ λέγει φωνὴν ἀφιείς = the present occasion, O Athenians, nearly calls [on you]" (Dem. 1.2, qtd. by Alexandros in Spengel 3: 19).

στρογγύλον (*strongylon*) succinct, abrasive, and refutative argument built on opposites or comparison, as in "ὥσπερ γὰρ εἴ τις ἐκείνων ἑάλω σὺ τάδε οὐκ ἂν ἔγραψας· οὕτως ἂν σὺ ἁλῷς, ἄλλος οὐ γράψει = if anyone of those men had been indicted in the past, you would not be proposing this [law] now; and likewise, if you are punished now, no one will propose [the same law in the future]" (Dem. 22.7, qtd. by Anon. in Walz 7.2: 805–806).

σύλληψις (*syllêpsis*) assimilation of one concept or item to another (without regard for facticity), as in "Βορρᾶς καὶ Ζέφυρος, τώ τε Θρᾴκηθεν ἄητον = Boreas and Zephyras, both blowing from Thrace" (*Il.* 9.5, qtd. by Anon. in Spengel 3: 211), where only Boreas is known to blow from Thrace.

συμπλοκή (*symplokê*) a combination of *epanaphora* and *antistrophê*, as in "ἐπὶ σαυτὸν καλεῖς, ἐπὶ τοὺς νόμους καλεῖς, ἐπὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν καλεῖς = against yourselves you summon him, against the laws you summon him, against the democracy you summon him" (Aeschin. 3.202, qtd. by Alexandros in Spengel 3: 30).

συνεκδοχή (*synekdochê*) when a part stands for the whole or the material stands for the object, as when we call shields "ox-hide" (Anon. in Spengel 3: 209).

σύγκρισις (*synkrisis*) succinct paradoxical comparison using the same words, as in "Ραάβ ἡ πόρνη, καὶ οὐ πόρνη τὴν προαίρεσιν = Rahab was a prostitute and yet not a prostitute by choice" (Greg. Naz. Or. 14.2, qtd. by Anon. Chr. in Bady 2010: 315).

ὑπερβατόν (*hyperbaton*) wrenched syntax or word order, as in "τοῦ τ' ἐκεῖνον, ὅπερ καὶ ἀληθὲς ὑπάρχει, φαῦλον φαίνεσθαι = [then Phillip] will—as he is in reality— appear worthless" (Dem. 2.5, qtd. in *P. id.* 1.11 and by Anon. in Walz 3: 710).

ὑπερβολή (*hyperbolê*) exaggeration, as in "τρέχει, ὡς ὁ ἄνεμος = runs like the wind" (Choiroboskos in Spengel 3: 252).

ὑστερολογία (*hysterologia*) inverted chronological order, as in "καλῶς ἐτελειώθη ὁ δεῖνα καὶ καλῶς ἐβίωσεν = he died well and he lived well" (Choiroboskos in Spengel 3: 255).

ζεῦγμα (*zeugma*) when different parts of a sentence are syntactically united by a single word, as in "τῶν μὲν τὸν λόγον, τῶν δὲ τὴν πρᾶξιν, τῶν δὲ τὸ πρᾷον, τῶν δὲ τὸ ἥσυχον, τῶν δὲ τοὺς κινδύνους, τῶν δὲ τὰ πλείω, τῶν δὲ τὰ πάντα μιμησάμενος = having emulated the words of some and the deeds of others, the kindness of some, the serenity of others, and the trials of others still; some in many qualities and others in all" (Greg. Naz. Or. 21.4, qtd. by Anon. in Spengel 3: 185, by "Zonaios" in Spengel 3: 168, and by Anon. Chr. in Bady 2010: 310, see variant readings), where μιμησάμενος governs the entire list.

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